SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. IV.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

FROM FRIDAY, THE 1ST. OF JULY TO FRIDAY THE 12TH OF AUGUST, INCLUSIVE, ON WHICH LATTER DAY THE SESSION ENDED, THE PARLIAMENT BEING PROROGUED.

N. B. The Proceedings of the former part of the Session will be found in Vol. II. p. 1625 *et seq. and in Vol. III. p.* 1233 *et seq.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 1.

[ARMY OF RESERVE.]——LORD HOBART moved, that the Army of Reserve Bill be read a first time, which was done accordingly; after which his lordship made a motion for reading it a second time the next day.

Lord Moira suggested, that it would add much to the convenience of the House, if it were understood generally, that the debate upon the principle of the bill was not to take place the next day, but that the principle was to be discussed on the report, and that the noble Lords in the Committee would merely move such amendments, as the detail of the bill and its various ramifications might suggest to them as necessary, without touching at all upon the principle of the bill.

Lord Mulgrave thought, that in passing a bill of so much importance, not a moment was to be wasted unnecessarily; and therefore, perhaps, it would be better to take the debate on the principle the next day, and by that means avoid the having the double debate, that in the Committee, and that on the report, in one and the same day. If the latter course were more convenient, it would be necessary for some noble Lord to move, what had been often moved in cases of emergency, that the standing order, forbidding that the noble Lord on the woolsack, for the time being, should put more than one question on any stage of a bill in one day, should be suspended. He wished to hear from the authority of the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack, what would be the most advisable mode of proceeding.

Lord Hobart rose to explain that it was the wish of his Majesty's ministers to read the bill a second time the next day, to go into the Committee upon it on Monday, report it the same day, and read it a third time on Tuesday.

The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack to remind their Lordships, that they ought not to make themselves quite sure, that they should be able to read the bill a third time on Tuesday. If, as had been done in a late instance, noble Lords should choose to stay away from the Committee, and afterwards, on the report, come down, and debate the amendments, which might have undergone a most elaborate and minute discussion, give the House the trouble to debate them over again, one by one, no man knew when the bill might reach a third reading. There were two obvious courses to pursue, in the present instance—the standing order, that no bills should pass two stages on one day, was imperative upon him, or the person, whoever he might be, who sat on the woolsack. He could not disobey it without an absolute dereliction of his duty. To remove this difficulty, any noble Lord might move the suspension of the standing order, but there must be two days' notice given, before the suspension could be moved. The other course of proceeding was what would be most disgraceful to the House, viz. to order him to put a question, on a second stage of the bill, in defiance of their own standing order, the same being suffered to remain on the page of their order-book.

Lord Moira said, what he had suggested arose from a sense of general convenience to the House. As Saturday was not a day on which the House generally sat, many noble Lords might not be present, and, if the debate on the principle took place the next day, might afterwards think they were slighted, or complain of being taken by surprize.

Lord Mulgrave, after a little explanation, gave notice, that he should on Mon-

day move, that the two standing orders, which refer to the progress of bills through the House, be suspended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 1.——[MINUTES.]

Mr. *Fonblanque* presented a petition, on the part of Sir Thomas Turton, against the return of George Tierney, Esq for the borough of Southwark. Ordered to be taken into consideration on the 24th of August.—A new writ ordered for Tiverton, in Devonshire, in the room of the right hon. Dudley Ryder, now Lord Harrowby.—The report of the Bell Rock light-house, received, and ordered to be printed.——In a Committee of the House on the Acts of the Irish Parliament of the 37th, 40th, 42d, and 43d, of Geo. III. relative to the Distilleries, Mr. Corry stated, that these were acts merely for the collection of the revenue, and imposed no duty; but they would expire on the 27th of Sept. next. The Committee resolved, that the said acts should be continued and amended.——Irish Small Note Bill read a second time.——Exeter Road Bill passed.

[CLERGY RESIDENCE BILL.]—The order of the day being moved for the further consideration of the clergy residence bill,

Sir William Scott stated, that, in consequence of the late bill having been lost, a number of penal actions had been brought upon the statute of Henry VIII. for non-residence; it was therefore of the utmost importance that the present bill should be forwarded with as much expedition as possible.——The bill was re-committed. The report was received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time next day.

[WOOLLEN CLOTHIERS' BILL.]——Mr. *Dickinson* moved, that the woollen clothiers' bill should be now read a third time

Mr. *Brookes* moved, that the words, "three months" should be substituted for the word "now."

Mr. *Hurst* expressed himself friendly to the present bill. It was founded on the free spirit of trade and commerce, that the old statutes from Richard II. to George II. should be repealed. They had been enacted on the then existing state of the trade, and were totally unnecessary at present. He observed, that one year's apprenticeship was sufficient for a lad who was capable of learning his business. There were sufficient hands already to work the machinery, and the numbers ought not to be increased while soldiers were wanted for the army, and sailors for the navy. Surely if these could be spared for any purpose of industry, those employed in agriculture were most in request. He thought the statute-books had been well cleared of the rubbish with which they had been filled upon this subject; they were of no service, but to give practice to attornies, who were but too ready to take advantage of them. He was decidedly in favour of the bill.

Mr. *Peter Moore* said, he opposed the bill for the same reasons the hon. gent. supported it. It seemed to be considered, that there were only two parties concerned in the measure, but he conceived there was a third, whose interests were material. He referred to that period of the 16th century at which the woollen trade had been introduced into this country, and contended that it had been owing to the system of apprenticeship we owed its prosperity. He supported his opinion by reference to the sentiments of Dr. Adam Smith. It was, he said, a productive system, that yielded 24,000,000 l. to the country. He objected to the repeal of the old laws, unless better ones were substituted for them. He thought it was a subject of great importance to the state.

Mr. *Brookes* said, he hoped the soldiers and sailors that were wanted, would be provided by more constitutional means than taking them from our manufactures.

Mr. *Isaac Hawkins Brown* proposed that this should be merely a bill of experiment, and that it should be limited to two years; if this was agreed to, he should give his vote for the measure.

Mr. *Wilberforce* also wished for some compromise; he had not brought his mind to a conclusion, but he was rather inclined to its being a bill of experiment.

Admiral Berkeley entreated the House to pass the bill, observing, that if it was not passed, they might be persuaded, from what had been said relative to the clergy bill, how merciful the attornies would be; there would no doubt be an hundred actions. With regard to regulations, the workmen should find him as zealous in supporting those for their benefit, as for their masters. He did not find that any regulations whatever were introduced, consequently he was for the bill going on.

Dr. Lawrence contended, that the bill was necessary upon the evidence of the petitioners themselves. He argued, that in a commercial country, the use of machinery was necessary. Their own evidence proved,

that the use of machinery rendered the manufactures cheaper. It was by the adoption of such machines the woollen manufacture of this country had arrived at its present height. It was necessary the state of enmity and irritation which pervaded this branch of our manufactures should be put an end to, by the legislature putting an end to the laws, which referred to a period when it was in its infancy. He referred to a pamphlet and a letter, which had been transmitted to him by the petitioners, the contents of which he conceived disrespectful towards the House, and generally supported the bill.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he did not rise to enter into the merits of the question, such arguments had been used on both sides. Something had fallen from the learned gent. which was rather injurious to the petitioners. He had stated, that his intention had been first called to the subject by a pamphlet and a letter. Now the petitioners had also sent him the same pamphlet; it was a common practice for persons concerned in bills before the House to do so, and was pertectly right. The letter contained nothing more than a complaint that the House was going to pass the bill without knowing precisely the question. The evidence taken before the Committee had been ordered to be printed, and before a man in the House had seen a page of it, the bill was proposed to pass. These petitioners had a right to state their disapprobation of a proceeding they considered precipitate. The learned gentleman had said, that all he knew of the subject was from the evidence, consequently if he had not had an opportunity of seeing the evidence before the bill passed, the House would have lost the benefit of his speech.

Mr. *Bragge* said, there was no occasion to add arguments to those which had not been answered; nor was it necessary to enter into details of that which lay in a narrow compass. This bill did no more than repeal the statute of Henry VI. relating to a machine, which was supposed no longer to exist—he meant the gig-mill, to which that statute referred. It had been proved before a jury at Salisbury, and a very able judge, that the gig-mill meant by that statute was out of use—a person had been indicted for using a gig-mill, and had been acquitted. The statute did not relate to machines in general. The gig-machine was scarcely used in Gloucestershire, very little in Yorkshire, and principally in Wiltshire and Somersetshire. He was of opinion the House could not do better than pass the act in its present state. It would not prevent discussing the subject in the ensuing Parliament. Enough had been said to sanction the present measure, and the House was not pledging itself to the making it perennial.

Mr. *Sheridan* asked, whether, when the bill passed, it was intended to preclude the adoption of a resolution for reviving the subject next session.

Mr. *Bragge* said, he should be sorry to pledge himself. He did not wish to make it a condition, but he was not aware that there would be any objection to reviving the subject next session, if any hon. gent. gave notice of a motion to that effect.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* subscribed to all the sentiments of his right hon. friend, but he could not consent to what had been suggested by an hon. gent. (Mr Sheridan.) The House never passed a resolution after a bill so definitive. Its discretion ought not to be fettered, nor would it commit itself with a declaration upon the subject. It was of importance to guard against the disquiet and irritation, which, in manufacturing towns, would be produced rather than allayed, by suffering the question to continue unsettled. He altogether objected to such a resolution. It was of the utmost importance the workmen should be convinced, that it was not by turbulence, disturbance, or cabal, this House would be influenced. The House would ever be actuated by a disposition to redress their grievances, but they ought to understand, that such a disposition would not be quickened by any conduct which is inconsistent with their duty to their masters. He gave his consent to the bill, but he did not consider himself committed to any definitive arrangement.

Mr. *Wilberforce* justified the conduct of the workmen of the county of York.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, his observations did not apply to Yorkshire, but to the Western counties.——After a few observations from Mr. Lascelles, the bill was read a third time and passed.

[COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.]———The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it would be recollected, that in stating the ways and means, he had given notice of his intention to move for 5,000,000l. of Exchequer bills, to replace those which were raised last year, and charged on the supplies of the present year.——He moved that the sum of 5,000,000l. should be granted to his Majesty, to enable him to discharge the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act last session, for the service of the year.——He also moved a grant of 16,000l. for repairing

the forts on the coast of Africa.——Also, 12,000 l. for sums granted in consequence of addresses.——Also, 171,431l. 11s. 1d. for sums in the disposition paper——The report was ordered to be read the next day, and the Committee ordered to sit again on Monday.

[SCOTCH ARMY OF RESERVE.]——The *Secretary at War* moved the third reading of this bill.

Mr. *Charles Grant* wished to know upon what scale the Secretary had calculated the proportions for the counties of Scotland.

The *Secretary at War* replied, that at first the proportion was calculated at 34 for 1000 of the population of the country; but after consulting with very able men who had assisted in forming the tables of population, the old calculations were found to be very imperfect, and the conclusion was, that 84 to 2,000 should be the average: but on account of the incorrect returns in some counties, there should be added to the average of 84 a number not exceeding 16; and in other counties, a number should be taken of the average, not exceeding 16.

Mr. *M'Dowell* was for the bill being adopted exactly as it stood, because the men might in that case be raised immediately; but if the change which had been proposed should be agreed to, a considerable time would be lost, from the necessity of making new lists.

Mr. *Kinnaird* was glad to see that the local circumstances, habits, or even prejudices of his countrymen had been attended to by the Secretary at War. This, he thought, was much better than endeavouring too much to assimilate the regulations for raising the militia in both countries. The bill was then passed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, July 2.

[MINUTES]—The Army of Reserve Bill was read the second time and committed for Monday.——The militia officers augmentation bill, the excise duty regulation bill, the addition excise duty bill, &c. were read a third time and passed.——The additional Scotch army bill, the woollen manufacture bill, the southern whale fishery bill, and the new clergy residence bill, were read a first time.——Several petitions against the woollen manufacture bill were received, and leave was given to the petitioners to be heard by their counsel against it.——Ordered, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor, that a message be sent to the Commons, requesting them to communicate a copy of the evidence upon which they passed the bill.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 2.

[MILITIA RELIEF BILL].—Mr. *Wickham* rose to propose a measure for the relief of militia men's families in Ireland, while the men were absent on duty. The reason why he had not sooner brought it forward on the same footing as a similar provision in England, was, that the same class of civil officers for carrying it into effect did not exist in Ireland. By this bill, it was intended, in order to prevent fraud upon the public bounty, that no person claiming as the wife or child of a militia-man should be intitled to such, without producing a certificate from the colonel of the regiment, that the militia-man, whether ballotted, a volunteer, or a substitute, declared upon oath such persons to be his wife or child, at the time of his attestation. He then moved for and obtained leave to bring in the bill.

[IRISH MALT AND DISTILLERIES].—Mr. *Alexander* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better collection of the duties on malt, and the better regulation of the distilleries in Ireland.

Mr. *Corry* detailed at considerable length the objects of this bill, as not going to exact any increase of duty whatever, but merely to establish a more efficient mode of collection, the better to prevent frauds on the revenue; and as much for the advantage of the fair trader, as for the crown: the objects of those regulations were, to enable the gauger to place malt in the best mode of fairly ascertaining its quantity, by gauging in the *couch* instead of *steep*; and to empower the commissioners of revenue to make such reduction as to them should seem just, from the annual charge upon the size of the drying kilns: to prevent maltsters from mixing malt of other men's manufacture with their own; to prevent maltsters from dealing in malt, not of their own manufacture, without a malt-factor's license; to impose a penalty on distillers when spirits in stock shall be deficient in comparing with the officer's returns; and to levy fines upon town lands, where clandestine stills shall be found, or when spirits shall be retailed without a license, to be recovered by civil bill. Leave given to bring in the bill.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 4.

[BETHUNA AND MACKRETH.—THELLUSSON AND WOODFORD.]—Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Romilly, Mr. Dampier, and Mr. Markham, were heard on behalf of the defendant in error, and Mr. Erskine and Mr. Serjeant Lens in reply for the plaintiff; after which

The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack, and entered at very considerable length into a minute detail of all the various circumstances of the case, pointing out the bearings of each transaction connected with it, and concluding with reading a series of questions on the most leading points in the cause, which, with their lordships permission, he should submit to the consideration of the twelve judges. Before he did so, however, he would take the liberty of mentioning, that it occurred to him, that in one of the questions submitted to the judges, on the appeal of Thellusson *v.* Woodford, a sentence was omitted, which would have rather more completely embraced the entire object of that question, and rendered it more favourable to the appellant; he should, therefore, move the insertion of the sentence at the present opportunity. His lordship resumed the woolsack, and put the questions, which were ordered.

Lord Mulgrave then rose, and remarking upon the great importance of the subject, on which the questions had on a former day been submitted to the judges in the appeal cause of Thellusson and Woodford, suggested that it was not very likely that the judges should have been able to have made up their minds upon the points submitted to them by Monday next; they might, therefore, want more time for their own consideration of the subject, and after they had delivered their opinions in answer to the questions proposed to them, some noble Lords might also wish to state their own sentiments upon those opinions, but be desirous that some time should be allowed them for deliberation and investigation of the subject; it might therefore not come to an ultimate decision till such an advanced period of the session, when it could not be expected that there would be an attendance of noble Lords sufficiently numerous or becoming to give judgment in a matter of the utmost importance to the interests of a considerable number of persons. His Lordship, therefore, said, he really thought, that on every principle of common justice, the opinions of the judges should not be called for at an early day, nor indeed till a future session.

The *Lord Chancellor* put a question, stating, that the judges desired time of the questions put to them on the writ of error, Askew *v.* Sir Robert Mackreth; an order was made, therefore, for them to deliver their opinions on Tuesday the 26th instant. An order was also made for the judges to give their opinions in the cause of Thellusson and Woodford on Monday next the 11th instant.

[ARMY OF RESERVE].—The order of the day being moved by Lord Hobart, and read, for the House resolving itself into a Committee of the whole House on this bill,

Earl Suffolk said, he had no objection to the principle of the bill. Every man must be agreed upon the necessity of raising an additional force for the defence of the country. But he had some points to submit to his Majesty's ministers not contained in the bill, and he wished to know whether he would be at liberty at any future stage of the bill, in case he should forbear to urge them at that time.

Lord Walsingham answered, that if the noble Lord had any observations upon any particular clause, the proper time for doing so, would be when the clause should come to be read; but as to any general observations, the more regular way would be to reserve them for some future stage.

The preamble was then, as usual, postponed, and the question was severally put upon the succeeding clauses, which were agreed to without any observations, up to the clause confining the service of the force to Great-Britain and Ireland, and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey.—The question being put upon the last-mentioned clause,

The *Duke of Cumberland* rose, and spoke to the following effect: As a member of this assembly, and having the honour to hold a commission as an officer in his Majesty's service, I hold it my duty to speak my sentiments, whatever they may be, with openness and with candour upon the bill. As to the principle of the bill, every Briton must, in common with me, approve of it. When I consider the spirit of the country, when I consider the danger with which the rights and liberties of Englishmen are threatened; when I consider the insults and aggressions of the

First Consul of France, I feel that all must acknowledge the necessity of an additional force; and I am convinced, that if it were 100,000 men, instead of 50,000, the country would gladly acquiesce. I rise not, however, for the purpose of proposing an augmentation, but for a different purpose. The bill, I perceive, embraces three descriptions of persons; persons chosen by ballot, volunteers, and substitutes. Now a substitute is a man receiving a bounty, upon the same principle as a man inlisting for the line, and I see no reason why his service should be limited to home defence; if then, there be no hardship in the case, it might be advisable to extend his service, and thereby increase the disposable force of the country. H. R. H. concluded with moving an amendment, for extending the service of the substitute to any place whatever.

Lord Hobart said, he had explained the nature of the measure when he first introduced it to the House. The principle of it was to raise an additional force for home defence, but the amendment proposed by the illustrious duke was contrary to that principle, as it went to apply it to foreign service: it was further objectionable, as it would make individuals bear the expense of furnishing recruits for the regular army. It was also to be observed, that the bill contained a clause for permitting any man raised under it to enter into the line. Here, then, was an opportunity opened for increasing our regular force, and the facility which it afforded might be defeated by the amendment. It was the intention of Government that the force proposed should be raised immediately, and the bill was framed in the manner most likely to obtain that end. If, however, any difficulty or obstruction should be raised, by making the terms of service harder, and consequently rendering persons reluctant to enter into it, that object would be in a considerable degree defeated. Besides, he could assure the illustrious duke, that arrangements were then making, by which a larger proportion of the force to be raised by the bill would be incorporated with regiments of the line. Such regiments, no doubt, must be of course limited to home service, but still there would remain a sufficient number for the purpose of foreign service. For all these reasons he found himself under the necessity of opposing the amendment.

The *Earl of Moira* was of opinion that the true way of providing for defence would be to increase the regular army. By having a large disposable force for foreign operations, we should oblige France to garrison all her posts, and prepare for her defence upon all her points. If a contrary policy should be pursued, she would have nothing to do but to collect all her immense means, and choose her opportunity to invade us. The result of this must be, that some of her attempts must prove successful, and though perhaps only upon a confined scale, the evil would be incalculable. These being his sentiments, he should approve the amendment of the illustrious duke, as it tended to increase our disposable force. The clause in the bill would be totally nugatory in that respect, as it was not compulsory, but merely left an option not likely to be adopted. By the amendment the object proposed would be secured, but as the clause stood, its attainment would be very uncertain. In his opinion, our best policy would be to increase the troops of the line. He knew a brigade consisting of four regiments, and he would venture to assert, that the whole brigade could not turn out 600 men fit to bear arms. The arrangement alluded to by the noble Sec. of State, he clearly understood from his description. He presumed it was to fill up the skeleton regiments of the line with the new levies. He admitted, that when a parcel of recruits were mixed with one or two hundred veterans, they might be brought into a complete state of discipline in three or four months. But what would be the consequence of the arrangement suggested? The skeleton regiments, so filled up, must be confined to home service, or if it is to be sent abroad, the part belonging to the army of reserve must be taken away, and its place supplied with raw recruits. The amendment of the illustrious duke, therefore, as tending to facilitate the increase of our regular force, had his approbation. We had a militia, a supplementary militia, and now comes a third class of domestic force. The price of the substitute has in consequence risen very high, and therefore it was impossible but that the raising of the present force must obstruct the recruiting for the line.

Lord Mulgrave declared, that if the Government had proposed a levy of 100,000 men instead of 50,000, as proposed by this bill, the measure should have his hearty concurrence. He could not, however, approve of the amendment moved by the illustrious duke, because he considered it would be a heavy and unexpected tax on the persons drawn by ballot,

who would be under additional difficulty and expense in finding substitutes. He was strongly of opinion, that the defence of this country would be best conducted by offensive operations after we should have provided for our own security; but the best reliance would always be in the spirit of the people. The energy of Englishmen could not be doubted when they thought their country was in danger; and, during the last war, there was sufficient proof that men of military habits would not object to unlimited service, when the occasion required it; for very soon after the passing of the bill for empowering militiamen to enter into regulars, notwithstanding the reluctance of the officers to part with those men whom they were at the trouble of training, we had an accession of 40,000 additional men, which enabled our armies to perform exploits which equalled the proudest times of the prowess of the nation.——It would not, he believed, be deemed orderly in him, to refer to discussions in another place; but he was free to confess he never heard nor read of a better system, both of offence and defence, than was displayed on the occasion he alluded to; and he made no doubt but the enemy would find, on making the experiment, that there was much more military skill and science in this country, than they might have been led to imagine.

H. R. H. the *Duke of Cumberland* explained—that conceiving a powerful attack upon the enemy at home, to be best suited to the dignity, and consistent with the antient renown of this country; but that he never meant that compulsory, unlimited service, should be extended to men drawn by ballot. What he submitted was, that persons entering as substitutes, and receiving money for doing so, should be on the same footing as the recruits for the line, who also received a bounty. However, as this proposal did not seem to accord with the general feelings of the House, he should not persist in his amendment, if their lordships would allow him to withdraw it.

Earl Grosvenor was entering into an elaborate justification of the measures proposed by his Majesty's ministers, when he was called to order by

Lord Mulgrave—who said, that the discussion which the noble lord seemed disposed to engage in, was not strictly applicable to the question before the House. His lordship thought the defence of the country was the principal object to be consulted at present. As to filling up the old regiments, that may be made the subject of consideration to those within whose department it more immediately rested: he had the highest respect for the opinions delivered in the House by high military characters; but however he might wish for a large disposable force, he conceived that it would be time enough to employ it when the country was out of danger.

Lord Carlisle thought the measure rather inadequate to the object proposed, but would not object to the bill, because he thought no time should be lost in proceeding upon this preliminary measure. His lordship was then proceeding to arraign the ministers for their tardiness and want of an early display of spirit, when he was also called to order.

Lord Darnley defended the train of arguments which the noble lord was embracing, and was pursuing a similar course, when he was called to order by

The *Lord Chancellor*, who said, that his observations had no immediate reference to the question before the House.

Lord Darnley said, he did not think himself by any means deviating from the question, and again renewed the same line of observation.

The *Lord Chancellor* again interrupted him, and complained that the strict orders of the House were very seldom complied with. On many occasions, when he attempted to enforce them, he was sorry to find that he was not sufficiently supported; and if noble Lords continued to go on in the same way, it would be necessary to determine, before the end of the present session, whether the House should abide by its orders or neglect them.

Lord Darnley then said, that he should take occasion, in another stage, to deliver his sentiments more at large upon the subject.

Lord Hobart conceived, that the situation in which he stood, entitled him to particular attention, while he attempted to explain the general merits of the question,

The *Lord Chancellor* called him also to order, observing, that the general defence of the conduct of ministers did not bear upon the amendment then under consideration.

Lord Pelham claimed the indulgence of their lordships whilst he proceeded to justify the measure now proposed. He perfectly agreed with those noble lords who stated, that the best mode in which we could carry on the war, was by a direct attack upon the enemy, but he thought the

country ought to be assured of its own security, before such a proceeding should be resorted to. Let the people feel themselves safe, and let them then annoy the enemy, and attack him in those quarters where he was most vulnerable. This country, he was convinced, could not long want the means of hostile operations against France by a foreign force, which would be, and heretofore was always proved to be, the soundest policy of the united kingdom. His lordship then proceeded to explain the advantages of this plan in the present instance; but scarcely added any thing to what had been repeatedly urged before, in the House of Commons, when the bill was there under discussion.

Earl Spencer was decidedly for dispatch in this new levy. An additional land army of 40,000 men for England and 10,000 for Ireland must have a real effect, in whatever manner it might be disposed of. He acknowledged that he should have been much better pleased with such an addition to the troops of the line, and the more so, as he thought this ballotting must interfere with, and in a great measure suspend, the recruiting for the regulars; but at all events no time should be lost, and he should support the measure as being the commencement of a more enlarged military system.

The amendment of the Duke of Cumberland was, with the consent of the House, withdrawn.—The different clauses of the bill were then agreed to with some trifling amendments, and the chairman obtained leave to make the report.

Lord Suffolk said, that though he might not be perfectly regular in then speaking of the merits of the bill before them in the present stage, yet as it regarded the defence of the country, he must consider himself to be perfectly in order—but his Lordship being here interrupted by a cry of order! he said he should reserve himself for a future opportunity.

Lord Moira called upon the Noble Secretary for an explanation of the meaning of the clause, which according to his construction of it, appeared to give most unnecessarily a gratuitous exclusion to the substitutes, who had voluntarily entered into regiments of the line, from going abroad, even if they expressed their desire so to do. His Lordship said, in the course of the war, it might be thought expedient to attack a fort or military position on the enemy's coast, or to send a regiment or two out to defeat an armament on the sea, and he saw no reason why ministers should deprive themselves of the service of the substitutes admitted into regiments of the line, if they volunteered their services, in the case of their regiments being sent on general service abroad.

Lord Hobart explained, that the clause meant to hold out to all who volunteered, or acted as substitutes for those ballotted for militia men, that no more should be exacted from them than was originally contracted for.

The Committee then went through the other clauses, and the bill was reported without amendments

Lord Hobart moved two verbal amendments on the report, which were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a second time the next day.

Lord Mulgrave rose, he said, to move the suspension of two standing orders, agreeably to the notice he had given on Friday last; but, as the present bill had been reported without amendments, it did not come within the purview of those orders. There were several other important bills now pending, confessedly of a pressing and urgent nature, upon which he should move the suspension of those orders, which direct that no bill shall be passed two stages in one day. At a future opportunity, it was, his Lordship said, his intention to call the attention of the House more particularly to the standing orders, and move to rescind them.

The *Lord Chancellor* made a few observations on the importance of the person who sat on the woolsack, not putting two questions in one day on one and the same bill. But a motion to rescind the two orders was a very serious consideration. There were precedents of the House's having agreed to pass them over, of which instances they had repented them heartily in less than four and twenty hours. On the other hand, there might occur cases of such importance and emergency, as to justify to pass a bill through all its stages in one day; one had occurred recently, in which every Noble Lord must have felt it to be his duty to accede to this line of conduct. All he meant to say was, that it ought to be a case of imperious necessity that could alone justify the departure from the necessary caution, which ought to be preserved in respect to the violation of the standing orders of the House; and for his own part, he thought it the most prudent part to preserve the standing orders, as it always was, whenever deemed necessary, in the power of the House to suspend

any standing order, *pro hac vice*, or for any given period.

Lord Mulgrave moved to suspend the standing orders in question, on the Scotch army of reserve, or additional militia bill. Ordered.

Lord Grosvenor then said, he should not be able to be present next day, and readily gave up the observations he had meant to offer, if he had not been called to order in the Committee, and which, he had then said, he would make at another opportunity.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 4.

[MINUTES.] The East India docks bill was recommitted. Mr. Calcraft proposed a clause for limiting the powers granted under the bill for twenty-one years, which was adopted, and the report of the committee ordered to be received next day. The report of the additional army of Ireland bill was received, and ordered to be recommitted.—Mr. Vansittart brought up the five million loan bill, which was read a first time.

[FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND POOR.]—Mr. *Rose* brought in a bill for rectifying mistakes in the registry of the rules of friendly societies. It was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.—Mr. Rose then proceeded to make a motion, of which he had given previous notice. The measure he had in view comprehended three objects. 1st, The comfort of the poor in old age; 2ndly, employing them, especially youth, in useful industry; and, 3dly, the prevention of crimes. If the House should give him leave to bring in the bill, for which he was about to move, it was his intention to suggest a much more simple measure than any that had hitherto been proposed for the amelioration of the poor laws. The measure he had in view was nothing more than supplying materials for schools of industry, and stimulating the minds of the young to sober, industrious habits. Plans had been adopted in some districts, which he knew, in consequence of which, the children of the poor not only maintained themselves, but assisted in the support of their parents. In one district in Lincolnshire, where pains had been taken to create a spirit of industry among the poor, children at the age of 13 or 14, earned five and six shillings a week; but in the same district, in the year 1777, out of 80,000*l.* of poor-rates, 50,000*l.* was applied to the support of the poor, and the remainder spent in journeys of the overseers and other parish officers. However wise it might be to get rid of the workhouse system, it was necessary, before that was attempted, to fall on some means of employing the poor. He hoped the time would arrive when it would be found necessary to maintain none but children who had been deserted by their parents in workhouses; and there were not wanting examples that even such children might be better managed than they were by the parishes. Another object he had in view, was to ascertain the number and situation of the friendly societies in this country. Wherever there were friendly societies, a great proportion of the poor were maintained by themselves. The money thus raised was laid out in the most advantageous manner for the state, as it was almost always invested in the public funds. Five or 600,000*l.* of stock belong to the labouring poor of this country. It was his opinion that those societies should be entitled to some assistance from the parishes, in consequence of their preventing so great a proportion of the poor from becoming a burthen upon the rates. The money supplied by the parishes he would propose should be laid up by the societies to form a supplementary fund for the support of their aged members; from which a man, whose earnings in old age fell short of what he used to receive in the meridian of life, might have the deficiency supplied. If a man had been accustomed to earn 10*s.* 6*d.* and now received only 8*s.* or 9*s.* a week, he should be allowed 2*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* from this fund. He concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for procuring returns relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor of England."—Leave given.

[INFERIOR CLERGY.]—Mr. *Buxton* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the inferior clergy. The object of the bill would be to give, or rather restore to the commissioners of Q. Anne's bounty the power of augmenting the revenues of poor curates, and to open a door to private benevolence for that purpose: this was the original intention of the act of Q. Anne, and such was its operation until it was altered by the act of the 9th of G. II. The statute of Q. Anne, after the appropriation of the first fruits, invites her Majesty's subjects to follow her example, by will or deed. The number of livings under fifty pounds a year, he was well informed, was nearly six thousand. This charity, therefore, stood as much in need of private aid as any other. In the debate on the clergy residence bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressed his wish that

something should be done for the relief of the poor clergy, even in the present session; but, considering the burthens which it was necessary to impose for the defence of the country, he thought it would be better to resort to private benevolence, than to any public measure for that purpose. Impressed by this sentiment, he moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill for rendering more effectual certain acts of the 2d and 3d of Q. Anne, for maintaining poor clergymen.—Leave given."

[WAYS AND MEANS.]—The House resolved into a committee of ways and means, in which Mr. Corry called to the recollection of the House what he had stated, on Saturday, respecting the Irish loan. In case it should be found that the one million, which was the proportion of the loan for Ireland, could not, from the circumstances of that country, be borrowed with advantage, it was thought adviseable, that the Lord Lieutenant should have the power of raising the same sum by loans on treasury bills. These bills were precisely the same as exchequer bills in this country. He moved a resolution for raising one million in this manner, which was agreed to, and the report ordered to be made the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 5.

[MINUTES.]—The excise laws bill, the Birmingham church bill, and the Widmore drainage bill, received the royal assent by commission.

[CLERGY FARMING AND RESIDENCE BILL.]—The *Earl of Suffolk* said, he found the clergy farming and residence bill had passed the Committee. He must say, it did not come up to the idea which he had expected, in regard to creating a better provision for the inferior clergy. He had, on a former day, suggested one mode of creating a real additional income, viz. by all the beneficed clergy contributing an actual tenth or first fruits, to be taken in aid of Queen Anne's bounty. He had heard, that a measure was in contemplation in the other House of Parliament; he hoped it was not the repeal of one of the most beneficial acts of Parliament that ever had passed (it is presumed his lordship meant the Mortmain Act). The noble Earl added, that he had anxiously felt the necessity of making some better provision for the inferior clergy, and had hoped, before providing for granting licences for the non-residence of the beneficed clergy, the present bill, which had just passed the Committee, would have begun with enacting some mode of provision for the inferior clergy.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, the present bill had not done what the noble earl so anxiously wished, under the belief that another bill, formed with a view to the object of the noble earl's anxiety, was in contemplation, and would soon be brought before both Houses. It did not, his lordship said, become him to say more upon the subject, or to undertake to pledge himself that such a bill would be so brought in, as he had stated, but he could assure the noble earl, that the object of his wishes had not been lost sight of during the proceedings on the present bill.

The *Earl of Suffolk* repeated his hope, that it was not meant to repeal the excellent statute, to which he had alluded, in order by that means to effect the important object in question.

[ARMY OF RESERVE.]—*Lord Hobart* moved that this bill be read a third time; and, it being read, his Lordship moved two or three amendments which were agreed to. ——On the Lord Chancellor putting the question "that this bill do pass,"

The *Earl of Suffolk* rose and said, he should beg leave to trouble their Lordships with some observations on the measure of defence about to be adopted by the present bill. As a military man, he wished particularly to throw out some hints to his Majesty's ministers, which he thought should be acted upon as speedily as possible. Next to the proper formation and discipline of the troops, he considered no one thing to be so important as the appointment of officers to command them, who were at once the most able, the most skilful, and in whom the troops were likely to have the greatest confidence. There was nothing which more contributed to inspire troops with courage, zeal, and a consciousness of their own strength, than to be commanded by men of great reputation for military talents, by men who had seen service and gained victories. He would, on the present trying occasion, most earnestly recommend it to his Majesty's ministers, to select officers of this description throughout the British service, in order to give each of them a chief command; and that should be done without any regard to the seniority which one general officer might have over another. Upon this subject, he could not help expressing his regret at some recent

appointments. He did not wish to allude to persons, but he supposed every noble Lord who heard him, knew what he alluded to. If ever there was any part of the conduct of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty more praiseworthy than another, it was that of his doing away the punctilio of seniority, at the time he gave the chief command of a fleet to Lord Nelson. The same rule ought to be observed in the military department. Let ministers weigh well in their minds what it was which we had at stake, and consider how important towards the security of the country it must be, to have great and experienced generals at the head of the troops. He would put it to that House, and to his Majesty's ministers, whether it was wise or politic to give the conqueror of Egypt, a subordinate command? It might be said, that being but a major-general, that gallant and noble officer could not have a chief command over generals of older rank: ministers ought to know that this was not a time to think of the punctilios of seniority. If the great armies of France were to be defeated, it would be necessary to imitate, in some measure, the practices of France, with regard to the appointment of generals. The government of that country paid no regard to seniority; they searched after men of military talents, and appointed those whom they looked upon as the bravest and the most skilful to command the armies. All the great generals of France, who had distinguished themselves in the late war, were raised up from subordinate situations. Among these, the government was able to distinguish such men as Massena and Moreau. In the present critical situation of this country, it was absolutely necessary to adopt a similar practice, and to raise up merit wherever it was to be found. But he was confident, that among the British general officers, there were to be found persons fully qualified to conduct our armies, if care was taken to make a proper selection, according to the various degrees of merit which they were known to possess. Next to a judicious selection of general officers, he considered it a matter of the greatest importance to form, before-hand, the best possible plans of operations, and to determine how certain things were to be done, according to circumstances. For this purpose, he would earnestly recommend the appointment of a military committee, whose business it should be to consider and determine on plans of operations, and to receive such plans as might be presented to them. This committee should be composed of the most experienced and skilful officers; and military men should be invited to give their advice and opinion, with regard to military operations. It was owing, in a great measure, to committees of this kind, that France had gained such astonishing successes during the late war. The committee laid down the plan for the general, and said to him—"There is what you are to do, and it must "be done." This took away all responsibility from the general, with regard to the manner in which he was to exercise his discretion, and obliged him to make the most uncommon efforts, in order to accomplish what he was ordered to do. These committees were not composed of military men; but they had a clear and accurate knowledge of the state of the country, and of what military men ought to do. Their Lordships must recollect, that the operations in La Vendée were directed by Carnot, and that they were planned by Hoche, who was at that time a serjeant of grenadiers. It was unnecessary for him to observe what the success of these operations was: but the example was sufficient to enforce his argument. He would ask, what the consequence might have been, if General Hoche had landed with his 25,000 men in Ireland? He believed the consequence would have been, in all probability, the total loss of that country to Great Britain.——About this part of the noble earl's speech,

The *Lord Chancellor* rose, he said, to speak to a question of order. He hoped the noble earl would excuse him for the interruption, as he could assure him, that what he was about to submit to the House, was no way connected with any part of the noble earl's speech. The circumstance to which he meant to call their lordships' attention was one which, for the first time, was communicated to him on that day; it was, that persons were then below at the bar of that House, taking notes of their lordships' proceedings. He wished to make it known, that if a practice so directly contrary to the standing orders of the House was pursued, he would move to have the House cleared of all strangers, and then he would call their lordships to decide, whether that practice was to be permitted or not. His lordship, at the same time, looking and pointing towards the bar, observed, that the persons to whom he alluded were not unknown to him,

[There was one reporter at this time, and only one, taking notes of the Earl of Suffolk's speech; and when the Usher of the Black Rod desired him to withdraw from

the House, he refused to do so, and persisted in taking notes. The Usher of the Black Rod then communicated this circumstance to the Chancellor; and that, probably, gave rise to the observations made by his lordship.]

The *Earl of Suffolk* resumed his speech: he said, there was another material point which his Majesty's ministers ought to attend to, and that was, to encrease the cavalry; it was a force which would be of the utmost importance in case the enemy made a landing. It could act in every field into which the enemy might enter; and such was the nature of this country, that such entrance would be attended with difficulty, as almost every field was surrounded by a kind of fortification. It was also extremely necessary that the soldiers should be continually firing at marks. From a false species of economy, the soldiers, during the last war, were never supplied with a sufficiency of gunpowder. As a military man, he would say, that soldiers ought to be allowed a profusion of it, in order that they might be continually firing. His lordship then entered into several military details, with regard to the discipline of soldiers: and then lamented that the spirit of the country did not appear to be sufficiently alive to a sense of its dangers, or sufficiently roused to repel them; and for that reason it was incumbent on every member of that House, and on every gentleman of landed property, to go to his county, and, by his example and admonition, to raise up the spirit of his tenants and neighbours, and point out to them the necessity of coming forward in defence of the nation at large. Let the people know what they must expect from a successful invasion on the part of France; let the miseries of Holland, Swisserland, and other countries on the continent, which France had conquered and pillaged, be pointed out; and, at the same time, let the people of England be assured, there was no country on earth against which France entertained so great an animosity as this; and that no country would suffer more in case of an invasion. His lordship concluded with observing, that he could not let the present bill pass without making those observations, and throwing out those hints to ministers.

The *Earl of Darnley* rose, not, he assured the learned Lord on the woolsack, to revenge himself upon him, for having interrupted him the preceding evening. He by no means intended to detain their lordships long, but there were some sentiments impressed upon his mind so strongly, that he could not but anxiously wish to take that opportunity of stating them to their lordships, and would promise to do so as shortly as he was able. Possibly the noble and learned lord had interrupted him on a principle of modesty, under an apprehension that he was about to pass a panegyric on his Majesty's present ministers, but such had not been his intention. He had no particular predilection for his Majesty's ministers, nor any desire to over-rate their abilities. He thought abler men might have been found; but from many votes of that, and the other House of Parliament, on different parts of their conduct, it was evident that they had the confidence of Parliament, and it was clear, that they also had the confidence of their Sovereign; he had no right, therefore, to conclude, that they had not, likewise, the confidence of the country; and he felt, under these particular circumstances of the moment, it was his duty, as it was that of every man who could do it with a safe conscience, to afford them every support and assistance in his power. With regard to the present bill, he thought it a wise and efficient measure, and he approved of it the more, because, in his conscience, he believed it to be the only practicable mode of suddenly raising a numerous body of forces for the internal defence of the kingdom. He trusted it would be found to be a most useful bill, and the effect extremely beneficial to the public service. His lordship said, he could not but regret, that, day after day, they heard from military characters of great authority, that the country could only be saved by regular forces, at the very time, and in the very breath, that these high military authorities individually confessed, that recruits for regiments of the line were not to be had. It was become a practice to bow implicitly to such doctrines, and to consider such subjects as fit to be debated by ministers and military men only. Upon this principle he supposed, *quod medicorum est, promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri.* He certainly was neither *medicus* nor *faber;* neither a minister, nor a military man, but still he thought himself as much entitled to discuss the object of the present bill, and all that related to the defence of the country, as any other description of men, whether political or military; and he could not think that the sort of arguments we had frequently heard, of the nature to which he alluded, were more likely to excite despondency, than to rouse the general spirit of the people. What was

it but telling them that the country must be lost, because we had not so large a disposable force as might be wished for? Nay, in the manner of stating their arguments, these great military characters acted very incautiously, because what fell from such high authority could not but make a deep impression without doors, and must tend to create dismay and distrust in the people as to their security and safety. A noble lord had, the other night, in that House, publicly avowed, that there was, to his knowledge, one brigade, consisting of four battalions, in a state of the most shameful incompleteness. He thought such a declaration mischievous to the last degree; he did not mean to charge the noble lord with having made it with any mischievous design; he knew that he made it with the best possible motive, and with a view to rouse the energies of the people, and prompt them to exertion; but he must contend that it was more likely to damp their spirit and depress their ardour, by diminishing their confidence in the government of the country. He had hoped that his Majesty's ministers would have instantly risen and contradicted the fact; and if it should have happened that a single brigade was in such a miserable situation, that ministers would have assured the House that the battalions of that brigade would shortly be completed. Indeed, they might, with great truth, have stated, that the other regiments of the line were complete, and they had it in their power to have stated several; for instance, the guards, the cavalry, and various other corps.——He admitted, that if the regiments of the line could be completed, it would be most desirable. But so far was he from thinking, that only the regulars could save the country, that he felt confident that the country would be saved, even if the present bill did not pass, though he thought it perfectly wise in ministers to have brought it forward, and he would be the last man living to protract its passing, by any unnecessary argument. He must, however, be permitted to say, that he had not the smallest apprehensions of the want of energy, in the government, or of spirit in the people. Put a sword into an Englishman's hand, and he would feel like an Englishman, and fight in an undaunted manner, when he feels that he is fighting to repel a daring and insolent invader. The whole country would, he had no doubt, rise against such an enemy as was likely to be opposed to us; let no man, therefore, despair, or droop for a moment. Let him but exert himself in the common cause, in proportion as the exigency of circumstances might require, and we might be assured of defending, not only every part of the country, but of punishing, in the most exemplary manner, the despot who dared attempt to land an army on our shores. His Lordship said, that feeling as he did, he could not but reprobate, in the strongest terms, a speech delivered in another place, by a military character; and which parliamentary forms forbad him, in more than a general way, to allude to. In that speech it had been thrown out, that we were vulnerable in various points, and that the enemy might, in the many attempts he might be expected to make, possibly succeed in one or other. He could not give credit to the possibility of the enemy's landing any where; a country united and prepared as we were, need not expect an attempt to invade us; nor could our coasts be approached in any part without the utmost danger, and almost certainty of failure of success to the enemy. So far was he from coinciding in the childish apprehensions, which the speech, to which he alluded, expressed, that he would, for the sake of argument, admit for a moment, that the enemy did effect a landing; nay, more, that he made his way, in spite of all our forces and all our endeavours; that he reached this rich and luxurious metropolis, laid it in ashes, put a momentary end to trade and commerce, made bankrupts of all the worthy Jews and brokers in 'Change, and annihilated the three per cents, still he would not abandon himself to despair, and think the cause a lost cause. He should, even then, feel hope, from a consciousness that there remained much worth fighting for, and that the spirit of the people would still exert itself, and, with renewed energy and undaunted valour, pursue the foe, till they drove him out of their country. I promised you, my lords, at my opening, said his lordship, that I would not detain you long, and I will keep my word. I will only add, let us hear no more, then, of these arguments of our weakness, these proclamations of alarm and terror. Let no man assume a dastardly feeling, but face the danger, which, notwithstanding what I have said, I by no means despise or underrate. It is great and urgent, most undoubtedly, but meet it like men, and you have nothing to apprehend. Be true to yourselves, and you are invincible: shrink from the danger like trembling cowards, and you are ruined!

The question was then put, and the bill passed with amendments.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 5.

[MINUTES.]—The Lords' amendments to the bill for raising an additional number of men for the protection of England and Scotland were read and agreed to.—Capt. Harvey presented a petition from certain fishermen in some towns on the river Medway, praying leave to be heard by Counsel. Agreed to.—Bill for making provisions for the wives and families of the Militia serving in Ireland read a first time.—Bill for amending the act to secure the collection of the revenue arising from malt in Ireland, and for the prevention of frauds among distillers read a first time.——Report of the amendments to the bill for granting to his Majesty certain duties on malt exported to Ireland, brought up and agreed to.—The five millions Exchequer Bills bill was read a second time.

[EAST INDIA DOCK-BILL.]——On the motion for bringing up the report of the East India dock bill,

Sir William Pulteney objected to it; he disapproved of many of the provisions of the bill, which he said had been brought in in a clandestine manner, and contrary to the forms of the House.

Sir F. Baring defended the bill; he said it was not brought in to promote the interest of individuals, but with a view of producing great public advantage; it would benefit the public revenue; it would afford protection to trade, and would prevent plunder; and, as a proof of the merits of the bill, there was but one solitary petition against it, from a single individual.

Mr. *Calcraft* said, if this bill was calculated to benefit the public revenue, he would be the last man to oppose it. If these docks were intended for general benefit, why were they not in a situation in which all East India ships could derive benefit from them? It was impossible that many of the large East Indiamen could get into these docks without breaking bulk, and getting rid of a part of their cargo. He was sure that there were situations within the port of London, in which docks might have been made to accommodate all the East India shipping.

Sir T. Metcalf entered at length into the grounds upon which the bill had been brought forward, and contended, that if the East India Company, if all the persons concerned in this trade, if all the persons who were best acquainted with the subject, were satisfied with the benefits that would result from this bill, he hoped it would outweigh the opposition of the two hon. members who had opposed it, however reputable they might be.

The report was then brought up, after which Mr. Calcraft proposed an amendment, the object of which was, that Indiamen that were obliged to break bulk in Long Reach should not be obliged to pay the dock duties on the whole of their tonnage. This amendment was rejected without a division.

[INCOME TAX.]—The order of the day being moved for the House to go into a Committee, *pro forma*, on the income tax bill,

Mr. *Alderman Coombe* spoke against the Speaker's leaving the chair; his reasons for which were, that his constituents thought it a most unjust and oppressive tax; and had instructed him to oppose it in that House, and by those instructions he thought himself bound to act.

The *Lord Mayor* said, that in consequence of what had fallen from his hon. colleague, he begged the attention of the House to a few observations he had to make. He should always feel himself extremely happy in being able to coincide in opinion with his constituents on all public measures. He believed the income tax was generally reprobated by his constituents, and they had very recently declared their opinion on that head in the most public manner; but he could not avoid considering himself as acting in that House as a representative of the whole country, as well as the city of London, and as such, whilst he should look at all the proceedings of administration with a jealous eye, he thought the circumstances of the times such, that in the present instance the bill should go to a Committee, and that there every one should endeavour to modify it as much as in his power, in order to make its operation as light as possible, by provisions founded on impartiality and justice; placing the burthen where it was best able to be borne. Therefore, he should vote for the Speaker leaving the chair.

Colonel Bastard said, he did not mean to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, but he wished to know how far the bill was intended to affect landed property?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that he did not conceive, if the answer he should give to the hon. gent. who spoke last should be unfavourable to his

opinion, that he should therefore oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair. If he understood the question of the hon. gent. it was this, "Whether, under any circumstances, landed property can be charged more than five per cent." In all circumstances where the owner of land lets it out, only five per cent. is payable, that is, 1s. in the pound. Where the owner of land holds the same in his own hands, and is, in fact, his own tenant, then he is to pay 1s. 9d. that is 1s. as landlord and 9d. as tenant. He then adverted to what had been said by Mr. Alderman Coombe. It was not for him, he said, to comment on what had fallen from the worthy Alderman relative to following the instructions of his constituents, but he could not but see with pleasure the gesture of the right hon. gent. in the chair, expressive of his surprise at hearing such a doctrine. He fully coincided in opinion with the worthy Chief Magistrate of the city of London, that, when returned to that House, every individual member sat then as the representative of the whole country; and it was the particular and bounden duty of every one, while sitting there, to attend to and watch over the general interests of the whole community. The hon. Alderman (Coombe) had said, that this was neither more nor less than the old income tax revived. This he denied to be the case. In saying this, he did not mean to insinuate any thing against the old tax, for it was one he had always highly approved; and when he stood forward for its repeal, he had decidedly delivered his opinion in favour of the principle of the tax, and that it was what ought to be acted upon again, if future circumstances should arise to require it. The difference between that measure and this is, the present tax is to be applied to the same purposes, and hinges on the same principle as the other, but the mode of collecting it was better, because it was calculated to avoid any disclosure of the circumstances or property of the parties paying the tax. By the mode of charging land and money at interest, no disclosure whatever took place. In a commercial country it was unquestionably most desirable, that no disclosure of circumstances should be made, further than was absolutely necessary to secure the payment of the tax, and a plan would shortly be submitted to Parliament on this head, which he hoped would meet with general approbation. Another advantage was, that the execution was infinitely more easy and simple to the commissioners than it was before, as persons now will not be in a situation in which they will have to decide between their interest and their duty. Another circumstance, highly in favour of the present measure, was, the mode of levying the tax on money borrowed on mortage, bond, &c. In the present case, the debtor is to pay the whole of the tax, and deduct it out of the sum borrowed, when called on to pay the same by his creditor; so that nineteen shillings in the pound would, in all cases, be a legal tender, and it will be attended with the advantage of concealing the circumstances of the debtor's case. These, he said, were some of the leading features of the bill. He wished that the House, if it consented to go into a Committee, would permit him to offer some clauses which he meant to offer, and which he hoped would operate as modifications. He was afraid that, when they were brought forward, the measure would be found pregnant with difficulties, but it was the duty of the House uot to shrink from difficulties, however great and numerous they might be; but, on the contrary, to join cordially by their united efforts, to make it as palatable and perfect as possible. He was certain that it never was, or could be, the wish of the citizens of London, not to pay their fair and equal proportion of the public burthens; and however unpopular, at the moment, the idea of an income tax may be amongst them, if they are to be taxed in this way, in common with the rest of the kingdom, he hoped and expected the hon. alderman would give the committee the advantage of his assistance, and instead of standing on the principle of opposition to the bill, turn his mind to every point which might tend to make it as equal and unobjectionable as possible. After consenting to raise eight millions within the year, for the public service, it was necessary that the means of doing so should be as speedily as possible provided. The measure he now submitted to the House was such as he thought would draw fair and equal contributions, by taxing income and other species of property as nearly on a par as may be.

Colonel Bastard expressed himself perfectly satisfied with what had been said by the right hon. gentleman, and hoped every body would be made to pay alike.

Mr. *Gregor* said, that the mode of laying the tax seemed to him to be a tax on land of 1s. 9d.

The *Attorney General* said, it was a misapprehension of the hon. gentleman as to the mode of laying the tax; that it was not a tax of 1s. 9d. upon land, but a

tax of two incomes; 1s. in the pound on that of the landlord, and 9d. in the pound on that of the tenant.

Sir R. Buxton said, that as to the objection against 9d. in the pound, to be paid by the tenant, he saw no reason in it. He conceived the tenant to stand in the same relation as a commercial man, who lays out his money to make advantage of it, and as such he ought to be taxed. He was surprised commercial gent. should object to this tax, when the landed men do not, and at a moment when we were fighting for every thing that can be dear to us. If he were to look to it as a permanent tax, he might perhaps view it with a more jealous and scrutinizing eye; but as a temporary measure, and to continue only during the war, he thought it a very proper one.

Lord A. Hamilton wished the proportion for Scotland had been settled according to the terms of the act of union.

Sir F. Baring said, that the objection of commercial gentlemen to the tax was, that it was not in their power to form a just idea of their income.

Dr. Lawrence expressed his approbation of the principle of the tax. It had been twice endeavoured to raise a considerable portion of the supplies within the year; once by a direct tax on property, for which the assessed taxes afforded a visible criterion; next by a tax on income. When the measure was brought forward in the second shape, nothing could be objected to it but the difficulty of carrying it into execution. If the present tax should be rendered more palatable than that which had been repealed, he should regard the passing it into a law as one of the greatest possible blessings to the country.

Mr. *Kinnaird* said, that he did not rightly understand the reason why this bill had been stated not to impose a land tax; for, in his opinion, it could be styled nothing else than a tax on all manner of property and professions. He thought that, in such matters, members ought not to be so circumscribed by the opinions of their constituents. He said, that he conceived it to be impossible to imagine that the present tax, as a tax on income, could be less oppressive in its operation than the former one.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, that, for his part, he felt just as little inclination to oppose any measures adopted by government for the public good, as any man whatever; and he was convinced that some tax or other was absolutely necessary to raise a large sum within the year. It did not become any member to clog the operations of government by starting any trivial objections at such an important æra; but, at the same time, it would not be proper to overlook any possible arguments against the proposed measures. He opposed the present tax from principles, which, in the abstract, were extremely narrow. If every man in the state was to be taxed, in order to contribute equally to the present exigencies, the present method was not the proper one to be adopted; for, it was not consistent with the usage of the House, except in one instance. For though the title of the bill expressed that it was a tax on property, it was, in fact, a tax of five per cent. on income; a tax which would undoubtedly bear heavily on all ranks of society. There were two species of property embraced by this bill: the one was the produce of labour and active industry; and the other, that kind of property, which was enjoyed by the rich without labour. It generally happened in such a tax, that the species of property acquired by industry was liable to be taxed with the greatest uncertainty. In his apprehension, a person who contributes by his personal industry toward the welfare of the state, ought not to be burthened equally with a person who does nothing. The disproportion was really enormous, and it was impossible for any man cordially to say, that he thought such a tax equal. It was also highly objectionable with respect to the disclosure of the incomes of professional men: for whatsoever might be the convenience arising from that disclosure in other cases, it must certainly fall peculiarly hard on that class of individuals; and he thought that even on that account it ought not to pass. He should not, however, have ventured to make such a declaration, did he imagine it would be the means of impeding the revenue. The raising of money, however, was not the only object properly in view; we ought to adopt those modes which most aptly tended to keep the people in good humour, and exact those taxes which would make the nearest approach towards equality and impartiality; for though such might not be the most convenient to the state, he was certain they would be the most agreeable and convenient to the people. He spoke not merely his own sentiments on this occasion, for he had consulted various authors upon the subject. He had found that scarcely one writer gave sentiments favourable to a tax

on property. Hume was of opinion, that though such taxes are liable to less expense or trouble in the collection, yet they are the most unequal. Mr. Adam Smith says, that in every state it has been a maxim of every wise government to avoid the disclosure of the property of individuals; and that author has repeated this opinion over and over, in various parts of his work; making only one exception of a small aristocratical state in Switzerland, where such a mode was followed without any detrimental consequences, owing to its having no trade. It was far otherwise in commercial states, and that same author seemed to hint, that in his opinion, times of necessity may occur, when the free states of Holland or England may be compelled to such a proceeding as that adopted by the states in Switzerland, to which he had alluded. A Spanish author who wrote about 100 years ago, in speaking of the affairs of Spain at that time, says, that in regard to the contribution then thought necessary to be exacted from merchants and traders, great tenderness was shewn in such delicate matters, lest injury might arise from exposure of their real circumstances. He should be glad to know, therefore, whether a British House of Commons at this day, would be less disposed to favour commerce than the Spanish grandees were a century ago. Instead of allowing any man's income to be taxed by petty officers, the Spanish government desired the inhabitants to meet and assess themselves. Different, indeed, was the case now in question, and a material alteration was necessary in the bill as it now stood. He was convinced in his conscience, that the merchants of London would rather pay a tax to double the amount of that proposed, than submit to the disclosure proposed by this bill. These sentiments were fully warranted upon the authority of Adam Smith, frequently quoted in this House upon great commercial subjects, when it suited the convenience of particular members, who declined that authority when unfavourable to their purpose.

Lord Hawkesbury said, he had not intended to have troubled the House upon this subject; but as the hon. gent. was the only member who stated his reasons against the principles of the bill, he should say a few words as to the nature of those objections. The grounds of those objections appeared to be two, in which he agreed with him; namely, that no tax which could be imposed would be found perfectly equal: 2dly, that when that is the case, we should endeavour to make them as equal as possible. The hon. member, however, after having laid down those principles, appeared to have lost sight of them. He had by no means proved, that this tax was more unequal than any other he could devise. The hon. member approved of raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year; but this by no means went to affect the other principle of laying on small taxes. The plan to be adopted must be that which the circumstances of the country suggest; in some circumstances of the country, it might be quite the same thing, whether the people be called upon to pay one million in one year, or ten millions in the space of ten years. But whether this tax be more unequal than a tax upon consumption, he had to observe, that knowing it all along to be the object of Government in laying on taxes on consumption, that they might bear equally upon different classes of the community, he conceived that one of those methods was quite as impartial as the other. In such cases it had been found expedient to tax one or two articles, while others were left unaffected. This might be subject to many complaints of partiality from individuals. In the present, however, the tax was not laid on one or two articles, which would bear as equally as possible on all classes of the community. He would, however, admit, that the class of articles might be fully as unequal in its effects, yet he would call on that hon. gent. to prove that it is more unequal than any other which could be devised in the present situation of the country. The objections made against the bill, therefore, appeared to him not founded as against either its principles or application, but because it did not go nearer to that which might be stiled perfection. The hon. member had alluded to its pressure upon the laborious and industrious classes; this, however, was a principle never acknowledged by the legislature of this country. It was one inconsistent with the old train of taxation on society; it was not acknowledged in the land tax, nor in any parish or poor rate; these have been all along laid on the land; but comparing all the rates of taxation, as they respectively bore on the different classes of society, and admitting the full statement of each, he could not think, that under all circumstances, they bore more severely on one class than on another. He fully admitted, that equality in the burthens of taxation was the duty of Government, and the present mode he was con-

vinced was in perfect conformity to the principle.

Mr. *Hilliard* was perfectly in favour of the present bill, and was convinced that a principal part of the odium of the former tax arose from the manner in which many of the principal clauses were framed.

Mr. *Erskine* was of opinion that our particular situation must suggest the measures of our conduct; and, though far from wishing to see an income tax re-established, as an ordinary mode of taxation, unless in times of very great difficulty indeed, yet he was ready to say, he thought this was not the time for debating such matters. The country was in a great and awful crisis; but he did not say this with a view to dismay the national feeling. The enemy had but two modes by which to accomplish their most sanguine expectation for the invasion of this country: the one by pouring in their population. If they do so, he was convinced they would have their schemes thwarted; if they be allowed to invade us at all, it must be owing to our not evincing sufficient spirit. Even ten thousand people firmly resolving to defend their country, would give a feature of national spirit sufficient to convince the enemy of the rashness of his views, and the invulnerability of this country. He apprehended that another hope of the enemy was to exhaust our finances, by allowing us to go on with the funding system to carry on the war, which the enemy imagined would terminate in exciting discontents amongst the people of this country, and consequently excite disunion. He therefore thought that the rich should make up their minds to suffer great privations at this moment; as the more we disappoint the hopes of those who wish to disunite the people of this country, the stronger will be our means of defence. He by no means assented to the principle of this bill as a permanent mode of taxation, but merely as a means of providing against present danger; and he trusted the country would cheerfully acquiesce, and bury all differences of opinion on the subject. His own income, he said, was not worth two years purchase; it was earned, he would say, by the most arduous exertions of mind and person; but these considerations weighed nothing in his mind against the fairness of the impost; and his wish was, to shew the enemy that we disdained private considerations, and paltry disputes, whether one man should pay two or three guineas more than another when his country was at stake. This was, in his mind, the arduous moment for the rich to come forward, and shew an example; and the more unanimous the country appeared, the better for the security of the nation. No man was more sincerely disposed than he was to peace; and his principle was, to be cautious of entering into a quarrel: but that being inevitable, let our enemy be convinced that we were prepared to prosecute it with ability, energy, and effect.

Mr. *Weston* was decidedly against the principle of the income tax, as peculiarly oppressive upon the commercial interest, and contrary to the usual and constitutional principles of taxation in this country. He concluded by moving, "That the Speaker do leave the chair."

Sir Thomas Metcalf said, that it had been almost universally acknowledged, that the income tax *prima facie*, was the best in principle that ever had been devised; and the reason why it was not productive to the full extent originally proposed, was the dishonesty of many of the parties upon whom it was imposed, and not from any miscalculation of its just extent. As a war tax, he highly approved of it; and thought that its revival would be a security to the country. Whether a tax upon funded, landed, or professional income, he thought it a sequel of the late income tax, and therefore approved it; and with respect to disclosures, if instead of looking to the income of the present year, that of the last year was resorted to, he was inclined to believe it would be ten times more productive than formerly.

The Speaker then left the chair, and the House resolved itself into a Committee on the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the object of this Committee was to conjoin the provisions of the income and property tax bills in one bill; then to have the bill so conjoined reprinted and distributed amongst the members. For this purpose he hoped the bill would be printed by Friday, so as to allow time enough to prepare members for its full discussion on Monday; but if not printed by that day, as he expected, then to be taken into consideration on Tuesday. However, on this point he should be prepared to inform the House next day; and if he should not then feel it necessary to make any motion, it would be understood that the discussion was to take place on Monday.

The House was then resumed, and the report ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.

[MILITIA PAY BILL.]—The order of the day being read for taking into consideration the militia pay bill, in Great-Britain, for the year 1803.

The *Secretary at War* proposed an amendment, to increase the pay of adjutants from 6s. to 8s.

Mr. *Bastard* said, that the pay of adjutants under the present bill, was on a worse footing than during the last war, when they were allowed 3s. 6d. military days, besides their regular pay of 6s. and proposed raising their pay to 7s.

The *Secretary at War* said, the pay of adjutants in the militia was the same as in the infantry of the line. He had no particular objection to the hon. gentleman's amendment, but it could not be discussed in the present stage of the business. The report to be received next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 6.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given by commission to the English and Scotch army of reserve bills, and to one private bill. —The Scotch militia families' bill was read a third time and passed.

[CLERGY BILL.]——Upon the motion for the third reading of the clergy bill,

Lord *Suffolk*, according to the intentions which he had intimated before, stated his sentiments respecting the bill in question. He did not intend to oppose the bill, nor to enter into it now so fully as if he had been allowed to discuss its merits when it was committed. Some bill to this purpose must pass, as the period of suspending actions brought against the clergy for non-residence had now very nearly elapsed. He had before intimated his objections to the bill, which were, that it did not go to what in his opinion was the most essential of all the points that could be comprehended in it, viz. the making some adequate provision for the inferior clergy. He had before stated his opinion that no clergyman ought to have less than 100l. per annum. This the present situation of the country could well afford: and surely it was not too large a provision for a person who had received a liberal education, and whose profession required that he should keep up the appearance of a gentleman. He had before stated, and not upon slight authority, that out of the 10,000 livings in England, 4 or 5000 did not yield upwards of 70l. a year. This was an evil which certainly required a remedy, as it was of the last consequence to religion and morality, that the clergymen of the country should be enabled to maintain their respectability in the eyes of their parishioners. Some time ago, in alluding to this subject, he had mentioned an instance of the degraded situation to which a clergyman, in a certain part of the kingdom, which he had accidentally visited, had been reduced by the smallness of his income. He again alluded to it, both as illustrative of his argument, and that he might have an opportunity of correcting a mistake which had been committed by the public papers in their account of what he had said when treating this subject on the occasion alluded to. The public prints had stated him to have said at that time that the clergyman, to whose situation he had called the attention of the House, possessed 40l. a year. With the sum of 40l. a year, a clergyman in that part of the country, and at the time to which he alluded, which was 35 years ago, might have made a very respectable appearance, and maintained his family with some comfort. But the clergyman in question, who maintained himself by keeping a public house, and fiddling to his parishioners, had only 14l. a year. He before mentioned a plan by which the livings of the inferior clergy might be rendered more comfortable. The first fruits and tenths had done a great deal; but in the manner in which they were at present collected, they fell far short of what they ought to perform. Instead of a nominal first fruit and tenth, he would advise the collecting of a real first fruit and tenth. This was surely not too much for dignitaries, and those clergymen who had rich livings, to do for the inferior clergy. The first fruits and tenths, as at present collected, did not amount to more than 15 or 16,000l. a year; but if really and properly collected, would, he was assured, by a very moderate calculation, amount to 60 or 70,000l. a year. Perhaps they might amount to more, but he wished to keep within bounds. From the payment of these first fruits and tenths he would exempt, not only the curates and clergymen with poor livings, but all those whose incomes did not amount to 200l. a year. Let the first fruits and tenths be fully levied from those whose incomes were above that sum, and if properly applied, they might afford a more adequate relief to the inferior clergy. This would, in his opinion, not only afford the requisite remedy at present, but might leave a very considerable surplus. This surplus might be applied to the purchase of glebes, for those who had not a sufficient one, to prevent the necessity of taking

an additional farm. And if a farther surplus remained, which was extremely probable, he would advise that it should be formed into a sort of sinking fund, and thus the livings of the clergy might be made to keep pace with the improvement of the landed property, and indeed would be a security for them, whatever might be the fate of agriculture. It was the neglect and poverty which the inferior clergy had endured in France, as he had formerly stated, that in a great measure had occasioned the revolution in that country. A committee of Bishops had been there appointed to examine into that grievance, but instead of turning their attention to the subject for which they had been appointed, they treated the case of the lower classes of the clergy, many of whom had not above 12l. a year, with neglect, and only resolved, that the livings of the poorer bishops ought in the first place to be augmented. He was sure that the right reverend bench opposite to him would not have acted thus; and he again assured them that he never had any intention to affirm, that such in a similar situation would have been their conduct. This assurance he had been obliged to give on a former occasion, as he had in that respect been misrepresented by one of the public papers. There was another reason why he wished to call their lordships' attention to this subject. He understood that a bill was about to be introduced into the other House, by which the statute of Mortmain was in some degree to be repealed. He strongly depreeated that measure. The statute of Mortmain, he was convinced, was the best that ever was made in this country. To abolish it would be attended with the most pernicious consequences. He therefore took this opportunity of expressing his strongest opposition to the bill in question. If it was such as he apprehended, it was the most objectionable measure which could well be brought forward.

Here the *Bishop of St. Asaph* called the noble lord to order, saying that was an improper time to debate a bill, upon which the House would very gladly hear the noble lord's sentiments when it came before their lordships.

Lord Suffolk proceeded, and confessed that he might be somewhat out of order; but it was now late in the session. He wished to go down to the country to perform what he thought a most important duty, viz. to excite his tenants and neighbours to an exertion of that spirit, without which the attacks of our enemies could hardly be resisted, and the country would be in the greatest danger. He, consequently, would not, probably, be in town when the bill in question reached that House; and it was upon that account he wished to state his sentiments on the subject. He would now, however, proceed to another point in the bill before them. He certainly was averse to a clergyman degrading himself to the rank of a mere farmer. He did not wish to enter upon that point, particularly as, he confessed, he was not fully master of the subject. His lordship then adverted at considerable length to the subject of tythes, and strongly reprobated the practice of paying tythes in kind. It was certainly not a thing required by the Christian religion. It was a Mosaic institution, and not, he apprehended, a Testament one. This might in the end turn out of the most pernicious consequence. What would the effect be of having so much property totally in the power of the Crown? What had been the effects of it in Roman Catholic times? These effects he might be told were not now likely to be produced. He did not know, however, and it was difficult to say, what might happen. It was, besides, of a most pernicious tendency to agriculture. His lordship then informed the House of a fact, which he had from his own steward. He himself being a considerable lay proprietor, had sent his steward to let those lands which paid tythes in kind, and asked him what he had received for them? "A guinea an acre" was the answer. "A guinea an acre?" "Yes! the lands are good and the crops abundant!" He asked no more questions, as this completely satisfied him. A friend of his in Herefordshire, who was possessed of considerable property there, upon inquiry, told him, that he let 300l. a year's worth of such lands at 1l. per acre, and even of this, after the payment of his tythes, very little remained with him. This country ought to consider that France was now become an agricultural country; and under that military despotism, the farmers had enjoyed a considerable degree of protection. Some friends of his who had seen that country lately, had assured him, from observation, that the state of agriculture there was very respectable. This country had been stated, and perhaps truly, the most improved in its agriculture of any state in Europe. Unless encouragement was given to this most important branch of economy, France might in that respect acquire the superiority; and then not all our commerce could save us. Commerce ought to have agriculture for its basis. Whenever the contest was between an agricultural and commercial country, the commercial would most certain-

ly be beaten. His lordship then adverted to the state of Ireland in this respect. He recommended that instant measures ought to be taken to redress the grievances in that quarter. This was of the utmost importance in a period like the present. The country would otherwise be in the utmost danger. He concluded by requesting that their lordships would take these points into their consideration; and repeated, that unless a proper attention were paid to them, the country would be in the utmost danger.

The *Lord Chancellor* rose, and briefly adverted to what had fallen from the last speaker with respect to tythes. The other part was totally out of order. He did not wish to enter into the subject at any length. His lordship (Suffolk) was a lay-proprietor. He would inform him, that upon the principles which he had stated, if put in practice, he could not long call his estate his own.

Lord Suffolk explained.

Lord Limerick said, that he did not mean to enter upon the discussion started by the noble lord. But as Ireland had been mentioned, he would put it to the noble lord's good sense, whether it was proper at a time like the present, to send abroad with the sanction of his authority, which justly stood high, sentiments putting the Irish in mind, that they had grievances to complain of, when it was too late in the session, just now to have these grievances redressed. His lordship might do a good deal of injury by stirring up commotions among a people, certainly of rather a turbulent disposition.

The *Bishop of St. Asaph* only rose to say, that the payment of tythes in kind could not be injurious to agriculture, as it would be the same thing, as far as respected the cultivation of land, whether the proprietor was a layman or a clergyman. This was proved by the flourishing state of those lands that paid tythes in kind. One half of these tythes was, besides, in all cases, in the hands of a lay proprietor, and two-thirds of the other half, when lands were let out on lease, belonged to the lessee.

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 6.

[MINUTES.]—The Marchioness of Downshire's Trust Estate Bill was read a second time and referred to a private Committee.—Foote's Divorce Bill was passed, and ordered to the Lords.—The Bill for carrying into effect the purposes of Queen Anne's bounty act, was read a second time, and committed for next day.——The Attorney General moved, for leave to bring in a bill for the protection of black game in the New Forest, in the county of Southampton, by postponing the commencement of shooting from the 1st of August to the 1st of September, and other regulations.—Leave given.——Mr. Tierney presented a petition from the debtors confined in the Fleet Prison, praying relief. Ordered to be laid upon the table.—The Attorney General brought up the New Forest game bill—read a first time; ordered to be read a second time the next day.——Mr. Alexander reported the resolutions agreed to in the Committee of Supply, empowering the Lord Lieutenant to increase the bounty for raising the additional military force in Ireland; and also the resolution, that it be an instruction to the Committee on the Irish army defence bill, to make provision for said resolutions in said bill.——Sir William Pulteney obtained leave to bring in a bill for erecting a beacon upon the Bell Rock, upon the North-East coast of Scotland.

[MALT DUTIES.]—*Col. Hutchinson* said, he had lately made some objections to the malt duties, with respect to their operation upon the Irish manufacture. The answer he had received was, that though the advantage was now in favour of the English distiller, the Irish distiller would have a corresponding advantage at the end of the war. There were two gentlemen in town who represent the Irish distilleries, and they were of opinion that the answer was not satisfactory, as the advantage was contingent, whereas the loss was present and certain. It was therefore his intention to move for a return of the stock here on hand, with a view to make it the foundation of some measure for the compensation of the Irish distiller at a future day. In taking this course, his conduct was directed by his judgment. He neither canvassed the approbation, nor deprecated the censure of any man. The hon. member concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the House an account of the quantity of the stock in hand of home-made spirits of English gross distillers upon the 14th of June."

Mr. *Vansittart* said, the motion, if carried, would not answer the object, as there was a large quantity in the hands of dealers as well as of distillers.

Sir *Lawrence Parsons* was convinced that the present mode did not interfere with the articles of union. The Irish distiller was

only placed in the situation of an English distiller, who happens to have no stock on hand. The only mode of carrying the act into effect would be letting the countervailing duty take effect upon the same day as the internal duty. He did not think there was any foundation for the opinion entertained by the hon. Colonel.

Col. *Hutchinson* then withdrew his motion, and proposed another to the same effect, only substituting 5th July for 5th June.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, the same objections applied to this as to the former motion.

Col. *Hutchinson* withdrew it, and moved, —"That an account be laid before the House of the probable amount of home-made spirits permitted for home distillers, from the 14th June to the 5th July." Agreed to.

[MILITIA SURGEONS.]—On the report of the resolutions relating to the pay and cloathing of the militia being brought up,

Sir *W. Elford* said, he had been in hopes, that some provision would have been made for the surgeons of the militia. It was certainly right that the regiments of militia, considering the sort of service they were most likely to undergo, should have the same assistance from regular bred professional persons as the regulars; but, at present, the encouragement in the former department was such, as to offer no temptation, except to raw and inexperienced young men, who might be under some difficulty to find any other mode of employment. By the regulations now in being, militia surgeons, in time of peace, must have been thirty years in the service, before they could be entitled to the small provision of 3s. per day, which the House must be sensible was extremely inadequate to the expectations, and just pretensions, of experienced professional men; and from some calculations he had seen, it would appear, that should the present war continue for even five years longer, there were but a very few surgeons of militia, who could be entitled to the scanty provisions made by the act of parliament. He was not, he said, provided with any motion on this subject, but threw out these few observations for the consideration of his Majesty's ministers.——No answer was made, and the resolutions having been agreed to, the bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day.

[ARMY OF RESERVE.]—The order of the day being read for the second reading of the Irish additional force bill.

General *Gascoyne* rose, he said, with very great reluctance, to trespass once more upon the indulgence of the House, by a few observations upon a subject which had already been so fully discussed on a former night, namely, the situation in which these countries stand, with respect to the danger of the threatened invasion, and the means of our defence. On this subject a very considerable impression had been made upon the minds of many gent. in that House, and had very serious effects without doors upon the funds, and the monied and commercial interests of the country; nor was it matter of surprise, as arguments of such desponding tendency had fallen from such high authority, as that of a right hon. gent. near him (Mr. Windham), and that of an hon. colonel near him, of high military experience, and well known to the powers of Europe, and also from several other gent. of high military experience. His purpose for rising that day, was to do away those impressions, for which he really felt no serious grounds, notwithstanding all the menaces of the enemy, and his display of preparations to invade this country. It must be in the recollection of every gent. who heard him, that in 1798, the menaces of French invasion were to the full as loud, and talked of with as much alarm as at the present moment; that a French army was assembled upon the opposite coasts, avowedly for the purpose, and assuming to itself the pompous and daring appellation of "The Army of England;" but it must be also recollected, that in the course of a few months, this army was withdrawn, and the next thing heard of it was from the shores of Africa, on its way to Egypt, where it was finally destroyed, or taken by the real Army of England, whose name it had audaciously usurped. Was it not therefore to the full as likely, that the army now assembled upon the opposite coasts, though avowedly designed for the invasion of this country, was really intended for some other design; probably for the recapture of Egypt, which Buonaparté had avowed to be his favourite object, and one of which he never would lose sight; or, possibly, for an attack against our possessions in the East or West Indies? If, therefore, we continue to retain the whole of our force, to stand upon a mere defensive system at home, without any attempt to attack the enemy in his vulnerable points, or preparing to meet his designs in other quarters, our finances would be exhausted, in endeavouring to support so tardy and inactive a system. An hon. gent. formerly a member of that House, but now no more, had often expressed his surprise at the novelties produced by the French revolution in the course of the war; but what would he have said at this

day, had he lived to have seen such an extraordinary novelty as this country, possessed as she was of such a formidable navy, flushed with victories, and so ably manned and appointed for our defence; with a disciplined army of 20,000 troops of the line within our country, besides 70,000 militia, well armed and disciplined, and so numerous a body of volunteers, also well disciplined, exclusive of the 50,000 men to be raised under those bills, alarmed at the menaces of an invasion from an enemy who has no navy she dare send to sea without a mortal certainty of finding their way into British ports, instead of ever returning to France? For his own part, he thought the apprehension of invasion from such an enemy almost ridiculous; and that instead of standing upon the defensive, we ought to fill up the regiments of the line with the men to be raised, to the number of 1200 or 1300 men to a regiment, as at once the best mode of accelerating their discipline, and of being prepared to strike an effectual blow, whenever and wherever opportunity should offer. Much had been said of the disadvantages attendant on imperfect discipline; he was ready to admit the importance of good discipline, but he by no means thought it so difficult to be acquired, to fit troops for action. He remembered in the last war three regiments brigaded for continental service, who, the very day after they were joined by a body of 450 recruits in their coloured clothes, marched to attack Pichegru; and those brave fellows fought with as much steadiness and gallantry as any men in their corps. Considering the powerful manner in which our navy was manned; considering that the garrisons of Gibraltar and Malta had a considerable number of troops more than they required, he was confident that a body of 50,000 men could, with great propriety, be spared for offensive operations, and they ought to be kept ready embarked, to seize on the first opportunity for a masterly blow, instead of confining the country to a ruinous and inactive system of defensive war, which would absorb our resources to no manner of effect. With respect to the menace of French invasion, there was nothing new in the project towards this country, though there was certainly something extremely new in the mode now proposed for carrying it on. Under the Kings of the House of Bourbon, it had been frequently threatened: it had been menaced in all their wars with England. But even in the zenith of their power, and when they possessed powerful fleets, they never durst venture; much less did they succeed in carrying their menaces into effect. Even in the reign of Louis XIV. when they might have looked for the aid of a strong party in this country (the adherents of the abdicated House of the Stuarts), a force was prepared on the coast of France, more than once, for the purpose of invading this country, and at one time they would have carried this purpose into effect, had it not been for the signal victory obtained by the gallant Admiral Russel. But if in the proudest days of the French navy such a project was impracticable, where was the probability that it could succeed when France has no navy that we should not take or destroy, so soon as they dare venture to sea? Nothing could excuse the unfounded apprehensions that had operated to alarm and dismay any portion of the community; but having familiarized themselves with imaginary terrors, they had not the fortitude to discard them on reflection. But to suppose that a project impracticable when France had a powerful navy, would now be attempted with success, in open boats, was too ridiculous a ground of alarm. What would our ancestors say of such apprehensions? or would they have supposed their posterity would in the proudest era of their naval strength, have indulged such silly fears? He desired to ask any military man, if a broad river, instead of a sea, divided the countries, and that the enemy were to attempt crossing it in the face of an army possessed of every strong hold upon the whole opposite line, while he was obliged to leave behind him all his cavalry and artillery, what would be his chance of success? and such must be the situation of the French army attempting an expedition in open boats. Was it probable that the ambition of Buonaparté would prompt him to such an attempt upon this country, where he would meet an enemy in every tree—for wherever there was a tree, he would be sure to find an Englishman behind it (a laugh.)—But supposing them to have boats enough for such an expedition, how could they assemble on their coasts in a collective fleet, while our frigates were constantly looking even into the recesses of their harbours, and prepared to destroy their force wherever it was collecting? And even if this were not the case, their voyage, to reach our shores, must have the concurrence of singularly favourable circumstances. They must have an unruffled sea, a fair wind, a dark night succeeded by a fog next day, and our frigates must have abandoned their stations and returned into harbour, to suffer such an expedition to approach our shores unmolested. It was, however, ridiculous to suppose any open boat would venture on such an attempt, while our frigates were able to keep the sea; so

that, mad as the present ruler of France may be, and desperate and insatiable as his ambition evidently is, he cannot be supposed mad enough to proceed upon a project, where himself has acknowledged the risk of destruction to be as one hundred to one against him; and while we can look with such confidence to so powerful and gallant an army and navy, we may laugh at his menaces. It has been said, that we might be approached by three divisions. He did not profess to be a calculator, but if it was one hundred to one that one expedition could not succeed, it was three hundred to one that three could not succeed (a laugh). And he wished to ask any naval officer, if there was the slightest probability of such a concurrence of circumstances—now even that the equinoctial gales (a laugh) were approaching—for such an expedition to approach our shores, without meeting destruction? Beside, as he before remarked, without cavalry (which he never heard it was intended they should bring) and artillery, on which they so much relied, and which they must leave behind, their attempt must be unsuccessful, even if they were permitted to land: so that the attempt must be the very acme of folly, rashness, and frenzy. Much, however, as he ridiculed the menace, he by no means wished to throw the country off its guard, or to slacken its exertions for security. He wished that a most formidable force might be constantly kept up, and one ready embarked, prepared to strike a blow, which would encourage the enslaved and outraged powers of Europe to rouse from their humiliation and debasement, and throw off the French yoke; and he doubted not, that the oppressed and insulted people of Swisserland, Batavia, and Italy, the moment they should see any chance of success, would be up to a man, for the purpose of regaining their liberty and independence. If there ever was a period during the late war, at which there was real cause to apprehend the successful invasion of these islands, it was at the period of the rebellion in Ireland, which would never have occurred, but for French promises of ample succours to the disaffected. But the deluded people of that country had experience enough of Gallic faith, and its consequences, to trust them again. Nor could he think it possible, after all that was so notorious of the enslavement of the countries of Europe where the perfidious French found footing, that the deluded people of Ireland could be at this day so besotted, as to be desirous of exchanging the invaluable blessings of a British constitution, to become the slaves of France, who, instead of friends at this day, would meet in Ireland a whole nation of the most decided enemies. He could not call to mind any instance furnished by history, of a formidable invasion, which was not marked under the pretext of redressing some wrong, or restoring some monarch or family, which might be said to have a title to the throne. There were no pretensions of that kind to be set up now, and the enemy would now find in all directions, only swarms of people ready and willing to meet them in the field. It had been said, that the object of the enemy, after landing, would be to push for the capital; but the example of history would shew, that it was always the policy of invaders to avoid the capital of a country. That was the policy of William the Conqueror, and the brave host under his command, though he set up some pretensions to the crown, which was recognized by many. After the battle of Hastings, instead of proceeding immediately to London, he took up his post and erected his citadel within nine miles of the coast of Essex, in a position which enabled him to awe the metropolis. But supposing it practicable for an enemy even to gain possession of the metropolis of England, he would not despair, as there would still remain a great deal more to fight for. He then apologized to the House for detaining it at such length, and declared his main object to be, that of doing away erroneous impressions, and to express his opinion, that the attempts at invasion would prove to be impracticable. Though some despondency had been excited by the declarations made within these walls on the subject, yet he was glad the spirit of the country was roused. He thanked his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Windham) for having roused that spirit; and he thanked his Majesty's ministers for the vigour they had manifested in disposing the resources, and arraying the strength of the country; and convinced he was, that beside the force of the country already in arms, the moment that real danger should approach our shores, or a foreign foe set foot upon this island, there was not a man within or without those walls, that would not fly to arms, scorning to avail himself of any plea of exemption from the defence of his country.

General *Loftus* said, upon the fullest consideration, he saw no cause for alarm; for though certainly the enemy had many able generals, and veteran troops used to service in open countries, yet should they be able to land a force in this inclosed country, the whole nature of military operations would be changed; as every lane, ditch, hedge, and wall would present a strong post for their annoyance and destruction. Suppose even

that an army of forty thousand men should land ——Here

Sir *Robert Buxton* rose, and moved the standing order of the House, for clearing the gallery of strangers, which was immediately done.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 7.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given, by commission, to Foote's divorce bill, and to the army of reserve bill.——Several bills were brought up from the Commons, among which were the Irish import and export bill, the Scotch militia families bill returned, and the Irish army of reserve bill.——The southern whale fishery bill, the Irish workmen combination bill, and the Irish promissory bank note bill, were read a third time and passed.——On the motion of the Duke of Norfolk, the consideration of the claims to the Peerages of Zouch and Ross were, after a short conversation between the noble Duke and the Earl of Rosslyn, postponed till next session of Parliament.——Lord Moira presented a petition from 15,000 people of Gloucestershire, against the woollen manufacturers bill.———Lord Harrowby (formerly Dudley Ryder) took the oaths and his seat.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 7.

The New Forest black game preservation bill was read a second time.——Mr. I. H. Browne obtained leave to bring in a bill for granting 20,000*l.* for building a navigable canal in the Highlands of Scotland.——Irish army of reserve bill agreed to, and ordered to be taken to the Lords.——An account of the profits and losses on the sales of the East India Company to the 1st of March, 1803, was moved for and agreed to.—Sir R. Buxton moved for an account of the returns of the number of prisoners confined in his Majesty's gaols of Great Britain and Wales. Agreed to.—— Irish Treasury bill's bill read a second time.——The Irish revenue regulation bill, the Irish militia pay bill, the Irish militia adjutant's bill, and the East India dock bill, were read a third time and passed.——Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the five millions Exchequer bills bill.——The bill for allowing the exportation of grain to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, was read a first time; as was also a bill for allowing Portugal wines to be landed and warehoused, duty free, for a time to be limited.——The friendly society relief bill was read a second time.

[WATERFORD ELECTION COMMITTEE.] —— Sir *Lawrence Dundas* made a report from the Waterford election Committee, stating, that there were a great number of voluminous documents, necessary to be minutely examined both by the counsel and members of the Committee, and at the express desire of both, the parties interested applied to the House for leave to adjourn till the 25th of August, which, after some further conversation, was agreed to.

The *Speaker* said, he considered it as a part of his duty to state to the House, that by the letter of the act of Parliament an election Committee was not empowered, without the special leave of the House, and for satisfactory reasons given, to adjourn for more than twenty-four hours. There were several instances however, in which the House acted more on the spirit than the letter of the bill, when there were good and special reasons assigned. The Committee on the Westminster election, for example, were allowed to adjourn for five or six days; that on the Worcester election for a fortnight; and the same indulgence was granted to the Committee on the East Grimsby election for four or five days. The House would of course recollect, that the present report assigned very good reasons, but the extent of the adjournment requested was unprecedented, and very probably the Parliament might not be sitting so late as the 25th of August.

Mr. *Lee* considered the motion to be of considerable consequence. The necessity of an adjournment he believed to be universally admitted; and the more so, as it was made at the request of the parties interested. The motion, however, was, in its present shape, liable to very strong objections. The difficulty which suggested itself to him was, that as by the act of Parliament, Committees could not adjourn for more than twenty-four hours, unless Sundays or Christmas-day intervened, those members of it could make no application to the House for the purpose of extending its adjournment, however necessary, as it would have no discretion unless sitting at the same time. He did not see how, if the House was ready to extend their adjournment to the 25th of August, they might not with greater propriety extend it still farther to the time when it could be ascertained that the House would be actually sitting.

Mr. *Bragge* suggested the propriety of ex-

tending the adjournment to Sept., if the 25th of August should not be deemed long enough; but perhaps it might be better, in this case, to pass a short bill, as had been done before, to dispense with the provisions of the act of Parliament, in this particular instance.

The *Speaker* said, that *toties quoties* the necessity of adjournments was made out, Parliament had a right to exercise its discretion in granting permission; but, that it never recognized the power of a Committee to adjourn by its own authority for more than 24 hours, or assembling on the first day after the meeting of the House.

Sir *L. Dundas* pressed the adoption of the adjournment, for which sufficient reasons were assigned in the report of the Committee.

Mr. *Lee* said, he did not deny the propriety of an adjournment, but declared his opinion of the Grenville act to be such, that he wished the letter of it to be construed more strictly than that of any other on the statute book.

Mr. *Bragge* declared, that all he had heard only confirmed him in the opinion, that the best remedy would be found in a special bill for this particular object.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 8.

[MINUTES.]——The bills on the table were forwarded a stage each. —— Mr. Alexander brought up from the Commons, and presented, the militia adjutants' and serjeant majors' bill, the militia pay and cloathing bill, the London port bill, and the five million Exchequer bills' bill, which were severally read a first time.——Irish army of reserve bill read a second time.

[LOTTERY BILL.]——On the question for committing the lottery bill,

The *Earl of Suffolk* rose and said, he considered that the bill was a bill for the defence of the country, and for enabling government to support the war, and therefore, what he had to offer, would be applicable to it. His lordship alluded to the address of the city of London, which was not what he thought might have been expected from the first corporation in the kingdom. It did not breathe that spirit or energy necessary to encourage a vigorous prosecution of the war, but was rather of a pacific tendency. He was under the correction of the House if he had stated, or should state, any thing erroneous, but could not think the proportion of men to be raised by the city of London for the Army of Reserve, by any means adequate to the number which might have been looked for by so opulent and so populous a city. By what he learnt from the public prints, no more than 800 men were intended, which was surely a very inadequate force. Eight hundred men were no more in the present crisis, than a drop of water in the ocean, considering the wealth and population of London, and considering the great interest it had at stake in the contest. The city of London would undoubtedly be a great object, it should take the lead, and give the tone to all the other places, instead of being behind most others. His lordship contrasted it with the conduct of the city of Paris, when the Austrians and Prussians entered France; on that occasion, even the women stood forward and assisted in forming the fortifications. What he thought the proportion of men that London ought to furnish, under the present circumstances, would be 2000 at least, half the officers to be appointed by the city, and half by the Crown, and the appointment of the commander of them should remain with his Majesty. He could not help censuring the apathy of the city, on so urgent an occasion; and what he had said were his real sentiments, and he wished the considerations should go forth to the city, who ought, as it appeared to him, to consider the great stake they had in the way, and consequently should have felt the necessity of holding out a more patriotic example to the rest of the kingdom.

The *Earl of Moira* said, his noble friend conceived a most erroneous idea of the sentiments and feeling of the city of London on the present occasion. He was confident, and would, from his own knowledge, assert, that the city entertained sentiments of genuine loyalty and devotion to the King, and felt the most ardent enthusiasm and zeal for the defence and honour of the country. He had, his lordship said, held several conversations with some of the leading men in the city, and was convinced that such were their sentiments, and the sentiments of the city at large. They would have come forward with an extensive and powerful assistance, where they not apprehensive of embarrassing the measures of government by so doing; but he was satisfied that the city, impressed as it was, and conscious of the great stake it had, would in proper time come forward with a force commensurate with its extensive means, and proportionate to its numerous population. His lordship repeated, that the fear

of embarrassing the present measures of government, alone prevented the city from doing more at present, and strenuously contended for its patriotism.

Lord Hobart agreed perfectly in what had fallen from the noble lord. His lordship said, he had no doubt but that the city would act in a patriotic and exemplary manner in the present crisis of the country. One point mentioned by the noble earl, he begged leave particularly to advert to. The number of 800 men was only the city's quota under one particular bill—the Army of Reserve bill, which had lately received the Royal assent. The Army of Reserve had no reference to another measure in contemplation. The city of London, he was convinced, would not be behind any part of the kingdom in its contributions of men and means, to strengthen the hands of government, but would come forward with the utmost zeal, when necessary.

The *Earl of Suffolk* said, he was happy to hear what had fallen from both noble lords; but the proportion of London ought to be large. Its population, he believed, to be about a ninth of the whole kingdom. The county he belonged to, his lordship said, only consisted of about 100,000 inhabitants, and yet contributed largely to the supplementary militia.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 8.

[MINUTES.]—The exchequer bills' bill was read a third time and passed.——The Guernsey corn bill was read a second time.——The wine bonding bill was read a second time.——A message from the Lords informed the House, their lordships had agreed to a bill to render justices of the peace more safe in the execution of their duty upon summary convictions, in cases wherein it should appear they had a reasonable ground for convicting. The bill was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday, and in the mean time printed.——The New Forest game preservation bill went through a Committee.——The report of the clergy relief bill was agreed to.——The lords amendments to the Irish parsonage house bill were agreed to.

[SEAMEN.]—Sir *W. Scott* said, that in consequence of the present hostilities between this country and France, he rose to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen. The bill was partly of the same nature as an antecedent one he had introduced, and therefore it was unnecessary to say much upon the subject. It was founded on the ancient rules of the Admiralty courts, and the Vice-Admiralty courts, dispersed throughout his Majesty's dominions. It was his duty, however, to enter into some explanation of the measure: that gallant body of men, the seamen of Great Britain, had an irresistible claim on the legislature of this country, for every practicable attention that could be paid to their interest. It was a known mark of their character (he spoke of the lower classes) that they were not equal to the task of taking care of themselves; his Majesty's courts had been long in the habit of thinking for them. This arose from their improvident indiscretion, against the effect of which it was in view to provide, at the same time breaking in as little as possible upon those principles which left men free to dispose of what they consider their own. To the present time, they had appointed their own agents and trustees, and revoked the appointment as they thought proper. They had the power of transferring the whole contingent interest they might be entitled to during the war, within a week after its commencement, for any consideration, however inadequate. With regard to an interest like this, which must be considered as flowing from the bounty of the Crown, and to which the party had no antecedent right, any regulations that might be necessary could not be considered injurious encroachments on the rights of the seamen. In the regulations he proposed to submit to the wisdom of the House, he should confine himself as much as possible to that which was most desirable in all matters of legislation, namely, to depart no further from the present usage than was absolutely necessary. It had been proposed that there should be a public office erected, with powers for conducting the whole business of prizes on one general system. He could not deny that a principle of this kind would be attended with advantages, but he was not sure that many of those advantages might not be obtained from the modification of the system which at present prevailed—a system which left the parties to the nomination of those in whom they confided their interest. Such a system was more natural, because it was more acceptable to those for whose benefit it was intended. It also recommended itself because it was calculated for the existing interests of those who had hitherto acted as agents, persons whom he could not admit had forfeited their claims

to the just attention of the legislature. He must honestly avow, that as far as his attention had been directed to that class of men, the navy agents, it was his opinion a very large portion of the odium excited against them, arose from misrepresentations, not properly considered by those who concurred in them. The adoption of that system, which left men to the nomination of their own agents, was not all he proposed. He wished to guard the nomination by regulations; it would be a great improvement of the plan, if after agents were nominated by private individuals, they were clothed with a public, legal known character, which rendered them amenable for their conduct. For that purpose, one regulation he should propose was, that on the nomination of an agent, the power of attorney should be immediately registered in the Court of Admiralty. At present he did not register the power of attorney, till six months after it was granted, consequently, till the arrival of that period he was not known. By registering his power of attorney, he would be known to the court, and liable to its authority during the whole time. A second regulation was, that at the time of registering the letters of attorney, the agent should give security, in a considerable sum, for the execution of his trust. At present, no security was given, and consequently, a seaman might pick up the most needy man he could find, on Portsmouth Point, to be his agent. When he considered this, he thought it surprising that the men usually employed should in general have acted so honourably as they had done. The great evil was, in the other parts of his Majesty's dominions. The misconduct of these men abroad were the rocks on which the seamen's fortunes were shipwrecked. He could not help thinking the provisions he had introduced, two years ago, would prevent the recurrence of those mischiefs which had taken place during the late war. The effect of giving this purity to the system would be, that of confining the profession of agent to men of property and credit, or whose conduct had engaged the confidence of those who employed them. The next regulation was, that the letters of agency being registered, should not be revoked, but upon complaint to the court, and an order for that purpose. As the matter stood at present, the agents were liable to be removed on the suggestion of the lowest classes of the law, to whom the seamen were particularly exposed. Questions frequently arose as to who was the legal agent, and considerable sums of money were spent, in deciding that point. Such was the basis of his plan. He should propose that the agent should be invested with the permanence that belonged to a public character, so long as he exercised it with propriety. Another regulation was, that, upon the institution of any appeal, it should be lawful for the judge of the Admiralty to order in the proceeds, and invest them. With respect to the navy, that question stood in a lamentable way. The money, during the whole time of the appeal, remained in the hands of the agent; in consequence of this, he had an interest adverse to his prineipal. The evil did not rest there. If the appeal was determined in favour of the captor, the profits of the principal rested with the agent; on the contrary, if the captor was condemned, he was liable to pay the interest. Another regulation was, that, after the time of appeal was elapsed, it should be in the power of the Judge of the Admiralty to compel a distribution. It would surprize the House to hear, that there was no power to compel a distribution, but by action at law, or by a bill in Chancery. He should submit, whether it would not be more beneficial, that the court should have the power of following up the agent to a full execution of his duty. At present, it had only the power of verifying accounts, or disallowing them; but it stopped at that point where its authority was most required. Another regulation went to this, that no seaman should be allowed to make the general power of attorney to which he had adverted, in a way by which he might, for a temporary gratification, convey his whole interest in his future prize-money. It would be highly important that the power of attorney should be a special power of attorney, appointing the particular source out of which the interest conveyed was to arise. To this he should add another regulation respecting the dates of the prizes. When prizes were made in the West-Indies, the seamen were often removed to other ships, and what became of the prizes, whether they were condemned or not, they knew not. He should provide that registers of prizes should be transmitted home every month; he meant a list of all the prizes that had gone through the adjudication of the court. These were the regulations to which he should solicit the attention of the naval members of the House. They were strongly recommended to him by the noble person who at present presided over the naval department. The House would see that he had not pressed this subject beyond what justice demanded. There were other details which had engaged the

attention of that department. The House would undoubtedly improve upon them. He was content with having stated the modifications. He was persuaded the House would, by adopting them, contribute to the comforts of a class of men whom it was their interest to protect. The right hon. and learned gent. concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectual manning his Majesty's navy."

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he did not rise to oppose the bringing in of this bill; but he was sorry that, from a measure of this nature being brought forward at this particular moment, he could not but augur that there was no longer any hope that the mediation of Russia would take effect. For if this bill is passed into a law, and peace should soon afterwards take place, there would necessarily arise the utmost difficulty as to the restoration of prizes. This was fully evinced, he said, by what had so lately taken place on the termination of our dispute with the northern powers. He then adverted to the motion he had made two years ago, and the papers he had brought forward relative to the state of prize-money and appeals, which were then most dreadfully in arrear. Notwithstanding it was now two years since the peace took place, there were still near 250 causes to be heard. He acknowledged the great industry of the right hon. and learned gent. in getting through so many as he had done, and confessed his rare talents were peculiarly well adapted to forward and promote a measure like that to be prepared by the present bill; but he thought it impossible for the right hon. and learned gent. to attend to such an arrear of appeals as that he had just mentioned, and to pay at the same time due attention to the business of his own courts. He saw a necessity for some arrangements, by which appeals may be got rid of, by quickening the proceedings of the court; at present, however, he would not trouble the House by going into the subject. As to the present bill, he should abstain from saying any thing further till it came before the House.

Admiral Berkeley said a few words upon the subject: he alluded to some complaints urged on a former night by an hon. friend of his, when he was not in his place, which he hoped would be attended to.

The *Attorney General* said, if any such complaints had been, or should be made, he had no doubt but his right hon. and learned friend would attend to them. He hoped leave would be given to bring in the bill. The measure was called for from the justice of the House. It was always usual to pass such a bill at the commencement of every war, and it ought not to be retarded from so light a consideration as that of the mediation of Russia taking immediate effect, as the hon. gent. (Mr. Johnstone) had suggested. He answered generally the observations made by that hon gent. relative to the number of appeals in arrear, and concluded by hoping no further objection would be made to bringing in the bill, as the hon. gent. would have many opportunities, during its different stages, to point out what he thought wrong in the bill, and to propose what amendments he should think proper.

Mr. *Wilberforce* expressed his concern at what had just been said relative to the mediation of Russia; he was sorry to hear his right hon. and learned friend (the Attorney General) speak so lightly as to its probable effect. From such a mode of viewing it, the measure that had been adopted seemed rather to have been a conciliation of parties in that House, than a grave and serious intention of effecting a peace through the mediation of a neutral power.

The *Attorney General*, in explanation, said, that in speaking of the mediation of Russia, he only meant to say, that the difficulties alluded to by the hon. gent. of restoring prizes, were too light a consideration to be allowed to retard a measure so important and necessary as the present.

The question was then put, and leave granted to bring in the bill.

[ASSESSED TAX COLLECTION CONSOLIDATION BILL.]—Mr. *Alexander* brought up the report.

Colonel Ayre thought the penalty of £100 and forfeiture of office, inflicted by the bill upon surveyors, at the discretion of the commissioners, much too high for inadvertent surcharges; as, in many cases, they were liable to errors which were not really culpable. He was aware of the necessity, that the crown should not be defrauded of its revenue, but it was of equal importance that the subject should be protected from oppression. What he wished was, that the surveyors should be compelled to institute previous inquiries to their making a surcharge. He therefore moved the bill to be recommitted, for the purpose of moving a clause, which could not be brought in at this last stage, for, at the same time, imposing a check on the surveyor, and affording relief to the subject.

Mr. *W. Smith* also represented the bill as

imperfect in its existing state. The penalty he considered as too great, when it could be exerted; at the same time that it was out of the power of nineteen persons out of twenty to go to the expense of prosecuting the surveyor, though they might find themselves aggrieved.

The *Attorney General* said, there was certainly a great difficulty, on the consideration of the measure. The penalty on the misconduct of the surveyor was undoubtedly severe, but it afforded, at the same time, great protection to the subject, who might have his action in cases of illegal or vexatious surcharges. It was evident some surcharges may be legal, and yet vexatious, and *vice versa*. He saw some gent. laugh at a remedy by action, but then they should recollect, that they were, at the same time, laughing at the laws of the country, which in no case afforded any other remedy than justice.

Sir W. Pulteney said, that it was not in the power of every man to go to law with a surveyor, who, in fact, had a premium for many of the acts of injustice he might commit.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* denied that the surveyors were entitled to any premium, except where the charge should be confirmed. A clause, he said, would be proposed—a clause for giving a discretion in this case, and that the penalty should be made not to exceed £100, as he did not wish to oblige them to use so much precaution, that it may lead to a neglect of the security of the revenue. —— Several of the members who spoke before explained; after which the motion for the recommitment was negatived.

The *Attorney General* then moved an amendment, that there should be a power to mitigate the penalty on surveyors, at a discretion, which would limit the highest sum to £100, which was adopted, the report agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday following.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, July 9.

[MINUTES.]—All the bills on the table were read a stage each.——The Irish army of reserve bill and the lottery bill passed the Committee, and were reported and read a third time; the two standing orders against passing more than one stage of a bill in one day, having been, in conformity to Lord Walsingham's motion on Thursday, suspended.

[WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE BILL.]—The *Earl of Moira* rose and said, he could not but lament, that a bill of so much importance should have come up to that House at so late a period of the session, that it was impossible to give it the full deliberation that the greatness of the object of the bill required. The bill was called the woollen manufacturers' bill, but it far exceeded the reach of its title; it was, in fact, a bill which went to the putting an end to, and repealing all the numerous acts of Parliament affecting every branch of business connected with the woollen manufacture, that stood on the statute book. His Lordship said, he had looked into the statutes at large, with particular anxiety, as to all the acts relative to the woollen manufacture, and he readily admitted, that many of their provisions were inapplicable to the present time, many of the regulations utterly impracticable at this moment, and others utterly useless; but among the mass, there were several very good and politic provisions, wisely conceived by our ancestors, and fit to be preserved. He could not, therefore, but think, that instead of extinguishing the whole of the various regulations by one sweeping bill, the more prudent course of proceeding would have been to have brought in a short bill of indemnity for all transgressions against the existing statutes respecting the woollen manufacture, up to the present time, and have left the consideration of a more extensive bill open to the reflection and investigation of their Lordships, and the Members of the other House of Parliament, during the short interval which might be expected to take place between the end of the present and the commencement of the next session. Considering that the bill had passed the other House, and was now before their Lordships; considering likewise, that a noble Lord, who had much interested himself on the subject, was not present, he thought the second reading ought not to be hurried, or regarded as a matter of course. There were various petitions on the table, not indeed against the principle, but against various clauses of the bill; he should hope, therefore, that the petitioners might be allowed to have counsel, to sum up such evidence as might be adduced before the Committee. The other House had examined many witnesses, and had favoured their Lordships with a copy of the evidence they had received. He had, his Lordship said, perused the evidence with great attention, but he was not quite satisfied that it went far enough to justify the doing away all

the regulations which the wisdom of our ancestors had provided, respecting the woollen manufacture. At any rate, the petitioners ought to be heard upon the allegations of their respective petitions, and he thought the proper time for their being so heard would be in the Committee. His Lordship said, he was the more anxious to lay in this claim for them, because, although he hoped he was not to be considered as a very lax attendant on his parliamentary duty, he could not engage to be present at the discussions which might take place on the subsequent stages of the bill, being obliged to go into the country. He thought the justice of the case entitled the petitioners to be fairly heard, and their Lordships, he was persuaded, would not refuse them that reasonable request.

The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack, and declared, that he concurred entirely with his noble friend (if he would allow him so to express himself) in the opinion, that the bill was a bill of the utmost importance, and well entitled to their Lordships' most serious attention. In the course of the last session, a bill had been brought up to that House from the House of Commons, the object of which was to repeal no less than two and twenty acts of Parliament. On that occasion, he had felt it his duty to look to the purview and provisions of those statutes, and he must concur with his noble friend in saying, that many of the regulations enacted by those statutes were utterly impracticable at present; some imposed penalties, unless the manufacturers pursued a line of conduct which they could not now possibly pursue. Many of those acts were dead, that was obsolete, and universally held to be so. But still there were some very wise provisions to be found in those statutes; and it became a matter of deep consideration, whether it was expedient to wipe away, by a single bill, all that the wisdom of our ancestors had provided, as necessary regulations to govern the woollen manufacture; regulations, under which the woollen manufacture had thriven for so many centuries. Where a bill aimed at doing so much at once, it certainly ought to be watched with peculiar exertion, and almost with unabating jealousy. With regard to the petitions on the table, as far as he had looked into them, they appeared to be rather charged with complaints against particular clauses than against the principle of the bill. If, therefore, the petitioners wished to be heard against the principle, they must present a petition for that purpose; but, if they adhered to their present petitions, they might either be heard before the Committee, on the report, or on the third reading. Certainly, with respect to the existing statutes, there were three lines of proceeding to be adopted—either they might be suspended (but suspending bills was an abuse of legislative conduct, and he hoped he should hear no more of it); the next was, the repeal of an act, found from change of circumstances to be impracticable, but that was a matter that called for the most serious consideration, and should be closely examined before it was decided upon; the last was an act of indemnity, which his noble friend had alluded to. In the present case, his Lordship said, it was absolutely necessary that the petitioners should be dealt with fairly, and that they should be satisfied that their case had undergone a full consideration, before the bill passed, if it were to pass at all. He should, most unquestionably, listen to all the arguments that could be advanced at the bar in their behalf, and keep his mind perfectly open to conviction, before he formed any decided opinion on the subject.

The *Earl of Moira* moved, that the bill be read a second time on Monday next. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 11.

[MINUTES.]—The judges delivered their opinions on the appeal, Lothian and Henderson. The case briefly was, that Henderson and Co. Virginia merchants, insured a vessel, belonging to them, with the appellants, in this country. An agreement was afterwards entered into, by which the insurers agreed to take all risk upon themselves, provided the insured proved that the vessel was captured by the French, who condemned her as a prize. The question was, whether the proceeding of the French court ought to be conclusive in our courts. By a number of decisions it had been fixed that it was. The majority of the judges, however, were of opinion that the subsequent agreement between the parties destroyed the effect of this circumstance. The majority for the respondent was six to four. ——The Lord Chancellor thought that the House ought to pause before it came to a final decision, and therefore proposed that the farther consideration should be postponed till Thursday. Ordered.——The royal assent was given, by commission, to the Irish army of reserve bill, the lottery bill, the Scotch militia families' bill, the Irish workmen combination bill, and some

others.——The Irish import and export bill were read a third time, and passed.——The five million loan bill was committed, and reported.——A petition, signed by twenty thousand persons, was presented against the principle of the woollen clothiers' bill. Ordered to lie on the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 11.

[MINUTES.]—A message from the Lords intimated their Lordships' concurrence in the lottery bill, the Irish additional army bill, and Queen Anne's bounty amendment bill.——The Lord Mayor gave notice, that he would next day move for leave to bring in a bill to enable the city of London to raise its own quota of the army of reserve. ——The Secretary at War presented a bill for rendering subservient to military discipline all serjeants, drummers, fifers, and others who shall receive permanent pay in any volunteer corps. Read the first time, and ordered to be printed.——Lord Castlereagh presented the following message from his Majesty: viz. "G. R. His Ma- "jesty thinks proper to acquaint the House "of Commons, that in consideration of the "eminent services performed in America "by the late Geoffrey, Lord Amherst, and "particularly in the reduction of Canada "his Majesty was induced, on the termina- "tion of the war, to grant to Lord Am- "herst certain tracts of land in that pro- "vince; but in consequence of some local "circumstances that grant has not been "carried into effect. His Majesty, there- "fore, relies on the justice and liberality "of the House of Commons, that they will "make to Lord Amherst such compensa "tion as they shall think fit." Ordered to be taken into consideration on Friday.—— Bell Rock light-house bill read a second time.——Mr. H. Browne brought up a bill for granting 20,000l. towards making a canal in the Highlands of Scotland. Read a first time.——The Irish malt duty and Portugal wine bonding bills, went through a Committee.——The assessed taxes collection bill, and the Irish revenue bill were read a third time and passed.——Irish treasury loan bill went through a Committee.

[CHEST AT CHATHAM.]—*Sir C. Pole* moved for leave to bring in a bill for improving the fund of the chest at Chatham, for transferring the administration of the said fund from Chatham to Greenwich, and for ameliorating the situation of the pensioners.

Sir W. Elford thought that all reports from the commissioners on naval inquiry ought not only to shew what foundation there was for this measure, but also how far the matter in those reports authorised the establishment of the Board of Commissioners of Naval Inquiry. It appeared to him that other circumstances did not warrant that establishment, or that the Admiralty had not brought before the Commissioners the cases of the greatest enormity. He admitted that great impositions had been practised under the name of agency.

Mr. *Sturges* objected to the removal of the chest from Chatham to Greenwich. It had been established, more than two centuries ago, by the seamen themselves, who wished to repose the trust in persons who should themselves contribute to the fund. There had never before been any complaint made respecting its management, which was indeed unexceptionable; for last year its revenue amounted to 75,000l. and the surplus, after all payments and deductions, was 35,000l. The whole administration of the fund cost only about 1,000 or 1,200l. a year. Could there be a better management than this? The report, it was true, charges the governors of the chest with culpable mismanagement: the only foundation for this charge was, that one of the estates belonging to the chest was let under its real value. This, however, was no reason for removing the chest; for it did not appear that circumstance proceeded from corruption or any wilful neglect. The circumstances of the chest of Chatham did not escape the observation of the Committee of Inquiry, appointed in 1798; but though that Committee appeared to be convinced that the governors were too numerous, they desisted from recommending any change, from a respect to the arrangements adopted by the founders of the institution.

Mr. *Courtenay* thought there were some abuses connected with this establishment, which, though they implied no reflection on the governors, yet ought to be corrected. He instanced the hardship to which seamen living at a distance were under, in being obliged to appear at Chatham to receive their pensions. Many were obliged to come from the north of Scotland for this purpose, and then spent more than they received in alehouses. It was also worthy of remark, that several estates left to the fund in the reign of Charles II. had only arisen 30 or 40l. a year in value.

Admiral *Berkeley* was of opinion that this measure might have originated at the board of admiralty itelf.

Mr. *Kinnaird* had one observation to make, which he conceived to be of considerable importance. He wished to know whether certain sums, stated in the report to be taken from the chest at Chatham by order of the Privy Seal, were restored. It appeared that there had been a deficiency to the amount of 28,000l. in the accounts of a Mr. Jellico, the principal clerk of the Treasurer of the Navy, and that 24,800l. had, on that account, been paid to Mr. Dundas.

Sir *C. Pole* said, that the loss of the sum alluded to did not fall on the chest of Chatham.

Mr. *Rose* recollected the circumstance alluded to by the hon. gent. The clerk of the Treasurer of the Navy had embarked in trade, and so lost the sum mentioned.—The only question was, whether the Public or the Treasurer of the Navy should sustain the loss: the transaction, therefore, underwent a severe investigation; and as it appeared that it was not owing to any neglect in the Treasurer of the Navy, it was not thought fit that the loss should fall upon him.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

[CAPT. BARLOW.]—The Sec. at War delivered to the House a message from his Majesty, "That Capt. Barlow, of a royal regiment of guards, and a member of that house, stood charged with improper conduct, contrary to the articles of war; and had been put under arrest, in order to stand his trial by a court martial for said charge." The message being ordered to be entered on the journals—The Sec. at War moved an humble address to his Majesty for his gracious message, and his regard thereby manifested for the privileges of this house.—Agreed to *nem. con.* and ordered that the same be presented to his Majesty in the accustomed form.

[E. I. COMPANY and SHIP OWNERS.] Lord *Castlereagh* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for enabling the Directors of the East India Company to make additional allowances to the ship-owners who had taken contracts in their service, immediately previous to the publication of his Majesty's message declaratory of war with France. His lordship explained the objects of the bill he proposed, as in conformity with the spirit of an act which passed some years since, enabling the Directors to make additional allowance to ship-contractors in their service, in time of war or immediate preparation for war, in consideration of the extraordinary rise which never fails on such occasions to occur on all articles connected with sea stores and navigation; and he observed, that many, if not all the contracts to which the bill would have reference, were not entered into during a period of actual or implied war, because a considerable time previous to his Majesty's message in March last, yet from a very short time subsequent to the signature of the definitive Treaty of Amiens, until the day of his Majesty's message on the war, the country might be said to be in an actual state of preparation for that war which was then apprehended, and since that period proved to be inevitable—and on these considerations, though the ship-contractors might not have a claim for additional compensation, strictly within the letter of the former law, yet in equity, their claim was fair upon the same principle; and to enable the Directors to give them that compensation, was the object of the proposed bill.

Mr. *Johnstone* decidedly opposed the principle. The ship contractors were men, he said, who very well knew how to take care of themselves; they made their bargain with their eyes open, and knew perfectly well how to guard themselves against all possible or probable contingencies. If the Company had made with them an improvident bargain on the other hand, they would not be very ready to let them off that bargain. Besides, in fact, those men, who had gained so amply by the Company, had on this occasion no ground whatever to complain of loss; for they agreed for 21l. 10s. per ton, which other proprietors were ready to execute at the current market price, which at the highest was but 19l. 10s. and might have been done by others at 17l. 15s. How then could these men complain of an improvident bargain, who were to receive so much more than the current prices of their freight?—The best principle of doing justice in this case, he conceived, was for every man to act in his public duty as if he were disbursing his own private money; and upon this ground, he begged to ask, what individual, upon such a bargain, would feel himself called upon to give more than his contract price; more especially when it was so far above the current rates of freight? In a contract for ship-building, no allowance would be made for the subsequent rise on materials, nor could he conceive it equitable or necessary, in this case, to give men, who were already considered gainers by the bargain, 5,000l. per ship more of the public money, by way of compensation for losses they could not sustain.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 12.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel was heard in the Appeal, Anderson and Cadel. The farther hearing postponed.—The Five Millions Loan Bill, and the East India Dock Bill, were read a third time and passed. Lord Pelham presented a message from his Majesty relative to granting a compensation to Lord Amherst for the lands in Canada, given him by his Majesty for the service of the late Geoffry Lord Amherst, in America.—The message being read, (See Commons, July 11.) Lord Pelham moved an address of thanks to his Majesty for his gracious communication. Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 12.

[MINUTES.]—The Bill for the better encouragement of Seamen, was brought up and read a first time.—The Irish Ship Destruction Bill from the Lords, was read a first time.—The Bill for Improving the Highlands of Scotland, was read a third time.—The Report of Bell Rock Lighthouse Bill was received, and ordered to be taken into further consideration on Friday.—The Report of Friendly Societies' Bill was received, and the Bill ordered to be engrossed.—The Grenada Loan Bill was read a second time.—Bill for the prevention of Frauds committed by Bum-boatmen and others, plying on the River Thames, was brought up and read a first time.

[CHAPELS, RESIDENCES, &c. for PAROCHIAL CLERGY.]—Mr. *Burton* moved, in pursuance of his notice, that leave be given to bring in a bill to promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing of churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of ministers, and the providing of churchyards and glebes.—The terms of the motion would probably be said to render it unnecessary to add many words in support of it. The expediency of some measure of the sort could not be doubted by any one who was acquainted with the number of parishes, both in England and Ireland, where churches and parsonage houses were either wholly wanting, or unfit to answer the ends for which they were designed, Important, however, as these defects appeared, it was in vain to expect that they should be supplied at present out of the public purse, which induced him to think it the more necessary to open the sources of private liberality, as far as could be done without infringing any rule of public policy. He stated, that as the law now stood, so cramped and fettered by a statute passed in the late reign, was every individual in the disposal of his property, that even the patron or incumbent of a living could not devise a rood of land to make a garden to the parsonage house. All that he wished was, to loosen a little the shackles which had been put upon private property. The only objections to it that he knew, were the fear of throwing too much land into mortmain, the disherison of heirs, and the dread of enriching the church overmuch. But he trusted that these objections would be completely obviated, by limiting the benefactions to so small an extent as five acres of land, or 500l. in personal property. He would only mention one other provision which he should wish to see in the bill, though it was rather declaratory of the existing law than introductive of any thing new. In the construction of several modern churches, it seemed to be forgotten that they were destined for all ranks and conditions, and so destitute were they of all decent and suitable accommodation for the poorer sort, as to be utterly inconsistent with every just notion of public worship. The bill, therefore ought, in his opinion, to contain a clause for the remedy of this abuse in future. He concluded with moving in the terms above-mentioned.

Mr. *Hurst* had no doubt but that the learned gent. was actuated by the best motives in moving for such a bill; but he must be aware that at so late a period of the session, a measure of this importance could not receive an adequate discussion: and therefore he would recommend it to him to have the bill printed, and put off till the next session of Parliament.

Mr. *Burton* said, he meant to move that the bill be printed; and he trusted it would be found to be a measure that did not require a long discussion, nor contain any objectionable matter.—Leave was then given; the bill was brought up, and read a first time.

[LONDON ADDITIONAL FORCE.]—The *Lord Mayor* brought in a bill for enabling the city of London to raise a certain quota of men for the better defence of the country, which was read a first time; and on the motion for the second reading—The Lord Mayor said, he hoped the House would indulge him while he said a few words, in order to vindicate the city of London from certain imputations that had gone abroad into the world, concerning the number of men that were to form its quota of the new army of reserve, and in which it was said

that the city did not supply a number proportioned to its population. It was said that London contained one-ninth part of the population of the whole kingdom. So far was that from being the fact, it would appear from the returns made under the late population act, that the population within the walls of the city did not exceed 74,000 persons; and that without the walls it was not more than 54,000. In fact, it would be much nearer the truth had it been stated that the inhabitants of the city did not exceed those of the parish of Mary-la-bonne. The number of men, therefore, as a part of the army of reserve, to be raised by this bill, was sufficiently great in proportion to what was raised by the rest of the country; but he believed it would be found at all times most cheerfully to contribute and to maintain its quota of the public force, in proportion to its population and its ability; and it would appear, by resolutions recently entered into, that the city of London had shewn a degree of spirit and determination which proved it did not deserve the imputation of apathy or backwardness thrown out against it; but that on the contrary, the citizens would always be ready to bear their portion in contributing towards the public defence; that they would be ready to shed the last drop of their blood, and spend their last shilling in the defence of their country; that they would ever act in a manner which became Britons, and by their conduct preserve that character which they had ever maintained as members of the first city in the empire.——The bill was then ordered to be read a second time the next day.

[NAVY REGULATIONS.]—Sir *Charles Pole* brought up the bill for transferring to the directors of Greenwich Hospital the administration of the Chest of Chatham.

Captain *Harvey* said, that although he was not prepared to oppose this bill, yet he could not perceive the necessity of it so clearly as to induce him to support it. This chest of Chatham was established and endowed by the voluntary act and donations of the seamen.—The administration of it was certainly not expensive, when compared with that of other establishments; and if there was any thing wrong in it, he conceived it might be remedied without having recourse to the legislature. His great objection to the bill in its present stage was, that it appeared to him a hasty measure, and that no sufficient grounds had been laid before that House for the interference of the legislature. He therefore rather wished to delay the consideration of it for some time longer.

The *Attorney General* said, there were some grievances already stated to the House of sufficient magnitude to call for redress. It was a most outrageous grievance that poor disabled sailors should pay 20*l.* or 25*l.* per cent. for agency for receiving their small pittance; it was an enormous grievance that they should be obliged to attend themselves at Chatham. These were, as he thought, sufficient grounds for legislative interference, and if the bill went into a Committee, he hoped it would have the assistance of the hon. gent. (Capt. Harvey) in making it perfect.

Sir *Charles Pole* said, that although in proposing this measure the Commissioners of naval inquiry might at first appear to have recommended a subject foreign to the discussion of the question they were at that time examining, namely, the abuses in the dock-yards, yet he trusted it would appear to that House, that nothing was improper for the interference of the legislature, which materially affected the British navy and British sailors. He considered it a most cruel grievance to require (as was now the case) that a poor disabled sailor, who had lost his limbs in the service of his country, should come perhaps from 250 miles distance to receive his little pittance at Chatham.——The bill was then read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday next.

[FRAUD ON THE BANK.]—Sir *Francis Burdett* said, he had given notice of a motion on the preceding day, the question concerning which lay in so very narrow a compass, that he would only trespass on the time of the House for a few minutes in what he had to say. It was necessary that the House should be in possession of certain facts, to obtain which should be the object of his motion. He felt that it must be extremely irksome to animadvert on the conduct of others, however reprehensible that might be. But after a fraud of vast extent had been committed on the bank, under circumstances which affected the credit of the government, it was of the utmost importance that the business should be enquired into. A great criminal had baffled the justice of the country, and escaped from punishment, on account of the negligence of a high officer, who had a great salary for performing a very trifling duty: it was merely on account of his negligence in performing that trifling duty, that several millions of the public security were rendered of no value, and Parliament was afterwards obliged to pass an act, to repair and solder up that great error that had taken place, and the great evil that was likely to

arise from it. The act passed through that House without any explanation, or without any body knowing what its object was; and it was not until a late trial that the nature of it was understood. This circumstance must have had a most mischievous effect on the public mind, and make men look with distrust on the proceedings of that House, which should ever be considered the guardian of the public property. He should have thought it to be the duty of the Attorney General to take notice of the negligence of a public officer, as an offence punishable in the courts below. But as no such thing had been done, he felt it his duty to call on the House to exercise its inquisitorial power, and to enquire into that conduct of public officers, in order that those guilty of criminal negligence might be made examples of, and that its mischievous effects might be cured. Although the fraud that had been committed was of such magnitude, yet it was a matter of much lighter consideration, than the question of negligence on the part of an officer. It was of the utmost importance for the House to see that the public money was not wasted on useless offices, and that it should not appear to have connived at the neglect of public officers. It was more important even than any consideration of the public credit having been endangered by the impunity of the monstrous criminal in question. Punishments had frequently been inflicted on persons for much less offences than this act of negligence. In the year 1780, the Lord Mayor of London was fined and disgraced for certain instances of neglect in times of great danger and difficulty, in times when men hardly knew how to act, and while he held an office, not of his own choice, nor attended with any emolument. The House had very lately deprived an ancient corporation of its privileges, for no other reason but because the magistrate of the place had not been able to preserve the public peace during the time of an election, which was the only occasion on which the people had an opportunity of expressing their sentiments on public men and public measures He would therefore ask, whether the House, consistently with its former practices, could pass over without notice or enquiry, the act of criminal negligence in question. If ever there was a time when such enquiries were necessary, it was the present; when every man in the country was making sacrifices, and when all unnecessary waste of public money ought to be put a stop to. Nothing was now heard of but vigilance and economy on the part of public officers, and although the auditor of the Exchequer had 4000 l. a year from the public, no notice, it seemed, was to be taken of his neglect of duty. After the several penalties continually inflicted for trifling infringements on the revenue laws, and for trifling neglects, was this thing to be passed? If a man happened through negligence to put a little powder in his hair, he was liable to a penalty of twenty times the amount of the hair powder duty. When all this was submitted to for the sake of the public, it would be a little too much to suffer to escape, without animadversion, that negligence on the part of an officer, which had nearly endangered the public credit, and had enabled a great criminal to elude public justice. He would therefore move, "That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the circumstances of the recent fraud on the bank, so far as the same relates to Astlett."

The *Attorney General* said, that had it not been for the speech with which the hon. Baronet prefaced his motion, it would have been impossible to know what the object of the motion was. As to the degree of blame which might attach to those who had lately introduced the bill for making valid the issue of Exchequer Bills, the hon. Baronet must take his share of that blame, inasmuch as he suffered the bill to pass the House, without making himself acquainted with its contents. Had he read the preamble of it, he must have been satisfied as to its object; for it expressly stated the omission of the proper signature to the Exchequer bills. It was undoubtedly a subject of lamentation, that the offence against the bank had been committed, and that the omission of the proper signatures had enabled a person to escape from punishment: but he would submit it to the House, whether that omission partook of that *malus animus* necessary to justify the interference of Parliament? This was not a case that bore the slightest resemblance to the affair of the corporation of Nottingham, which the hon. Baronet alluded to, when he stated that an election was the only place where the people had an opportunity of expressing their sentiments. The fact was, that the peace of that town had been disturbed in such a manner, as to prevent the true representative of the place from coming into that House; and if the act for restoring the peace of that town was made the subject of censure, it was a censure he had no hesitation to take a share in. He then quoted the preamble of the act of Parliament passed this session, in consequence of the mis-

take being discovered in the signature of the Exchequer bills—"Robert Jennings, Esq." who was legally authorised in 1709, but not since that year. As the preamble of the act stated all those circumstances, he thought the hon. Baronet might also tax himself with negligence in suffering that bill to pass without any observation. The case now brought before the House certainly was not without blame; but the House must feel, that it was not one which required the interference of Parliament. On that account, he would move the previous question.

Sir *Francis Burdett* in reply, said, the question was, whether some person was not responsible for some great neglect which had produced a great public evil, by nearly shaking the credit of government, and suffering a great criminal to escape justice. With respect to what he had said, as to the people having no other opportunity of expressing their sentiments, except at elections, he meant that great body of the people from whom the right of elective franchise was with-held.

The previous question was then put and carried; by which means the original motion was lost.

[JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.]—The House having resolved itself into a Committee on the Magistrates' Protection Bill,

Mr. *Giles* strongly objected to it, on the ground of its taking away the power and privileges of juries in cases which hitherto were decided by the judge and jury together: he then moved a clause, for the purpose of giving to juries the full exercise of their power.

Mr. *Hurst* opposed the bill, because he thought magistrates were already sufficiently protected, and did not require the protection intended to be given by this measure.

Sir *Robert Buxton* said, that a most valuable magistrate of his acquaintance had resigned his office, because a penalty was awarded against him for a conviction he had made, on account of that conviction not having been drawn up in all legal form of special pleading. If country gentlemen, who, without any emolument, dedicated so much of their time to the public service in the character of magistrates, were not protected against informations and penalties, none would be found to act in that capacity.

Mr. *Kinnaird* said, he considered this bill as a direct attack on the rights and privileges of juries.

The *Attorney-General* said, the object of the bill was nothing more than this: that when a conviction made by a magistrate was drawn up informally or incorrectly, the judges, in cases of appeal, should have a discretionary power, if they thought there had been no improper conduct on the part of the magistrate, to prevent any damages from being awarded against them. They were to have the power of deciding the question without sending it to a jury.

The House divided on the amendment, ayes 23, noes 28. The bill then went through the Committee.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 13.

[MINUTES.]—The Exchequer Bills Bill for Five Millions, the Irish Custom Duties Bill, the Militia Pay Bill, the Militia Adjutants Bill, the London Port Bill, the Blackburne Paving Bill, and two private bills, received the Royal Assent by commission.

[WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE BILL.]—The order of the day for the second reading of the woollen manufacture bill being read, counsel was called to the bar to be heard on the petitions against the principle of the bill.—The Lord Chancellor asked which of the gentlemen appeared on behalf of the petitions from the cloth hall at Leeds?—Mr. Piggott said he did.

The *Lord Chancellor* desired Mr. Piggott to look at the petition, and he would see that the names were all signed on a separate sheet of parchment, which had been tacked to the petition, and consequently that the petition had not been signed by any one of the persons whose signature appeared to the tack.

Mr. *R. Jackson* explained that it was done in the country; that the petition had originally been a petition to object to the clauses, but that it was thought more convenient to the parties to be heard in that state of the bill, and therefore they had endeavoured to avail themselves of the expedient of altering the petition.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that very explanation proved, that the persons whose names appeared in the tack-sheet had never signed the petition, and therefore they could not be heard by counsel.—Mr. Piggott withdrew.

Mr. Serjeant Lens was then heard on behalf of the petitioners from Yorkshire, Wilts, and Somerset, and was followed by Mr. Randle Jackson, who, in a very able speech, urged a variety of strong objections, as well against the form of the bill as against its principle.

Mr. Plomer was heard in support of the bill, and having strenuously contended for the necessity of repealing many of the acts

to which it referred, very readily admitted, that those, whose object it was to have the bill entertained, would consent to any modification or amendment of its clauses. He said, that out of the thirteen acts alluded to in the bill, it was conceded on all hands, that ten of them ought to be repealed, because their provisions and regulations were, from the change of circumstances, customs, and manners, utterly obsolete and impracticable.

The *Lord Chancellor* interrupted Mr. Plomer, and desired the counsel to withdraw. His lordship then left the woolsack and said, though he felt many objections to the bill, as it at present stood, yet he had taken the liberty to interrupt the learned counsel, because he had heard enough from all the gent. at the bar, to convince him that, with all the imperfections of the bill, there did arise in it sufficient principle to entitle it to be read a second time, and he hoped their lordships would concur with him in that opinion. Having said this, his lordship proceeded to point out a variety of objections to the form of the bill, which he promised the House he would do very shortly; first, he shewed that there was an omission in the title of the bill of one of the many objects of its provisions, which must be amended, as the title ought to refer to all its separate objects. This would put the suitors of the bill to the expense of delay, but it must be amended. His lordship next objected to the reference of the bill to statutes of particular years of various reigns; whereas, instead of that general reference, it ought to have specified the acts themselves, with their exact title and date, and have pointed out the particular clauses of each, that had rendered the regulations therein provided "impracticable and useless," and "others which, if enforced, would create delay, and inconvenience in the carrying on the said manufacture, to the great detriment thereof." These were matters which would require their lordships most serious attention and consideration in the Committee, as it would otherwise be impossible for magistrates, and those whose duty it would be to enforce the bill, should it pass into a law, to act upon it. He mentioned the way in which it referred to the gig-mills, and said the proper mode of legislating would have been, to have repealed so much of the act of Ed. VI. as referred to the improper use of gig-mills, and to have established their use as to what actually was conducive to the expediting the manufacture, without injury to the material. Englishmen, he thanked God, possessed that most valuable quality, good sense, and he would trust to that good sense (which, however they might be puzzled at first, would generally set them right at last) to prevent them from persisting in any practice that experience convinced them was prejudicial to their own interests. He had no hesitation, therefore, in believing, that they did not use the gig-mills in "burling and working" the cloth they manufactured, since that practice had been found to be injurious to the manufacture. In the recital of the bill a most extraordinaay mode of reasoning was adopted. The recital stated, that "doubts were entertained whether many of the acts (previously stated) were not repealed by subsequent acts;" and, afterwards, it takes upon itself to resolve those doubts, declaring the acts in question to be repealed. His lordship stated several more objections, and after again stating the great importance of the bill, and recommending its several parts, provisions, and principles to the serious attention of their lordships in the Committee, in order to satisfy the petitioners that the House had acted honestly, honourably, fairly, and faithfully by them, and paid due and serious attention to their objections, moved that it be read a second time.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* rose and said, the bill was the most ill drawn and unparliamentary of any he had ever read in point of form. It was full of objectionable parts, several of which he stated; in particular the want of the mention of the prosecutions and suits which might have been commenced and were now pending; in the title, the non-enumeration specifically of the several acts of Parliament to which the bill referred; by mentioning the chapter of the respective acts that were deemed impracticable, as well as the particular clauses of the acts which it was complained by the suitors, tended, if enforced, to create delay and inconvenience, to the great detriment of the manufacturer; and the contradictory operation of the end of the first clause and the last clause of the bill, respecting costs on actions commenced the first of Jan. last. His lordship also objected to several of the clauses, referring only to the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, and Somerset, as if they were not legislating for the counties of York and Lancaster, and indeed for the whole kingdom. He mentioned a former act that took place in Chester, and its whole county, for obvious reasons, viz. it bore upon the adjoining manufacturing counties of York and Lancaster. With regard to the objections that were taken at the bar to the act of Richard II. prohibiting the sale of plain cloths in certain counties tucked and folded, his lordship said, he

understood solely to relate to such cloths as were exposed to sale in open market here at home; but his opinion was, that those manufacturers who made and exported their own cloths, where within the law as it stood at present. After a number of other observations upon different parts of the bill, the noble Earl thought it was somewhat hard, after eight months consideration of the bill in the other House, it should be sent up to their Lordships with so many imperfections in it, and throw such a load of labour on the House, as the amending the bill in the committee, and rendering it fit to pass, must necessarily amount to. There was, however, one advantage in its coming at so late a period of the session into that House, *viz.* that the professional men had most of them been set at leisure, and could attend to it. His Lordship, if we understood him correctly, had some doubt whether it might not have been the most sound and discreet course to have waited till another session before so important a bill, a bill comprehending and embracing all the multifarious concerns of so great, intricate, and complicated manufacture, was decided; he would not, however, oppose its going to a committee.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, he would trouble the House with a few words only; he agreed perfectly with his noble and learned friend on the woolsack, and in a great measure with the noble and learned Earl who had just sat down. Whether he was favourable or adverse to the present bill, he must wish that where a bill of so much importance came up to that House at so advanced a period of the session, it should meet with the most serious attention and consideration of their Lordships. He had no objection, H. R. H. said, to confess, that he was inclined to be favourable to the principle of the bill, which seemed to be confessed on all hands to be such as entitled it to go to a committee, in which he trusted it might be amended and rendered fit to be proceeded on. It was necessary to make some allowance on account of those who drew the bill being men of business, and perhaps drawing it rather with a view to the trade, than with a fit consideration of any judicial proceeding upon it.

The *Lord Chancellor* rose, to remind the noble and learned Earl who had mentioned the advantage of the bill coming so late into the House, that with regard to himself, this was, as the noble and learned Earl must be aware, the time when he was more particularly pressed upon by business, than at any other period of the year, but he should not, on that account, neglect his attention to the bill.—The bill was committed to the Lords present to make a part of the said committee, and the committee to meet on Friday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 13.

[MINUTES.].—Mr. Plumer presented a petition from the prisoners confined in the gaol of Hertford, praying relief.—Ordered to lie on the table.—A new writ was ordered to be issued for the election of a member for Great-Grimsby, in the room of A. Boucheret, Esq. who has accepted of the stewardship of the hundreds of East Hendred in the county of Buckingham.—The Irish malt and distillery bill was read a third time and passed.—The Thames police bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed the next day.—A message from the Lords acquainted the House that their Lordships had agreed to the East India dock bill.—Sir Francis Burdett moved, that there be laid before the House a list of all pensions granted and now payable to natives and foreigners, from the first January 1800, to the present time. Ordered.—Mr. Corry presented a bill rendering justices of the peace in Ireland more safe in the execution of their duty. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day. —The report of the poor returns bill was received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time.

[CHURCH AND CHAPEL BILL.] — Mr. *Burton* moved the second reading of the bill for the better providing, building, and repairing chapels, churches, &c. for ministers, and for providing church-yards and glebes, and enabling ministers to recover donations by will or deed.

Mr. *Hurst* said, he felt great objections to the principle of this bill, in so far as it affected the whole code of laws known by the name of the Mortmain Act, and he was, therefore, hopeful that the House would not encourage the adoption of such a measure. He thought it could be styled nothing else than a total repeal of the Mortmain Acts now in existence, as it would entirely defeat all the objects of those laws, and introduce all the evils which the Mortmain Laws went to remedy. These were acts, he said, which had met with the approbation of the country for no less than four centuries, and he knew that he was not singular in his opinion: he, therefore, concluded with moving that the bill be read a second time this day three months.

Mr. *Burton* explained more fully the nature of the bill, and observed, that there were at present wanting in this kingdom, but more particularly in Ireland, a great number of places of public worship. The proportion which he stated Ireland to be in need of, was no less than 100 churches and chapels, and that there were 400 or 500 parishes in want of parsonage houses. He thought that the alteration which had been made in the law, relating to church affairs, within these few days, made this bill the more necessary. It was intended merely to restore, in part, the old law as it stood for many years, from the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the 9th of George II. A law was then made to prevent any person from bestowing all his property to a variety of charitable purposes, and thereby disinheriting his heirs or near relations, unless he consented to part with the whole of the interest of that property during his life. Every one knew, that that act was a good one; yet an objection arises against it in so far as it tends too much to restrain the power which every man ought to have over his own property, as it was one of the greatest stimulants to industry. The present act limited that power only in as much as it confined the extent of bequests by one person towards charitable purposes, to five acres of land, and 500*l.* of money.

Mr. *Francis* said, that he had always found dangerous consequences to arise from small precedents of this sort. He therefore voted for the amendment.—On the House dividing there appeared—For the second reading, 61—Against it, 18—Majority, 43.—The bill was accordingly read a first time, and ordered to be committed on Friday.

[LONDON ADDITIONAL FORCE.]—The *Lord Mayor* moved the order of the day for the third reading of the City of London quota bill. His Lordship said, that notwithstanding the exemption which the City of London claimed, from the privileges of their charter, the inhabitants had expressed their willingness to contribute further towards the army of reserve, by raising an additional military force for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.——The bill was accordingly read a second time, and ordered to be committed next day.

[ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]—The *Secretary at War* moved for leave to bring in a bill, for rendering more effectual the act passed in the present session of Parliament, for the defence of the United Kingdom, and for rectifying certain measures therein proposed relative to Commissioners.—Granted.

The *Secretary at War* rose and said, he felt himself under the necessity of postponing the motion he intended to make the next day, relative to the plan he had to propose to the House for raising a further additional force for the defence of the country till Monday next.

Mr. *Pitt* observed, as to what had fallen from the right hon. gent. that he for one should not think of urging on those measures, which were about to be proposed, did he not feel the absolute necessity of adopting them with the least delay possible. He said, that nothing but the expectation and hope he entertained, from day to day, of such a measure being proposed by Government, had restrained him from submiting his imperfect thoughts on that subject. He said he was sensible of his inability to suggest any thing of material weight or advantage towards the accomplishment of that object. He was, however, desirous, that such a measure should originate as it ought to do, in point of duty, from his Majesty's executive government. He was sensible of the great variety of business, of the multitude of important matters which were apt to distract the attention of those at the head of public affairs, in such arduous and dangerous times; but he also knew, that there were times in which the public had reason to expect that every individual in such high situations should rise to a level with the exigencies of the state. There was now, he might say, a double call upon the exertions of all those placed at the head of public affairs. He could not have a better witness than the right hon. gent. himself; and he therefore thought that he stood excused to his country, in not laying his sentiments before the House. He entertained a hope of being able to do so; for he well knew the energy and activity which had been on many occasions evinced by the right hon. gent. and those with whom he stood connected in the management of public affairs. He trusted that the right hon. gent. would not think that he said more on this matter than the occasion called for. There must be no delay, no interval, no pause, in the activity and exertion which must be used by Government on such an occasion as this, when ambition and resentment are combined against this country, as motives to instigate our exertions. In his opinion, both power and activity were absolutely necessary, in order to accomplish the objects we had in view, and he doubted if we could be reckoned sufficiently safe, if these measures were not instantly put in execution.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that there could not possibly exist in any quarter,

a more deep-rooted conviction of the necessity of expedition and promptitude in the present critical situation of public affairs, than that which was entertained by every individual of his Majesty's Government. He could, with confidence, assure the House, that the delay, even of a single day, was sincerely regretted by every one of them, and by none more so than by his right hon. friend, who was entrusted with the charge of bringing forward the motion. Every exertion was at present made in every department, for the purpose of bringing not only the minds of the inhabitants, but even the means of the country into exertion; and he too had no hesitation in saying, that every exertion, however great, was absolutely necessary, in order to create a conscious security in the minds of every individual in the country. He however begged that gent. would not suppose, that the measures which were in contemplation were not such as required mature and deliberate investigation. He could assure the House, that the measures about to be adopted were not such as ought to be imprudently planned, or inconsiderately proposed to the House. The plan which was intended by his right hon. friend to be submitted to their consideration was, he must own, one which appeared gigantic in its extent; but it was not one which, in his opinion, could in any respect be still greater, or which would bear more severely on the public, than the exigencies of the country loudly call for. It was his belief, that the delay which was thought necessary on the present occasion would not be productive of dangerous consequences. In his opinion, if it be in the power of his right hon. friend to produce the measure in question on Monday next somewhat more complete in its detail, and more perfect in its principle, it would be attended with more beneficial consequences, and he was sensible that the House would then be more able to give it every necessary attention. He was sorry to detain the House so long on this matter, for he knew that no apology could well be offered for delaying such a measure, when it was so loudly called for, with a view to the safety of the country. He was certain that from the experience which the House had had on former occasions of the activity of his Majesty's Government, they would join with him, that no imputation in the present instance could with propriety attach to those at the head of affairs. The country knew that great exertions were already made, and were now putting into execution for the defence of the realm, and he had no doubt but the country at large were thoroughly convinced, that no opportunity would be lost in bringing forward a measure, which the exigencies of the state seemed to render necessary, in addition to the plans already adopted. He had no doubt, but that the prudent exertions of Government would greatly add to the security of the country. He could positively assure the House, that so far from any delay being occasioned unnecessarily in regard to the adoption of the present measure, it was one which principally occupied the attention of Government for the last ten days. It was one, however, which required such great attention, that it was found impossible to bring it forward sooner. There were other avocations of great importance, which also contributed to the delay, and such too as could not admit of being postponed. Upon the whole, therefore, he hoped, that the House would be convinced that the delay proposed would not at all tend to retard the accomplishment of the measure, but, on the contrary, would contribute to its being brought forward in a state of great perfection and maturity.

[INCOME TAX.]—The order of the day for the further consideration of the report of the committee on the bill for laying a tax on landed and personal property being read,

Mr. *W. Smith* rose, and entered, at very considerable length into the principle and provisions of the bill. To the former, his objections were so decided, that he declared he should feel it his duty to take the sense of the House upon it in this stage. His objections to the inequality of the tax, to the mode of collection, and to its operation, particularly as to the landed interest, he perceived were not at all removed, though much was promised on a former day. That the funds ought to be taxed according to the objects of this bill, he readily admitted; but he was of opinion that they ought to be taxed in a larger proportion than land, because the latter was subject to many burthens from which the former was entirely exempted. As to the tax on trade, his grand objection was, that if the tax were to be levied at all, it should be equally collected, and that appeared impossible, unless by the establishment of an inquisition, which would be much more intolerable than any tax, and this inquisition too to be renewed yearly, in the same way as that under the former income bill. To such means of raising the supply, every wise statesman and every benevolent man, must, in his judgment, be adverse—for it would almost unavoidably tend to irritate the passions and to depress the spirits of the people, to irritate those passions, which a wise legislation would endeavour to lay

asleep, and to depress those spirits which it was peculiarly our interest in the present state of the country to keep alive; but the measure before the House, if suffered to pass, would operate the destruction of that bold independent principle which was now so necessary to defend the country. Sure he was, that some time since such a measure would not have been borne in England; that every hand, heart and voice would have been raised against it with as much unanimity and resolution, as he trusted would appear against any invading foe. He did not mean that the tax would have been opposed with force and violence, but that the opposition would have been such that no minister would have dared to propose it; but the times were materially changed. He recollected that even in the year 1794, one of the London newspapers, in describing the various evils which the French, should they succeed in invasion, would inflict upon this country, particularly dwelt upon, as the most prominent in the catalogue, a schedule of taxation, which was in fact the skeleton of the bill before the House, and of the former act from which it originated; such then, even at that late period, was the abhorrence which Englishmen felt against an income tax. He would call upon any gentleman to ask himself, whether he would not feel extremely offended, if his equal, or even intimate, should presume to put to him the same questions as to the state of his affairs, which under this bill the inferior officers of Government will be authorised to put? Could then any man, who felt the pride of independence, endure such a measure? The principle was in fact so generally odious, that an attempt to press it on the House and the country manifested an indifference to that universal and unequivocal sentiment of abhorrence which urged to the abolition of the former income act. It was in fact such an outrage upon the popular opinion, as a prudent minister ought to have avoided. If the tax, however, was to be persisted in, equality of payment was desirable, but how was that to be obtained?—By disclosures which could not be enforced but by a violation of every principle of freedom, and an outrage upon every feeling of pride. It was to be wished, however, that it might be equally collected, though he could not persuade himself to suggest any means, for if a holy office of tax gathering was to be established, he was not inclined to become a familiar. The right hon. gent. on the treasury bench had stated, that without this measure no means could be devised of imposing a fair contribution suited to the circumstances of men; but he would maintain that it was a mistake to suppose that this was such a contribution as he described. It would press upon the trading community very little indeed, for they would make the consumers pay, as they uniformly did, every tax levied upon them; they will remunerate themselves in their increased profits for any burthens imposed upon them. If traders would not compensate themselves so in this instance, the tax would be still more unequal. The House was therefore placed in this dilemma, that it must either impose a very considerable burthen on the consumers, or a very unequal tax upon the traders—upon the higher class of whom he admitted this tax would not press much. The hon. member stated, that his last, but not least important, objection to the bill, was its extreme length and complexity. It was necessary to be understood by all classes of the community, and yet it was so long, that he verily believed 19 out of 20 would not attempt to read it, and from its complexity, he ventured to say, very few would understand it. The principle, he repeated, was such as all the best writers disapproved, and the practice, as manifested during the continuance of the former income act, was even more mischievous than the writers appeared to calculate.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he would not follow the hon. gent. who had just sat down, through the whole of his observations, for this reason, that it did not appear necessary, for they were not objections altogether applying to the measure before the House: they were, indeed, for the most part, not at all new, and had been frequently answered before. The hon. gent. had said, that as far as this measure differed from the former income tax, he thought it less exceptionable. For himself he would say, that if it should turn out from experience to be better, he should be very happy, but if not materially altered from its present shape, he was much afraid it would not. To the principle of raising the supplies within the year he was glad to find so many converts of late from among those who so warmly opposed it when that principle was first proposed. The hon. gent. seemed now to approve of this principle, and he professed to respect the decisions of former Parliaments. Indeed the hon. gent.'s views appeared to be materially changed; and the measures were of much use which produced such a change in the hon. gent. and many of his friends. Really, in his judgment, we did owe much to the enemy we had to contend with, for he had succeeded in exciting a feeling such as we never suspected to be felt or looked for in the same quarter; he had produced an unanimity

which was astonishing and unexpected, and he had disposed gents. to look to that constitutional refuge in the hour of calamity, the Parliament. He hoped those sentiments were general, however contrary to some opinions formerly promulgated, as well under the privilege of Parliament as through other mediums of publication. But with respect to the principle of the measure before the House, the honourable gent. quoted authorities to shew that it was objectionable. The same authorities, however, with others also who had great names, might be chosen as the roots of any opposition to the constitution or the government. Those authorities the hon. gent. relied upon as sufficient to proscribe the theory of a tax upon income, and his own namesake (Dr. Adam Smith), who was not by the by very likely to be canonized, seemed to be the main pillar of his confidence in reprobating this project, of which he might have formed a judgment without having recourse to any remote history; for, without consulting the opinion of departed sages, it was competent to the youngest person in the House to reason from his own experience upon the operation and effects of the income tax. It was a measure adopted at a time when the gloom of despondency hung over the minds of the most firm, and when fear and apprehension was to be found among the most loyal. Then that gloom and that fear considerably obstructed the progress of a measure, which, according to the prophecies then confidently uttered, and nearly in the same terms as those used by the hon. gent. that evening, would tend to increase the gloom and to destroy the spirit of the country; but what were the consequences of this much abused measure? why, that subsequent to its adoption the spirit of the country grew up with rapidity and vigour, its triumphs extended, its good fortune, as it were, revived; for, whatever might be the disappointments of the war, whatever the terms upon which, in the then state of Europe, it was found expedient to conclude a peace, as far as related to the character, strength, and glory of this country, they never stood upon such elevated grounds. There was, in fact, no period in our annals in which the wisdom, vigilance, and firmness of parliament—the patience, good sense, and steadiness of the people—the valour, resolution, and heroism of our fleets and armies, were so highly eminent, nor one upon which an Englishman could fix his hands with such just grounds of exultation and pride; and yet those triumphant days followed the time when this measure was taken, which, in his opinion and that of his friends, threatened to produce the extinction of our public spirit, and of course would endanger the existence of our national security. Among all the observations of the hon. gent. he recollected only one that was new, and that was this, that if even, as he termed it, a holy office of inquisition for collecting the tax proposed by this bill were appointed from the trading part of the community, the only effect of it would be to squeeze out of them nothing. Though this statement might reconcile some people to the bill before the House, he confessed it could not have that influence with him; but the illustration of this argument was rather singular from the hon. gent. that is, traders would not suffer themselves, because they would make the consumers pay any tax which might be imposed upon them. This certainly was a position which, though it had some good authorities to support it, yet was opposed upon a very distinguished occasion by many great authorities, among whom was the hon. gent. himself, upon the discussions respecting the shop tax. This was an authority which he recollected, though perhaps it might be opposed by some of the many books which the hon. gent. had read and taken occasion to cite in the course of this discussion.—With respect to the provisions of the bill under consideration, there were many of them of which he strongly disapproved. The modes of disposing of capital should not by any means be interfered with, through the operation of a partial tax, tending to encourage the application of that capital to one mode in preference to another. Those modes were various. One likes to employ his capital in a business which requires great labour, and from which he looks for proportionate profits; another seeks to derive profits from his capital in great risks; and a third choses to indulge in laziness, and to enjoy a small profit in security. Of the latter, some resort to the funds, and others to land. It struck his mind that any attempt to meddle by a legislative measure with this, the usual and spontaneous distribution of property, would be highly injudicious and unjust, would be extremely unequal, and tend to violate the very character of an income tax. The great mass of property to be found in this country should be left to find its own level. If taxes are to be levied, they should be accommodated to the present state of property, which should in no case be disturbed. Every man had, to be sure, the right of disposing of his capital as he pleased. But in a country like this it would be unwise to encourage any man by a partial tax, to give his capital a particular direction; yet

such was the tendency of certain clauses in the act before the house, which he hoped would be corrected in the committee. The tax upon income should, according to its principle, be universal, and no man should be suffered to withdraw himself from it, or to escape its operation, but under certain circumstances, not to include the exemption, or unequal taxation, of any particular class of proprietors. These general observations he said he would take occasion to apply by and by to some clauses of the bill; and recurring to the remark of the hon. member (Mr. Smith), that the taxes on traders are always paid by the consumers, he contrasted this assertion with the arguments made use of by the hon. gent. and his colleagues, at the several debates on the shop tax, when that hon. gent. was surrounded by a phalanx much larger than, happily for the house and the country, he had now to boast of, and much larger, he trusted, than he ever would have again. Mr. Pitt then took notice of those parts of the bill to which he objected, and with respect to which he hoped the house would not go into a committee again, without making it a special instruction to such committee to amend them. His objections referred to the principle of the abatements on small incomes, in which land proprietors occupy their own property, and small annuities in the funds were most unequally treated (the latter, in fact, involving little short of a breach of public faith), and those too of that class of persons who were really entitled to compassion. It was proposed in the bill to make various abatements to persons having annual revenue not exceeding £150, and all under £60 a year to be entirely discharged from the tax. From this exemption, however, the landed proprietors and receivers of interest in the funds to such amount were excluded. He could not conceive the grounds upon which this exclusion was professed to rest. It certainly was, with respect to the funds, a breach of the principle upon which loans had been contracted for, and what effects such an innovation was likely to have upon any future loan he would not pretend to say, but he would maintain that it was a breach of promise to the contractors for the loans. For this strange difference in the application, he was aware of but one argument which was advanced, namely, that it was fair to take a distinction between the profits of capital employed in industry and that not arising from the same source. This distinction he thought the very reverse of wisdom; for if an equal tax was imposed on the revenue of the land owner, and the profits of the man in trade, the deductions should be the same from both, and that is consistent with the principle of an income tax. No premium should be given to men to employ their capital in a particular way, and nothing could be more iniquitous than to grant such premium of the revenue of the poor land-owners occupying their own ground, and the smaller annuitants in the funds. It would be subversive of the system by which this country had prospered, would derange the regular course of property, and depart from that policy by which this country had advanced in defiance of all the pedantry of law, and all the formality of positive institution. If it were deemed a good principle that the distinction he had alluded to should prevail, he should wish to hear upon what grounds it was not extended fully, that no difference was taken only in revenues under £150 a year? Why, he would ask, should persons of humble revenue in the funds and in land be made the sacrifices of this singular difference, while those of superior revenues were left quite untouched? He deprecated in the strongest terms a distinction pregnant with so much injustice in principle, and so much mischief in impression.—Mr. Pitt next proceeded to consider the policy of the tax, as now modified, in its operation on funded property. He called the attention of the House to the situation of many of those who were to be made liable to the whole tax without any abatements, who had claims to abatement much more powerful than numerous classes of possessors of other property to whom abatements were extended. When it was considered that many of those to be affected by it were the aged and the infirm, altogether incapable of increasing their income by any exertion of their own; when it was reflected that they were in possession of no capital which could admit of increase; that their wretched pittance could receive no possible augmentation; exposed to the unavoidable vicissitudes which the fluctuation of the funds experienced, and destitute even of the imaginary advantages of hope; was it, he would ask, consistent either with humanity, far less justice, to lay them under a pressure so severe? It was hard that, under these disadvantages, they should be exposed to a fresh burden, which could not fail to add to difficulties already unavoidable. The principle of the bill as it now stood, was in itself unfair, and, at all events, if it were allowed to remain, the same regulation ought to be extended to property in the funds as to all the lower species of property. But, above all other considerations, he deprecated the proposed regulation as inconsistent with national good faith,

and as calculated to strike the first blow against that credit for which the country had been so long distinguished In every loan bill the fundamental principle was, that there should be no deduction from the dividends of those who became the creditors of the public. Some persons had even carried this so far as to contend that they ought not to be included in a general tax on income. He was at least confident that it was inconsistent with the dignity or justice of parliament to place those who had lent money to the public in a worse situation than at the time when the money was advanced. There was no violation of any compact with the public creditor in making property arising from the funds be considered as a part of general income, but from the moment that the funds were separately taxed, what foundation could the public creditor rest upon in any future loan which it might be necessary to raise for the public service? Never at any period was it more important than at the present moment to preserve the public credit from the slightest suspicion. It would indeed be a most extraordinary and most unaccountable circumstance, if, at the time that we were, for the purpose of upholding the character of parliament, and maintaining the good faith of the country in paying every year upwards of six millions to the extinction of the national debt, we should, for the sake of gaining a revenue of a few hundred thousand pounds, resort to a tax which might strike at the root of public credit, and materially injure the future resources of the country. Such a step was peculiarly unseasonable at a moment when the propriety of raising a large portion of the supplies within the year had met the universal approbation of all parts of the house. It might produce consequences on the public credit which he would not then pretend to describe. They might, however, unless counteracted by wiser measures, be long experienced by consequences of the most disastrous nature. After adding a few more observations on this head, the right hon. gent. sat down by declaring his resolution, as soon as the motion for taking the report into further consideration was disposed of, to move an instruction to the committee in terms of the concluding part of his speech.

Mr. *W. Smith* begged leave to state, in explanation, that not one of the opinions which he had expressed on the subject of the late war, and many of the measures of the right hon. gent.'s administration, had undergone any change, and from the present situation of Europe he had no reason to believe that they would undergo any change,

The *Attorney General* begged leave, with the greatest possible deference to his right hon. friend (Mr Pitt) for all whose opinions it was impossible for any man to entertain a higher idea than he did, to state the grounds in which he thought the measure ought to be viewed. He could not by any means admit that there was a single provision in the bill, in the slightest degree inconsistent with the national good faith, and he believed the House would give him credit, when he declared that, if he conceived it in the smallest degree allied to a breach of the national credit, he would be the last man to give it the most distant support; he allowed, with his right hon. friend, that in every act of Parliament, by which a loan was raised, there was a special provision that the property to be funded for the public creditor was to be held sacred. There was nothing, however, in the bill at all incompatible with the stipulation. The capital of property in the funds was not to be taxed more than the capital of property of any other species. The engagement of the public creditor was, not that the property in the funds was not to contribute any thing to the public service, but that it should not be taxed, except in case where every other species of property was included. This, he was sure, was the precise principle of the bill, and he was at a loss to see how it was so far liable to any particular objection. But it was objected, that on the tax proposed to be levied on the funds, there were to be exemptions. The same principle, it was in the first place to be recollected, was applied to landed property, and to income arising from interest and annuity. The exemptions and abatements which had been formed were arranged on what he could not but think founded in fairness and justice. They were to be founded on a mixed consideration of capital and industry, and referred only to the lower classes of income. In these the amount of capital was very inconsiderable, and it was to grant to the small trader that allowance which was due to his personal exertions, that the scale of abatements had not proceeded beyond a hundred and fifty pounds a year, because beyond that sum capital necessarily increased, and labour was not confined to personal exertion, but the extension of capital rendered necessary an augmentation of assistance. There was, however, in this no unjust or partial pressure on property in the funds. If those who possessed property in the funds chose to withdraw and vest it in some speculation, where to render it productive personal exertion was necessary, it would just experience the same indulgence as was at present provided by the bill

to those whose profits arising from capital were less than a hundred and fifty pounds a year. He did not deny that the present clauses of the bill, as far as the tax on the funds was concerned, might be simplified and improved. This, however, could be very easily done in the Committee. He was very much disposed to think, that any alteration to the extent which his right hon. friend proposed, would necessarily occasion much of that disclosure of circumstances which it was so much the wish of the framers of the bill to prevent as far as possible. At all events, however, whatever improvements might be introduced, could better be suggested in the Committee, than proposed in the form of instructions. This he could not but consider an irregular mode of proceeding.

Mr. *Gregor* (from under the gallery) spoke for a few minutes, but in a low tone of voice. We could only collect generally, that he was a friend to the instruction which Mr. Pitt had declared his determination to propose.

Mr. *Kinnaird*, in very energetic terms, followed on the same side. Before the House went into the Committee, he was anxious that the principle of the bill should be fully understood. From the very luminous speech of the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Pitt), with almost all of whose strictures on the measure he perfectly agreed, he could not hesitate in collecting that the bill was to be considered as an income bill. The hon. and learned gent. opposite (the Attorney General) had on the other hand laboured hard to prove that it was a tax on capital. He ridiculed what the last speaker but one had said about disclosure, and contended that there would be no want of persons ready to declare their income, if by this means they might be excused from the payment of an oppressive tax. He adverted to the tax as it referred to Scotland, condemned it as contrary to the articles of the union, gave notice of his intention to move an instruction to the Committee on the subject, and expressed a hope that the right hon. gent. would afford him his powerful support. Before he sat down, he alluded to the delay in bringing forward the measure for the general defence of the country, which he had confidently expected to have heard detailed next day. Ministers boasted of their having long and seriously revolved the subject in their minds, but now the House was told that the measure could not yet be produced, lest it should appear in a crude and undigested form. When such was the language and conduct of Ministers, he had strongly doubted how far he could, consistently with his duty, entrust them with the supplies which it might be proper to vote for the public service.

Mr. *Wilberforce* impressed on the House the expediency of introducing some very important alterations into the bill, which, as it now stood, appeared to him peculiarly objectionable. If once the propriety of a tax on capital was admitted, then it would be necessary to ascertain its intrinsic worth, and to calculate the value of capital employed in a great variety of ways. This of itself would be an inconvenience which would fully demonstrate the impolicy of such a mode of taxation. He perfectly agreed with what had been thrown out about landholders, under a certain annual income, not being entitled to any abatement of the tax. This was a class of men, of whom he had to reckon a very large proportion among the number of his constituents. Many of them lived on their own farms, with the assistance of some adventitious source of income, while others wholly supported themselves and families by the produce of the land. The attachment, the loyalty, the public spirit of this respectable part of the community were not unknown to the House; and was it fair, at a moment like the present, to place them under an unequal system of taxation? The people of this country, he was sure, had good sense and public spirit enough to submit to such burthens as were necessary for the support of the public service, if they were but fairly and impartially imposed. Nothing, however, would sooner excite discontent than any appearance of partiality or oppression in the mode of levying the taxes. This every man would deprecate as the greatest evil that could happen under the present situation of the country. This was a time to soothe and conciliate, not to goad or to irritate the people. He applied the same general remarks to the stockholders, who were not to be exempted by the bill as it now stood, or were to receive no abatements. With considerable feeling he described their claim both on the justice and humanity of the House. He illustrated the argument drawn from views of national good faith, and insisted, that unless they were allowed equal advantages with the owners of other property, they had a fair right to complain of a violation of the public credit.

Mr. *Dent* was on the same side, and argued that, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not fully explain his views of a tax on the funds to those who contracted for the loan, he had been guilty of very reprehensible inattention to their interest.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted

that those who appealed to the humanity or to the justice of the House on the subject of the tax were entitled to have their opinions treated with all due respect and consideration. Above all it was highly important to have it ascertained how far it was at all calculated in the remotest degree to interfere with the national credit, which was, under every possible consideration, to be preserved inviolate. He hoped that he was not less inclined than any other member in the House to listen to the calls of humanity, and if it could be proved that the operation of the tax would be inconsistent with humanity, he certainly should not persevere in pressing it to the House. But unless this could be made out, he should feel it his duty to support it to the utmost of his power, as a tax, under all the circumstances of the case, the best which could be brought forward for raising a large portion of the supplies within the year. Against the principle of the tax, excepting from one or two quarters, no objections had in the former stages of the bill been brought forward, and till that night he had not been aware that there was any objection to the plan of raising a tax on the profits arising from capital. It was not meant that any distinction should be formed betwixt the different species of capital. It was to the income arising from this capital that the provisions of the act were to apply. The various species of capital were proposed to be divided into capital in landed property, property in the funds, and money arising from interest or annuities. The other denomination of property to which the act was to extend arose from income dependent upon personal exertions, or arising from professions. It was in this that distinction was to be founded. Every exertion had been made to render the operation of the tax on income and capital as equal and impartial as possible, while means had been employed to prevent the tax applicable to capital from being superadded to personal labour and industry. On this principle the ratio had been established from sixty to a hundred and fifty pounds a year in estimating the exemptions and abatements. The funds stood exactly on the same footing in the application of the tax, as landed and other species of property which had been repeatedly specified in the course of the debate. Unless, therefore, it could be shewn that the funds were exposed to any tax exclusive of other property; unless the operation of the tax could be shewn to be more directly oppressive, then it was impossible to prove the existence of any violation of the public faith. He had, since the tax was proposed, received a great number of applications on the subject; but among the various objections stated, this had never been started, various as were the quarters from which the applications proceeded. The mode of levying the tax had been the principal ground of objection. He had not himself been unaware, how eager and sensitive those connected with the credit of the country were, in all cases where that credit could in the remotest degree be affected. Those applying to him had claimed that the dividends should be suffered to remain in the hands of the public creditor, that the business of the Stock Exchange should remain unembarrassed, that no penalties should attach to the non-payment of the duty at the time the dividends were delivered. Impressed with the importance of avoiding any thing like a shock to public credit, and willing rather that the revenue should sustain some loss than that funded property should experience any depreciation, he had thought it his duty to accede to the substance of their requests. An hon. member had said something about the communication of his design of imposing this tax to the gentlemen who contracted for the loan. That hon. gent. from his extensive connexions, ought to have known what was the real state of the case. He had only however to state, that he spoke this in the presence of some gentlemen who were present at the interview; that he had disclosed his views in the fullest and most explicit manner. As to the equality of the operation of the tax, he had to observe, that it was formed on principles which appeared the best calculated to promote that most important object. But he begged leave further to call the attention of the House to that measure, which had at its origin raised the public funds from a state of extraordinary depression, which had reanimated the national spirit, and led to the success which had distinguished the last years of the war. Of the beneficial consequences of this measure, no sort of doubt could be entertained; but of this he was sure, that no man would affirm that this tax, beneficial as it was in all its points of view, was equal in its operation. Perfect equality in the operation of any tax, however desirable it might be, was inconsistent with the imperfection of human nature. He had no sort of objection to the present tax being called an income tax, except in so far as he thought that the title, which had been assigned to it, more fully described its nature. He finished by declaring his opinion that the proposition for instructing the Committee was unnecessary and irregular. It could only embarrass the proceedings of the Committee, without

at all binding their decisions. He expressed a hope that his right hon. friend would not insist on pressing his motion.

Mr. *Pitt*, so far from having heard any reasons to induce him to withdraw his notice, declared his express determination to take the sense of the House on the subject.

Sir *W. Curtis* said a few words, corroborating the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting his communication to the gentlemen concerned in contracting for the lottery.

Sir *H. Mildmay* observed, that the present was a bill imposing an income tax upon the full produce of landed property, without any deduction for interest or annuities charged upon such property. This was a principle which he considered as extremely unfair, and unless he was assured that there was a disposition on the part of his Majesty's Ministers to obviate this objection, he should vote against the Speaker leaving the chair. He highly approved the exemptions of all incomes under the value of £60 a year; and also that a scale of moderation should be adopted towards incomes, from £60 to £150 and upon the same principle; namely, a principle of lenity to persons of small income; he highly approved of the proposition of the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Pitt) and should vote for his motion when it came regularly forward. But there was one point on which the bill would have a most severe and unequal operation, contrary to its avowed principle; namely, that of a fair, equal, and proportionate tax, for it made no exemption whatever in favour of the persons having large families, if their income exceeded £150 a year, so that whether a man was single, or had a family of twelve children to support, there was no difference in the operation of the tax, though it must fall with a weight infinitely more oppressive in the latter than in the former case. The natural mode with persons of moderate income to countervail the tax, would be by resorting to rigid economy. This the gentleman of small family might do, by abridging the number of his superfluities; by dismissing a part of his servants, his carriages, or his horses, and diminishing the profusion of his table; but a man of large family, whose income was barely able to support them in a style of moderate respectability, had no such opportunity, as he could not dispense with the usual number of his servants: he could not avoid the expenses of educating his children, nor abridge the economy of a table already stinted by the most rigid frugality. Upon such men the tax would bear most oppressively; and he thought some considerable exemption was necessary in their behalf. He had asked the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer a question on this subject, some time since, and understood him to say, that such an exemption as he now alluded to, would be adopted; but he found no such clause in the bill. If such exemption was not made, the right hon. gent. would find his bill extremely unpopular, and the produce on which he reckoned, highly illusory. For though the gaols of the country should be filled with the fathers of families, he should not find it possible to extort from them that which they could not surrender without reducing their families to absolute want. He therefore wished, that if the right hon. gent. rejected this principle, he would abandon his new system of assessed taxes, and adopt the former income tax, as one infinitely less oppressive than the new arrangement which was professed to be so much less burthensome.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wished to apprise the hon. baronet that a provision was intended to the purpose he proposed; and desired to know, if an exemption from the house and window tax, in favour of persons with large families, would not go a great way towards the object he so earnestly desired.

Dr. *Laurence* thought the tax on income, of every sort, a very fair one; but he disapproved of the confusion necessarily arising from the consolidating of two bills into one. He fully coincided with the sentiments of the right hon. gent under the gallery, (Mr. Pitt) and should certainly vote for his proposed motion for the instruction of the Committee.

Lord *Hawkesbury* expressed some regret at the resolution taken by his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) to press a motion for an instruction to a Committee, which, if even it was consistent with parliamentary forms, was still unnecessary, because it would give the Committee no powers which they would not have without that instruction. The cases wherein it was necessary to vote instructions to Committees were, those wherein some new provision or clause, different from any thing in the bill referred for their discussion, was necessary to be adopted. In this case, however, there was nothing in the nature or substance of the regulation proposed by his right hon. friend, which the Committee might not adopt as amendments to the bill without any such instruction; and therefore, in his mind, it would be the better way to let the House go into the Committee unembarrassed by an instruction, which would be mandatory upon them, if

they did not think fit to adopt the proposition. His right hon. friend had said, that this bill, in its present shape, would go to injure the credit of the country; but always a friend to that credit as he was, if he had the least idea the bill could have such a tendency, he would be one of the first to abandon it. His own original idea of the former income tax was, that it should attach upon all income whatsoever, without exception, leaving commodities and labour to find their own level in consequence;—but to this it was objected, that vast numbers were so circumstanced, as not to be able to raise their wages in time to avoid feeling severe pressure from the tax; and therefore it was that an exemption of the poorer classes was adopted. But in principle, he thought that the tax ought to attach upon every man in proportion to his income. It did not attach upon the funds merely as funds, but as an income arising from capital so vested; and therefore in the distinction taken by the bill, between the income arising principally from small capital, and much personal labour, which was uncertain and fluctuating, and must cease with the death, or even the illness, of the party, and that on the income arising from solid and permanent capital in the funds, he thought the distinction made by the bill extremely fair, as its principle was to tax income arising from capital, and exempt, as much as possible, that arising from personal labour. Its object also was, in conformity to the principle of raising the supplies for the public service within the year, by a tax on property in every tangible shape.

Mr. *Babington* observed, that the principle of exemption to personal and professional labourers was not carried throughout the bill; and he thought also with Mr. Pitt on the propriety of exempting small capitals in the funds.

Sir *W. Geary* said, the right hon gent. (Mr. Pitt) had said this bill would bear hard upon the funds, and injure the public credit; but he defended the tax as fair upon funds as well as upon every other species of income.

Mr. *Pitt* explained by repeating his former point.

Mr. *Ellison* said, he had the honour to vote formerly for the income tax proposed by his right hon. friend under the gallery (Mr. Pitt). He perfectly coincided with his opinion that night on the exemption of minor incomes in the funds, and on landed possessions; but conceiving the Committee fully competent to adopt the right hon. gent.'s proposition, by way of amendment, without any previous instruction, he would vote for an instruction to the Committee, which would seem to have no other object than to embarrass his Majesty's Ministers.—The report was ordered to be brought in.

Mr. *Pitt* now rose to make his promised motion; in doing which he declined the repetition of the arguments he had already used in support of it. His motion, he said, was objected to on the ground that the Committee was empowered to do that which he wished, without instruction; but as nothing was said to dispute the parliamentary regularity of the motion he proposed, he felt it his duty to persist in it; because, however he might otherwise approve the present bill, he could not give it his assent, unless the principle to which he alluded should be adopted; nor would he vote that the bill go into a Committee, until he should have the assurance he now desired to that effect. The argument against his motion was, that the Committee may adopt the principle without the instruction; his motive for persisting was, that with the instruction they must adopt it; and he was convinced that if the Committee, after such instruction, omitted to adopt the principle, it would be a full reason to induce the House to re-commit the bill. He knew, that in the usual mode of voting instructions to Committees, "that they have power to adopt such and such clauses," it is for their option to adopt or reject; but where the instruction is positive and mandatory, the House would, of course, exact compliance with its positive instruction. He stated these reasons, not to shew that in all cases instructions were necessary to Committees for the adoption of particular clauses, but because this was a case which he considered of importance, and one, without which he could not give his assent to the bill. He said, he was not a little hurt at an imputation coming from an hon. member on the other side of the House (Mr. Ellison) that he had chosen this motion as an attack to embarrass his Majesty's Government.—What! (continued Mr. Pitt) an attack on his Majesty's Government, because a Member of Parliament uses that which is his undoubted privilege—to move for an instruction to a Committee upon a bill in discussion before the House! I should be surprised, indeed, if any of the right hon. gentlemen below me conceived my motion, or my conduct that night, in any such view as an attack upon their measures. They have known for weeks past my objections on this ground; and if I did not state them publicly, in the first instance, but rather waited till the last moment, it was because I hoped the alteration would have been made in the bill before it came to this stage. Mr. Pitt con-

cluded by moving, "That it be an instruction to the Committtee on the bill, to insert a clause for exempting all income arising from lands, or from property in the funds, in the same manner as income arising from any other species of property, profession, or employment."

The *Speaker* rose and said, that considering the turn which the debate had taken, he felt it his duty to state, that he entertained strong doubts whether it would be regular, or consistent with the established order of parliamentary proceedings, to put a question from the chair, upon the motion proposed by the right hon. gent. conceiving, as he did, that the Committee would have power to adopt the principle without the instruction, which would, therefore, be unnecessary. He said he had not been able to recollect any case in which such a motion had been put from the chair, nor had he been reminded of any such case in the course of the debate; nor had he ever understood that the power given to a Committee by a vote of instruction, was mandatory upon them to adopt the purpose for which they were so instructed; at the same time he should cheerfully do his duty in putting any question from the chair which the House should think proper to direct.

Mr. *Pitt* professed the highest deference to the authority of the chair; but said, that although he had not thought it necessary to search for specific precedents applicable to this case, which were so numerous on the Journals, though not, perhaps, in any recent practice, he had, however, requested a friend to look to the Journals, who had found one precisely in point. It was in session of 1721, vol. 19, page 623, when a bill was before the House for appointing commissioners to examine the debts due by a paymaster of the forces, and it was moved as an instruction to the Committee on the bill, to nominate the same commissioners as had been appointed by the bill of the preceding years. Here then was an instance where the Committee, without such instruction, might nominate or reject those persons or any of them; but the instruction being mandatory, they were bound and did comply with it.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he felt great delicacy in delivering his opinion on the point which had created the doubt expressed from the chair; and though he could not certainly take upon him to say, that the motion made for this instruction was irregular, he certainly might be allowed to give his opinion, that it was not usual, and was a measure of that kind which he could least of all have expected on the present occasion. In the very nature of things, it was impossible that a Committee should be instructed to do that, for the doing of which there is a discretionary power vested in it. Such a proceeding was always used in cases where a larger power was intended to be given, but never in a case of this kind. It had been stated by his right hon. friend, that some gentlemen in the course of the debate, had contended that such an instruction as the present was a direct reflection on and attack against his Majesty's Ministers. He did not recollect to have heard such a sentiment delivered by any one; and, for his own part, he assured the House, and his right hon. friend, that he personally had never felt it as a subject of complaint. He only wondered he had not heard of it before that night. He had made it a point to take the opinions of all those who could be supposed best capable of forming a true judgment of the nature of the public funds, and in what respect this tax would affect them, by being laid on the income arising therefrom; and from every information he had been able to acquire, he could not find that any one person with whom he had conversed on the subject, was at all aware, or had conceived the smallest idea, that the distinction of which his right hon. friend complained was in any respect held to be inconsistent with the public faith. It was not, he said, his intention at present to enter into that question; but he would beg the House to consider the state in which it now stood. This was a bill which it was necessary should pass as soon as possible, as on it very much depended the public credit of the country. Every method had been taken to expedite it, by stating what were its contents; and if there had been any serious objection to any part of it, such might certainly have been brought forward in the previous stages of the bill. When the House went into a Committee, *pro forma*, in order that the bill might be printed for the consideration of the House, on the question that the Speaker do leave the chair, it would have been competent to his right hon. friend to have moved, that before that should take place, such parts of the bill as relate to public credit should be left out, and the merits of this question might have been then discussed, in a manner much more satisfactorily than by the method pursued on the present occasion. That stage of the bill had passed; and now, when the House was going into the Committee, for the purpose of bringing into full and fair discussion, the principle and merits of the bill, the motion was brought forward, for an instruction to the Committee to exempt certain persons

from being taxed, under an idea that taxing them was a breach of public faith. He would not say that such a motion was irregular, but he thought it not very candid, and that it would be a much better mode of proceeding for the right hon. gent. even now to move that such parts of the bill as relate to the public credit be left out, than to persist in his present motion.

Mr. *Pitt* said, it could not be very interesting to the House to know exactly at what time the right hon. gent. was made acquainted with his disapprobation of the tax on the funds; but he could and would positively say, that he had given him intimation of it from the moment he knew of the bill. He was surprised to find himslf now reprobated for not having made his objections in previous stages of the bill; but the House must be sensible that he had refrained from doing so at the express desire of the right hon. gent. who had requested that the bill might go through a Committee in order to be printed, and that all discussion on the subject should be postponed till the present occasion. He had made the right hon. gent. acquainted with what he thought of the defect of that part of the bill; and he had entertained hopes that, amongst the other parts of it which had undergone alterations and amendments, this part of it might have come in for its share. In this hope he waved making any public opposition to it, from a sincere desire to promote the bill if that defect was removed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* solemnly assured the House, that nothing could be further from his idea, than that such a mode of proceeding was intended to be pursued. As to the early part of the right hon. gent.'s speech, he assured him he never meant to complain of a want of communication of his sentiments on the subject; but only that he had never considered that it was entertained for a moment in any quarter, that an exemption was a breach of faith. Even now it would be better to leave out that part of the bill which relates to public credit, than to bring forward such an objection on such an occasion, and for such a purpose. He declared solemnly, that in what he had said as to the conduct of the right hon. gent. in bringing forward his motion, he did not mean to convey even a complaint, much less a reproach.

Sir *W. Pulteney* said, he saw this question in a very different point of view from the right hon. gent. who moved this instruction. The principle of this bill he understood to be this, viz. that every one shall pay a fair and equal proportion of his income; and the question ought to be, whether you will admit any exemptions at all? If you admit one single exemption, you go against the main principle of equality; but he denied that, by allowing any exemptions, the House would be guilty of a breach of faith. He should, therefore, vote against the instruction.

The right hon. the *Treasurer of the Navy* observed, that the express wish of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) was, that the House should take every precaution in order to prevent any infraction of the public faith. He was as anxious to promote such an intention as he believed the right hon. gent. possibly could be, and he had no doubt that such was also the earnest desire of those gentlemen who brought forward or supported the present measure. This was attacking their conduct by a sort of *side wind*, which he did not think was altogether *fair* or proper at the present moment. If it was right that a tax upon property should be passed to support the exigencies of the state at the present crisis, he thought there could be no great impropriety in the Bank paying the person who came to receive his dividend all but the tax, and handing over the amount of the tax to the proper officer. For his part, he could not see how, or with what propriety, the imposing of a tax could be termed a breach of faith, when the defence of the country, and the maintenance of its government required that such a sacrifice should be made for the general benefit of the whole. Under such circumstances, where was the impropriety in taxing *A.* when it was admitted that *B.* standing perhaps in different circumstances, but who received the same annual income, or possessed the same amount of capital, would be taxed to the same amount? The right hon. gent. had declared that it was not his desire to embarrass or to thwart the intentions of his Majesty's Government. He gave the right hon. gent. the most ample credit to the full extent of such a declaration; but he would put it to the candour of the right hon. gent. whether, at the present crisis, it would not be more considerate and more patriotic to suppress a sentiment like that, the meaning and intention of which was so liable to be perverted in another place? After the observation which had come from such high and respectable authority, he put it to the feelings and the candour of the right hon. gent. whether it was right to persist in urging the propriety of his motion, after the information he had received of its irregularity from the chair? *(No, no, no! from all sides of the House.)* The right hon. gent. resumed. It was not his wish to misrepresent the sentiments of any gent. but more part-

cularly those which were delivered from such high authority as that of the person to whom he then alluded. At all events he could not agree that it would be becoming in that House to be the foremost, except the city of London, in resisting the operation of the bill at such a crisis as the present. In this too it might be observed that, though that corporation, on all other occasions, was considered as almost the leader of all the other corporations of the country, yet it was worthy of remark, that in this instance, not one city, not one county, nor one borough throughout the whole country had followed their example. Some gentlemen had observed, that the present was to be considered as a tax arising from capital only; if that were to be the case, Government and the Country would be deprived of the assistance of a great part of this important measure. There was a very considerable number of persons who, though engaged in trade, yet were not possessed of any capital whatsoever, they were merely dealers on commission, and possessed no property, no article of the trade in which they dealt, and yet there were many of those received an income of more than £150 a year. In fact, taking it in every point of view, he could not see the necessity which existed for the House adopting the terms of the instruction then moved to be given to the Committee; and he thought that the right hon. gent. should have paused before he uttered the expressions to which he then alluded—he lamented that they came from such authority.

Mr. *Pitt* offered a few words in explanation. The right hon. gent. had appealed to his feelings and his candour, and he had said, that "he should have paused before he uttered" the expressions he had made use of respecting that measure. He trusted that neither his candour nor his feelings would ever induce him, or indeed any other member of that House, so far to forget the duty and the independence of a British Member of Parliament, as to refrain from expressing, in plain and unequivocal terms, whatever might be his opinion of any measure which was brought before that House. Some mention had been made of opposition to his Majesty's Ministers, and indeed some gentlemen appeared to him to have contracted such a regular habit of opposition, that they continued the same course in one administration which they had traversed in another. He was happy to see, however, that there was one gent. at least, who did not remain so inflexible, that some were capable of seeing the necessity there was for their lending their assistance to his Majesty's Ministers at this important crisis.

Mr. *Giles* observed, that the clause which had been objected to referred only to the small landholder and the stockholder. The clause, however, would be found to extend to others who fell within the description given only to them. The clause, in fact, went on a general principle to regulate the taxation of all capital not arising from industry. He, on the whole, thought the present tax much less objectionable than the late income tax, which an hon. baronet had termed his *old friend*. He should, therefore, vote against the instruction which had been moved for the committee.

Mr. *Wilberforce* spoke in favour of the instruction. He contended, that the principle of it was to take care that those who derive their incomes from public funds should stand on as good a footing as those who had incomes of other kinds. There was nothing more dangerous than admitting nice distinctions, when the public faith is concerned. He would, therefore, support the instruction.

Mr. *H Lascelles* thought the case of small proprietors required the attention and consideration of the House as much, or more, than any other description of persons. He paid a high compliment to the character and talents of Mr. Pitt, and said, he should vote for the instruction.

Mr. *Tyrwhitt* said, all our proceedings had evinced a spirit of unanimity to the present moment; and as the right hon. the Att. General had mentioned that some exemptions were to be made in the committee, he hoped that unanimity would not be interrupted, by persisting in the present motion.

Sir *E. Hartop* requested to know of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he meant to stand by those exemptions mentioned by the Attorney-General?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* answered, that he meant to propose to the Committee an exemption to the extent mentioned by his hon. and learned friend.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that would not remove his objection; for then it would remain in the proportion of 10l. a year to 60l. on other income.

On the question being loudly called for, a division took place. Against the instruction, 150, for it, 50. The House then went into a Committee on the bill, Mr. Alexander in the chair. The several clauses not objected to were gone through, and the Chairman asked leave to sit again next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 14.

[MINUTES.]—Sir C. Pole moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the Bill for transferring the Chatham Chest to Greenwich. Read a second time, and committed for the next day.—The London Coal Market Bill, the Friendly Societies' Bill, the Irish Justice of Peace Protection Bill, the Irish Ship Burning Bill, and the Guernsey Corn Bill, were read a third time, passed, and ordered to the Lords.—Sir W. Geary presented a petition from the Debtors confined in Maidstone gaol. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Lord Mayor moved, that the order of the day for the House resolving into a Committee on the City Additional Force Bill should be postponed till the next day. Ordered.—The Volunteer Corps Bill was read a second time, and committed for Monday.—The House, in a Committee, went through the Thames Police Bill. Ordered to be reported the next day.—Mr. Alexander brought up the reports of the Longitude Bill, and the Grenada Loan Bill. Read a third time the next day.—Mr. H. Addington brought up a Bill for more speedily completing the Militia of Great Britain, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

[INCOME TAX.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for the House resolving itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the Property and Income Tax Bill. Resolved accordingly.—After the Committee had proceeded some length in considering and discussing the bill, paragraph by paragraph,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose and said, "Sir, I rise at this time in the hope of shortening the discussion. I have considered the sentiments which were thrown out last night, with regard to exemptions; and I am decidedly of the opinion I was then of, that no breach of good faith could possibly attach on the supposed distinction between income arising from trade and other species of income. I would beg the Committee to advert to the principles of the bill, in considering of the propriety of the alteration about to be submitted to them. It is proposed to make a distinction between the income arising from capital, and that arising from bodily labour and skill. In those cases where the income is produced by a combination of interest, from capital, and that arising from bodily labour, it was my wish to grant indulgence, so that no person should pay more than 5l. when his income amounted to less than 150l. The interest arising from capital is then one which may be fairly fixed with the tax. I mean to propose an exception from the principle of the bill, in so far as regards that sort of income which arises not from bodily labour, but from the learned professions, which is even more extensive than that arising from capital. Of all the cases of hardship to which this tax can apply, I conceive that it is most severe on the income arising from that species of industry. It will not be the policy of Parliament at this time to exclude the income arising from that source, however, from contributing a fair sum towards the present exigencies. There is no one who arrives to great attainments in such professions as I allude to, who has not acquired a considerable proportion of capital; and you are, therefore, to combine the advantages which he thus derives, not from bodily labour, but from the labour of the mind, with the income arising from his capital. Almost every person engaged in trade may carry on that trade by means of representatives; but persons engaged in the learned professions must give in person that advice which is necessary, for no proxy can possibly be admitted. It is absolutely impossible to apply an unobjectionable mode of taxation. I feel the difficulty of extending the exemptions, on account of creating a prodigious addition to the trouble of the Commissioners. It does not appear to me, however, to be unjust or irrational to make a distinction between capital arising from trade yielding a large interest, and that which yields a moderate income. No defalcation of any consequence would arise from the proposed exemption. There is no ground for a charge of violation of faith. It may be a matter of surprise to the Committee, that after considering the subject with great anxiety, I should now feel disposed to think, under the present circumstances, that the public creditors should enjoy some exemption from the present tax. I am inclined to join in the wish which was pretty generally expressed last night, to extend the exemptions to persons deriving their incomes from land to the amount of 150l. and to propose a scale for that purpose. But, Sir, I must fairly own, that I do this with great difficulty. It is a difficulty, however, which I am satisfied may be got the better of, at the expense of what is highly important towards the preservation of the bill—the avoiding disclosure and contributing towards the ease of collecting the tax. Sir, this is a moment, when, above all others, I am glad to see reluctance in several gentlemen to acquiesce in the adoption of any measure which may tend to

injure the feelings of any class of individuals. It is most desirable, important, and necessary, to carry with us the opinions and feelings of that very description of persons for whom I have been brought to reconcile my mind to these exemptions. They constitute a very considerable proportion of the yeomanry, whose zeal, spirit, and ardent love of their country, have been manifested in a conspicuous manner during the last ten years, and never more alive to that ardent zeal than at the present moment. I am assured that an expectation was entertained by them, that they would experience the indulgence of the legislature, and that persons of a given income would not be subject to be taxed so fully as others. But having said this, I must acknowledge, that I look forward to some degree of defalcation in the amount of the tax, which will create a necessity, if the war should continue, for Parliament to act up to our avowed principle, of raising supplies within the year. I hope, therefore, that gentlemen will make up their minds to fill up the chasms which may arise from such exemptions. I shall now allude to the schedule which is necessary to introduce this exemption. I should propose to leave out that part of the bill, which begins with schedule B. No. 2, to the end of the 20th page; with the intention of proposing the next day certain clauses which may be introduced when approved of by the Committee, so as to carry the purpose into effect. Though I entertain a conviction that the bill will be got over, it will require very great diligence to prepare the clauses for the continuance of the discussion to-morrow. I apprehend, however, that they will be ready for consideration by that time."

Mr. *Pitt* said, he had heard the observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with inexpressible satisfaction. They had freed his mind from those objections which, had the measure been persisted in as it originally stood, would not have prevented him from supporting the bill in general. His objections could not have prevented him supporting the system of raising great part of the supplies within the year. But he thought the dangers would have counteracted the advantages of the plan. He was most anxious that there should be a probability of every man concurring in the measure in general, and in every part of it. Though in the detail there might be considerable difficulties, he trusted there would be none as to the fundamental principles. He trusted the Committee would proceed with minds actuated by a desire to render the bill as perfect as possible. Understanding that the point which formed the basis of his objection was given up, he was not anxious to tread over the controversy, or to advert to the motives which might have produced the changes. He would not quarrel because his arguments might not have been approved of; he was perfectly satisfied that the conclusion of them had been adopted. He observed, that as far as the exemptions were applied to landed and funded property, as well as other sources of income, there could be no difficulty in adopting the bill without striking out the schedules.

The *Attorney General* said, as it was intended to carry the exemptions to every description of income, it would be more convenient to adopt a general provision that should extend to them.

Dr. *Laurence* thought the mode of making the alteration in the bill should be left to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was of opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer had acted wisely and politically, in giving way in favour of that bold peasantry, which, once extinguished, never could be supplied. He could not pledge himself to vote for any tax that might be brought forward to supply the defalcation occasioned by the exemptions, but he was sure he should ever be disposed to vote for taxes to meet the exigency of the country.

Mr. *Buxton* suggested there should be exemptions in favour of the landed interest for repairs.

Mr. *Calcraft* opposed this suggestion. He, as a land-holder, could not object to the tax, however hard it might press upon him.

Mr. *Rose* suggested that the exemptions should be extended to clergymen who did duty at several churches in the same parish, and were consequently obliged to keep a curate.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, the evil of this bill, as well as of the former one, arose from the necessity of exemptions. He thought a tax lower in amount, without any exemptions, would be more desirable; for by adopting them a rule was laid down that must be arbitrary. Whether the line was drawn at 100l. or 200l. it was obvious a case could be stated, where a person with 100l. a year was, in fact, richer than another with 200l. The less the exemptions were multiplied, the more desirable the tax would be. Agreeing with his right hon. friend as to extending the exemptions, he yet cautioned the House against carrying them further, except in cases of necessity. If they did, they would have all the difficulties of the tax without their money's worth. It

might be true that the case of a clergyman might bear hard, but there was no case with regard to which a grievance might not exist. If they went into exemptions with too much minuteness, they would have no ground to stand upon.

Mr. *Hurst* said, he was sorry the Chancellor of the Exchequer had conceded. He was of opinion every man in the country who had twenty shillings ought to pay one shilling to the state at the present crisis.

Mr. *William Smith* said, that every thing which he had contended for was now granted. The principle, that different species of property ought to be differently taxed, was recognized. He agreed very much with the noble Lord (Hawkesbury) that the property to be taxed once fixed, they ought to go from the highest to the lowest without any abatement.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* said, that by the 9th article of the Act of Union, Scotland was only to pay the land-tax in the proportion of £50,000 for that country, for every two millions which was paid by England. He moved an amendment to that purpose.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* contended, that this was not a land-tax such as was meant by the act in question, and therefore the noble Lord's argument fell to the ground.

Mr. *Hobhouse* agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that in the present instance all ought to pay in proportion to their circumstances. The circumstances of Scotland were changed since the union, and unless it could be shewn that it could not pay, it ought to come forward with a fair and equal proportion. He opposed the amendment.

Mr. *Kinnaird* maintained that this was a land-tax, so far as it went, to levy five per cent. on the income arising from land, and was therefore within the meaning of the Act of Union. By that act no disability to pay was required to be proved, and public faith demanded its execution. Even with regard to ability, Scotland was much in the same state with respect to England as at the time of the union. Scotland had improved, but England had improved in proportion. An instance was, that £20,000 (mighty sum!) was lately granted for the improvement of almost one half of the Scottish territory.

A long conversation was carried on between the Attorney General, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Plummer, &c. on the subject of the improvement of farms on lease, which improvements it was proposed to tax according to their value. Mr. Plummer at length notified his intention to move, in a future stage of the bill, an amendment, as he considered the present clause as a most serious discouragement to farmers, and consequently as being likely to injure the interests of agriculture.—Several members, shared in a long and desultory discussion on some clauses, and proposed amendments. In the course of which, speaking on the head of estates principally productive by fines, Mr. Pitt observed, that such fines did not fall properly under the denomination of capital, but did certainly constitute a part of income, as they formed the means of subsistence, upon which, undoubtedly, an average could easily be made out. Such, for instance, he said, were the lands of the church, of the deans and chapters, of the bishops, of public schools, and of that respectable body whom he had the honour to represent in that House. All these different descriptions of property must necessarily be liable to the operation of the tax upon income, according to the average ascertained.—The Committee then went through various other clauses, after which, on the suggestion of Mr. W. Smith, the question was put, "that the chairman report progress, and ask leave to sit again;" which being agreed to, the Speaker resumed the chair, and after disposing of a few other orders of the day, the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 15.

[SCOTCH APPEAL, LOTHIAN *v.* HENDERSON.]—The Lord Chancellor pronounced the judgment in this cause, by which the Interlocutor in the Court of Session is affirmed.—The original action in this cause was on a policy of insurance on an American vessel condemned in the Courts of France, on account of not having the muster-roll on board. In this case a special agreement had taken place between the insurers and the assured, that the cargo should be paid for in bills of a certain date, notwithstanding a capture, if the cargo should be proved to have been actually American property; and therefore, that there was no contravention of the warranty on the part assured. This decision takes the present action entirely out of the class of the decisions which have invariably taken place in the Courts in England for half a century, in cases where neutral vessels insured in this country have been condemned in Courts in France; this case standing on its own bottom.

[BILL TO AMEND THE ACT OF QUEEN ANNE, FOR THE BETTER PROVISION OF THE CLERGY.]—The order of the day for reading this bill a third time having been moved, the Lord Chancellor read the bill, when

The *Earl of Suffolk* rose and said, he had some few observations to make, but he would endeavour to avoid the repetition of what he had formerly said upon the subject, as much as possible. His lordship then said, the great objection he felt to this bill was, because it was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it trenched upon a statute of the most essential importance; viz. the Statute of Mortmain. That statute, his lordship said, had passed nearly seventy years ago, 1736, and was regarded by all the writers on the subject, as one of the wisest acts of Parliament that ever was passed. He could not, therefore, but strongly object to the proceeding to repeal that act, as the present bill did. He reasoned upon this point for some time, and then said, he had on a former day stated a real provision for the poorer clergy, and which would produce forty times as much as the whole amount of the income arising from Queen Anne's bounty, which was no more than fifteen thousand pounds. Let the dignitaries of the church contribute two real first fruits, and two real tenths. His lordship stated the arguments that he had more than once used with regard to the beneficed clergy, in possession of livings of more than 100l. a year, all of whom he would have contribute to assist their poorer brethren of the cloth, and also the dignified clergy of every description. In addition to this, if it should be found necessary, he would propose the measure recommended by the Bishop of Llandaff in his celebrated letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to deduct a third of the profits of all prebendaries, deaneries, and other livings under chapters, such as Bath and Wells, &c. and if a further sum should still be necessary, he (Lord Suffolk) would propose a tax of 2 per cent. on all livings above 300l. per annum to 800l.; and after the latter sum, of 4 and 5 per cent. according to their value. The first fruits and tenths were given to our kings before the reformation, a practice which prevailed up to the reign of Queen Anne, who with great generosity gave them leave to establish a corporation, who were to distribute the produce among the inferior clergy. If the Pope had continued his former supremacy over the religion of this country, little doubt could be entertained but he would have insisted on a *real* first-fruits and tenth; and the crown being now placed in the situation of the Pope, had an undoubted right to exact the same, which would produce 150,000l. which he thought would be perfectly adequate to the purpose. His lordship, speaking of the Statute of Mortmain, said it was of the utmost utility, for that many instances of the greatest abuses had prevailed antecedent to it, through the influence of the clergy. He would state one that happened not many years since at Naples, which was a Roman Catholic country, and consequently the priests had there more influence over the minds of men under circumstances of weakness and enthusiasm, commonly felt by persons in a dying state, than in a Protestant country. A priest was sent for to administer spiritual comfort to the mind of a man upon his death-bed. The Prince de Cereeli, he believed, was the dying man, and possessed immense riches; the priest persuaded him to leave his whole fortune exclusively to him, to the great prejudice of his own family and relations. Nor was the priest contented with his wealth only, but he would have the bed from under the dying man. At that moment the physician of the prince came into the room, and finding what was doing, said to the priest, "No, you shall not have the bed, it is my perquisite, and I'll have it." This altercation got abroad, and the will was in consequence set aside. His lordship then adverted to what he had before said relative to tithes being a heavy burthen on the improvements in agriculture; and alluding to what had on that occasion been advanced by the Bishop of St. Asaph, "that where tithes are taken in kind, it was universally found they were the best cultivated lands in the kingdom," his lordship observed, that it was certainly true; but so far from its being an argument, that tithes were favourable to agriculture, it only proved this incontestible fact, "that where lands had been highly improved, the clergy had uniformly insisted on receiving tithes in kind." His lordship said he could not attend to another bill upon this subject, in the other House, as he wanted to go into the country to encourage his tenants and neighbours to act with energy and vigour against the enemy, if he effected a landing. His lordship reminded the House of what the consequence had been in France, owing, he really believed, to the clergy of France joining the *Tiers Etat*; to that circumstance, he in a great measure attributed the revolution. Having touched upon various different matters, some of which his lordship admitted were not immediately connected with the present bill, he at length brought his speech to a conclusion.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* rose to say, that notwithstanding the apprehensions of the noble earl, that this bill was about to repeal the Mortmain Act, as it was erroneously termed, the bill was not calculated to do any such thing. It solely went to add a single exemption to those which already appeared in what was called the Mortmain Act, viz. the governors and trustees of Queen Anne's bounty. This single limited exemption was all that the bill did.

The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack to explain to the noble earl, that he had not been the person to say what the noble earl had imputed to him respecting tithes. His lordship said, the benefice of every clergyman, with all its attendant advantages, was as much his property as his freehold was his property. He contended, that there was always a great outcry about tithes, but he never heard any person pretend to affect lay property. He contended, that no part of the ecclesiastical system, as it now stood, could be broke in upon, without running the risk of utterly destroying every part of the clerical character. Clergymen must not be converted into farmers, and hold lands, unless it were meant to undermine the whole church establishment. But tithes were a favourite topic to hold out to alarm the populace; and in all the seditious publications, from the year 1793 to 1796, it was selected and held forth as a fit means of degrading the Government, and putting the subjects out of humour with it. His lordship then went into an ample explanation of the grounds of the present bill. He said, what was falsely termed the Mortmain Act contained certain exemptions, and for many years it was held that these exemptions included the trust for the distribution of Queen Anne's bounty. But in the late Lord Camden's time, a cause came before him on the question, whether the exemptions did include that trust or not. Lord Camden held that it did not, and the new doctrine had prevailed ever since. It was, therefore, necessary to correct the accidental inadvertency of the Legislature, and set the Legislature right where it was wrong. This was the object of the bill, and nothing more; but with respect to the Mortmain Acts, when they came to be examined, they would not be found to merit the high commendations which men, who did not correctly understand them, were pleased to bestow upon them.

The Earl of *Suffolk* rose to explain, and said, he certainly should have no objection to exchange lay impropriations for adequate compensations, as it would be an advantage to him, his whole estate consisting chiefly of lay impropriations. Having stated this, his lordship was again entering into a disquisition on the conduct of the clergy of France previous to the revolution, when he was called to order by

The Bishop of *St. Asaph*, who said, he would not sit patiently and hear the clergy of the Church of England compared with the clergy of France, between whom there was no parallel whatever. Besides, what had the conduct of the clergy of France to do with the present bill?

Lord *Suffolk* resumed, but was soon again called to order by the bishop, for continuing to talk of the clergy of France, and also for speaking a second time.

The *Lord Chancellor* thought the noble earl had risen to notice and explain about something which had fallen from him; but certainly he had not said one word about the clergy of France.—The bill was read a third time, and passed.

[WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE.]—The Earl of *Radnor* presented a bill to authorize Parliament to keep alive till another session the bill now pending on the subject of the clothing trade and woollen manufacture, notwithstanding any prorogation or separation of Parliament. His lordship said, the other House had been occupied with examining evidence upon this bill before a Committee, and in the House, for eight months. It was therefore probable, that it would cost their lordships more time than would probably remain of the session to go through it with due deliberation and attention, and it would be a very inconvenient matter to give the other House the trouble of expending another eight months upon it in the next session, by going over the whole work again, if it did not pass this session, which there was little probability of. His lordship added, that the bill which he had in his hand was not without a precedent.

The *Lord Chancellor* approved the object of the bill, but suggested, that as many actions were pending, and others might be commenced in the interim, on the existing statutes, which the bill went to repeal, he trusted that a clause would be inserted in the noble earl's bill, either there or in the other House, to suspend all such actions till their lordships should have had time to have gone through their proceedings on the woollen manufacture bill, which they had referred to a Committee the other day. He admitted that the noble earl's bill was not unprecedented.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, he would only trouble the House with a few words.

He agreed most heartily in supporting the proposed bill of suspension, because the woollen manufacture bill was a bill of great importance, and its principle had been approved of by both Houses; and it certainly would be right to afford their Committee full time to pay serious attention to the examination of the witnesses, and the formation of the clauses of that bill. The proposed bill would secure that material object.—The bill was read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 15.

[MINUTES.]—The Highland canal bill went through a Committee, and was ordered to be reported the next day.—A message from the Lords announced their having agreed to the taxes amendment, the Irish revenue, and the Dublin port bills. A petion was presented from the debtors confined in the gaol of Liverpool, praying relief. Ordered to lie on the table.—The prize count bill was then read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.—The House went through a Committee on the chest of Chatham transfer bill, the report of which was received immediately, ordered to be printed, and taken into further consideration on Tuesday.—The militia amendment bill was read a second time, and committed for the next day.—The Grenada loan bill was read a third time and passed.

[STIPENDIARY CLERGY.]—Sir *W. Scott* rose, in pursuance of his notice, to call the attention of the House to a very necessary and interesting subject. In the discussions of the bill, which he had lately the honour of submitting, a great deal had been said of the want of provision for the lower orders of the clergy, who were justly said to have been left by the House in a state of degrading indigence. It was with satisfaction he remarked, that, in all that had been said on the subject, there was not a word uttered, which seemed to be the result of indifference for that religion to which our ancestors had been so fervently attached; from which it may safely be inferred, that, whenever the necessities of the country admit of it, the lower orders of the unbeneficed clergy would not fail to experience the kindness of the Legislature. Such a measure, however, must be left for other times, and what he had now to offer was of such a nature as not to be attended with any expense to the public. The regulations he now proposed, only related to the stipendiary clergy, who stood in situations very different from those who were beneficed with livings on small salaries, without being provided with parsonage-houses, or in general with any other accommodations at the expense of the public. The persons he spoke of were not supplied by the law with any stations or houses, so had they no other dependence than voluntary agreement, until the statute of Queen Anne gave power to the bishops to allow curates salaries out of their livings, to the amount of 50*l.* annually. A subsequent statute gave bishops the power of extending it at discretion as far as the amount of 75*l.* leaving, however, some difficulties in the way of its execution. There were certainly other establishments, of which persons duly educated and qualified, may avail themselves, but these were but thinly distributed through the country. Modes had been suggested, by various persons, of affording them relief; but the Legislature must always consider any plan which tended to equalize them, or that even approached to that system, as perfectly inadmissible. Were any of the church provisions to be perfectly equalized, it would deter men of family, learning and talents, from embarking in that sacred profession, and it was also an error to suppose that equalization would have the effect of compelling residence. The plan he had to propose, was not that of equalizing the living between the rector and his curate, but of making a moderate improvement in the condition of the latter; for the due execution of the system he was induced to leave much to the discretion of the bishops, because, for this purpose, livings were not to be taken at the rated value. Some very small parishes, from the benevolence and liberality of individuals, and other incidental or local circumstances, were frequently more advantageous, though containing only a small number of families, than others, which were larger, and infinitely more populous. Other livings were so extensive as to require many curates, and it would not be reasonable that the rector should be compelled to make them all the full allowances the measure would provide in other cases. There were other considerations also which ought to be attended to. It might happen that the incumbent might be old, with a numerous family, while his curate was young and unincumbered, and *vice versa*. He then stated the outline of his plan. At present the *maximum*, which the law paid at the discretion of the bishop, was to allow a curate 75*l.* a year, making no distinction as to the amount of the living. What he would propose was, to allow him

a fair portion of any living of 400l. a year—beyond that, he was to have a fair fifth of every living. Should the amount of that be 500l. his fair profit would be 100l. a year, and should the living be 1000l. and there are few beyond that sum in this country, his proportion would be 200l. and in the same rate for any higher amount. So much for the provision to be made for curates, and he next came to the question of residence. This, he said, must also be left to the discretion of the bishop, according as the necessity of it varied. The law, at present, pointed out no place for the residence of curates, and the discretion was the more fit to be left to the bishops, as the vicar's house would be an improper place, and if the rector resided in the parish himself, that of the curate became the less necessary; where there was any second parsonage, of course there would be no difficulty at all.—Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

[CHURCH-YARDS AND PARSONAGES.]—Mr. *Burton* moved for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the bill for permitting persons to devise, by deed or will, money or lands, to acertain extent, for the purpose of making church-yards, or erecting parsonage-houses, when necessary.

Mr. *Francis* opposed the Speaker's leaving the chair, observing, that the tendency of the bill would be mischievous, and may have the effect of suffering weak superstitious people, in their last moments, to bequeath away sums of money to the detriment of their families. He would object to any bill being passed, in this late period, to alter the established law. It was, he said, the more objectionable, as no previous notice had been given of it, and the House was taken by surprise.

Mr. *Burton* replied, that it was a subject, which was well and long considered, and had the approbation of persons in the law, and other professions. The law allowed of such devises from the time of Q. Elizabeth, till it was prohibited by the statute of 9 G. II. which took away the privileges, which every man had of bequeathing and disposing of his personal property as he pleased. The present bill did not allow of immoderate provisions, as it limited such bequests to five acres of land, or 500l. He was aware, he said, of the objections which had been stated, that weak people might, in their last moments, be prevailed upon to dispose of property in this way, to the injury of their families; to obviate which, he was provided with an amendment, that no bequests should be valid, unless the will was made three months before the death of the testator. This he conceived to be a very ample security, as most wills were made during the last sickness, or just before the death, of the majority of people, though some were occasionally executed several years before. He knew that many were prevailed on in times of superstition, to bequeath, immediately on their death-beds, when priests and monks had many means of obtaining a boundless influence, but that had for ages been far from being the case in this Protestant country.

Mr. *Courtenay* observed, that the hon. gent. himself allowed, that it was in the last illness that people were liable to be persuaded to make these devises, and, being now sensible of the abuse, he expected him, on this occasion, to divide against his own bill. By allowing that this part of the measure required alteration, he could not conceive why it had been opposed. The Mortmain Act was a wise measure, and had been approved by Blackstone, who observed, that "it was apprehended that persons on their death-bed would make large and improvident dispositions, even for good purposes." The hon. gent. had taken great merit to himself, because the bill permitted only at the most five acres of land, or 500l. to be bequeathed; but he regarded it as the more dangerous on that account. Small sums were more likely to be bequeathed by the yeomanry of the country, and by many people of middling fortunes, whose habits and narrow education rendered them peculiarly liable to the influence of superstition. People of superior fortunes, whatever might be their other follies, were certainly not very likely to bequeath their estates to such purposes as the hon. gent's bill pointed out. A very pernicious influence, however, might be exercised for the purposes of the bill over weak minds in country parishes. Were the permission once given, it may become the fashion in some parishes for every one to leave lands and money in that manner; for it was a great inducement to silly people to have inscriptions to their memory, and their names put up in gilt letters. The bill itself he conceived to convey a libel on the legislature; for, if parsonage-houses and church-yards were so necessary, let the public furnish them, and do not apply to exploded superstition for the purpose.

Mr. *Hurst* considered the 9th Geo. II. to have been an excellent statute; meant, in its own language, to prevent "large and improvident" legacies for such uses. The limitation of this bill did not justify it, for the bequest would be very large and improvident for the family of a poor man

which might be a trifle to a rich one. The consequences might also be nationally very mischievous. Supposing that only 100 persons should be prevailed upon or induced to give such legacies in land, the consequences must be, that 500 acres of perhaps the finest land in the country would be taken away from agriculture, or other useful purposes, for ever; and, contrary to the laws and constitution of England, that property would never more be free or alienable.

The House then divided on the question for the Speaker's leaving the chair, when the nnmbers were, ayes 44, noes 29, majority 15.—The House then resolved itself into a Committee on the bill.

Mr. *Moore* moved an amendment to one of the clauses, that instead of the will not being valid, unless made three months previous to the death of the testator, the words twelve months should be substituted.

The *Solicitor General* thought that any portion of land devised and become inalienable, in consequence of this measure, must necessarily be so small as to be exceedingly trifling to the public. He considered the object of the bill to be, to oblige the persons to whom the trust should be conveyed, to employ it beneficially; for a man may bequeath his money for trusts which never could answer any useful purpose.—The amendment was rejected without a division, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

[THE IRISH LOAN.]—Mr. *Corry*, in consequence of the notice he had given of his intention to lay before the House that day the terms of the Irish loan, thought it right to take this opportunity of acquainting them, that he should have no occasion to submit for their approbation, any loan for that country in the present year. To account for the failure of the loan, he had to inform them of the nature of bidding. The party who came forward in Ireland offered no more than 78l. 5s. for 100l. stock, which would yield, besides the bonus, &c. an interest to the bidder of 6l. 9s. 9d. whereas in the last loan, made in England, it was no more than 5l. 2s. 10d. a difference so enormous, that he could not for a moment consent to it. He had also to observe, that for some time previous to the bidding, the Irish funds experienced very considerable fluctuations. He did not attribute that to influence or machinations, but wished to observe, that on the Saturday, which was the day of bidding for the Irish five per cents. after some fluctuation, left off at 86l. and a fraction, and after the bidding was over, and the other rejected, opened at 90l. on the Monday. There was also on the same day a proportionate rise in 5 and 1 half per cents. which were down to 70l. on Saturday. The House must therefore be aware that such an offer, and there was but one bidder, must have been indignantly rejected; nor was it without regret that he found himself compelled by his duty to make a statement so destitute of that fair and honourable intercourse which ought always to subsist between the government and the monied interest, and so discreditable an advantage attempted to be taken of what was supposed to be a matter of necessity in the state. The House, however, must be aware that he was sufficiently careful to have taken what now turned out to be a necessary precaution, in order to protect the state from the artifices of those who had the presumption to offer such terms; by a bill for raising a million upon Irish treasury bills for the service of the year, the report of which he now moved to be brought up.

Mr. *Alexander* then brought up the report of the bill, which was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time the next day.

Mr. *Johnstone* observed, that from what had appeared on former experience, the difficulty of raising the loan in Ireland upon terms agreeable to government, might have been easily foreseen; and therefore he thought the present instance would afford a lesson to those who bid for the loan in this country, under the idea that it would be only twelve millions, when in reality it now turns out to be fourteen. He therefore considered the proposition for raising two millions in Ireland, now found to be impracticable, as only a disguise to keep so much of the general loan out of view, until the first part was disposed of. He thought, therefore, the more candid way would have been, in the first instance, to open the bidding for the whole loan in this country.

Mr. *Corry* assured the hon. member it was really and sincerely the intention to have raised the loan in Ireland, had it turned out to be practicable upon terms at all admissible; and he had purposely chosen to try Ireland first upon the principle so strongly urged last year by a gentleman not now in his place, and one of the representatives for that country (Mr. Foster), who laid it down as an axiom, that the raising of loans in this country for the use of the government in Ireland, was a ruinous practice for that country, as it would effect a great drain of

cash from Ireland annually to pay the interest to the holders of Irish stock in England. But, having tried the experiment without success, no charges would rest against him upon the ground that was so alleged to be impolitic. He was far, however from thinking, notwithstanding his ill success in the present instance, that the Irish market should not be tried from time to time in raising the loan for the year.

Mr. *Alexander* then brought up the report, which was agreed to; and Mr. Corry moved an amendment agreeably to his proposition, which was adopted, and the bill ordered to be engrossed, and read the third time the next day.

[WEST-INDIA COLONIES.]—Mr. *Barham* said, he held in his hand a petition, on the subject of which he was proceeding to expatiate; when

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* requested that he would postpone doing so till some future day, as there was business of very great importance already before the House, which it was extremely desirable to expedite as much as possible.

Mr. *Barham* acceded to the request, and presented the petition, which, on being read by the clerk, turned out to be on the part of the merchants, planters, and traders of the West-India colonies, stating, that they had been for many years sustaining great loss, (as they were obliged to send all their goods to this country exclusively, and were thereby deprived of the benefit of other markets) in consequence of the enormous duties laid upon sugars and other articles of their produce, without any regard to their staple produce; or that this, with other circumstances, did not allow them a profit by any means proportionate to the greatness and extent of their capitals; and praying for relief.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table, and Mr. Barham gave notice, that he would make a motion on the subject of it on Tuesday next.

[PROPERTY AND INCOME TAX.]—The House resolved into a Committee, to resume the consideration of the bill for imposing a duty on real and personal property.—When the clause which requires that the occupiers of land shall pay at the rate of 9d. in the pound on their rent was read,

Mr. *Pitt* observed, that the principle now admitted on all hands was, that every person should pay at the rate of 1s. out of every 20s. of his income. It appeared then, that when the bill proposed to take 9d. per pound on the tenants, it was assumed that that would amount to the same sum as one shilling in the pound on his profits; or in other words, it was calculated that his annual profits wete equal to 3-4ths of his rent. The bill, however, ought to declare the ground on which this estimation was taken, in order that the principle might be rendered manifest. The rent alone, however, could not shew the value of the tenant's profits; for of two farms producing the same average crop, one might pay a much higher rent to the landlord on account of its paying less or no tythes and poor rates. In such a case the estimation of the profits by the rent would be very unfair. The bill proposed, very justly, that the tenant in Scotland should pay six pence in the pound, because there being no poor-rates or tythes in that country, the landlord receives a higher rent than in England. As it was presumed by the bill that the English tenant's profits are equal to three-fourths of his rent, so it was supposed that the Scotch tenant's profits were equal to one-half of his rent. The principle of the estimation, however, ought to be declared, that it might not appear there was a boon given to Scotland where none was intended. A better criterion of the profits of the farmer ought also to be adopted, and he believed that would be found in the aggregate of the rent, tythes, and poor-rates.

Colonel *Wood* thought there were considerable difficulties in the way of the last suggestion of the right hon. gent. In his opinion, it would be better to adhere altogether to the calculation on the rack rent, or to leave the matter to the discretion of the assessor.

Mr. *Pitt* considered, that although an absolute equality might be impracticable, though a perfect system could not be deemed attainable, that still the House was not, on that account, to debar itself from approaching as nearly as it possibly could to such a perfection. He pointed out the inequalities in the operation of the act, as at present framed, in taking rent as the criterion of the income of a farmer. He instanced the case of two farms adjacent to each other' one of which might be extra-parochial and tythe-free, and the other liable to both outgoings, yet paying both the same rent. Could it be said that in such a case the criterion of the present bill would be just and effectual for the purposes of a tax upon income? He then went through the observations of the Attorney General, on whose speech the right hon. gent. had paid very close attention to country affairs, as his excursions into the country had not perhaps been so frequent as he (Mr. Pitt)

could have wished for the learned gentleman's advantage, and probably he had chiefly drawn his arguments on the subject from the cases made out in his briefs.

Mr. *Sturt* approved of the clause as it stood. Speaking of farmers in general, he observed, that in Sussex, where he had the honour of residing a considerable part of the year, a farmer generally calculated on making four rents: one for his landlord, one for wear and tear, &c. one for the interest of his capital, and one for his support.

Mr. *Dent* made some humorous remarks on the Sussex farmers, and their proximity to the sea coast; but was averse to the clause.

Mr. *Windham* considered, that it was the duty of the House, if perfect accuracy could not be attained, to approach as near to it as they possibly could.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, the only question before the Committee was this: which is the best criterion for ascertaining the farmer's income? In some places poor-rates differed exceedingly, and therefore one criterion of the nature described could not be a fair one for each place. He thought it no such difficult matter to estimate the income and outgoings of the farmer, more than the tradesman. In many cases indeed it would, upon experiment, be found to be much less so. There were many farmers, who kept their accounts as carefully and correctly as those in other businesses. As to the statement respecting the Sussex farmers, he thought it rather went to shew the propriety of taxing them higher. It had been said great difficulty would arise from the taking tythes in different ways: some, for instance, were taken in kind. But in that case the amount taken is generally greater, and the rent paid generally less. Upon the whole, after a perspicuous view of the subject, he supported the ideas of the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt).

The *Attorney-General* explained at some length, and defended his former statements. He was always disposed to listen with peculiar attention and respect to whatever fell from such high authority as that of his right hon. friend under the gallery behind him, but in this instance he must yet differ. Possibly his own understanding might not be sufficiently enlightened to take so clear and proper a view of the subject as his right hon. friend; but whether he had a right or wrong view of it, his right hon. friend had a great advantage over him in the manner of recommending his opinions to the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* felt no degree of surprise at an hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Wilberforce) objecting to the clause, as the other mode now recommended was, he recollected, in the former income bill actually recommended by that hon. gent. himself. He was ready to maintain that the finances in many, nay, in most instances did, under the last income tax, pay less to government than under the operation of the augmentation of the assessed taxes. Administration had not ventured upon the criterion now proposed without the most zealous endeavours to acquire the best knowledge on this subject, and frequent consultations with the best informed persons. As to the four rents mentioned, he remembered, that a late great and highly distinguished character, who turned his attention so clearly to every thing connected with the best interests of the country, had given it as his opinion that a farmer ought to have six or seven rents to enable him to acquire what is called a living profit: but he had never heard it stated for many years, that less than four years rents can be taken as a fair proportion for farming advantageously. Upon these and a variety of other grounds touched on by the right hon. gent. he concluded by declaring his firm belief that this was the fairest and best criterion on the whole, for a measure which never could be free from objections, and as such he was disposed and determined to give it his support.

Dr. *Laurence* argued at some length against the clause, and explained the sentiments of Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Pitt* recapitulated many of his arguments, and observed, with respect to what had been advanced as to the poor-rates, as being of sufficient notoriety to constitute a criterion, that they were most accurately ascertainable, and then the question would be, whether, having this additional criterion in our power, we should proceed to make an estimate without it. As to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had advanced relative to tythes, it amounted only to this, that as perfection in that criterion could not be obtained, we were not to avail ourselves of it at all, though in most cases of considerable use. This, to use an obvious parellel, was, as if in the construction of a time-piece, we could not prevent the variation of the pendulum, we should use no pendulum at all; or, if because we could not prevent the variation of the needle, we should prevail on our mariners to lay it aside

altogether. It was obvious, however, as to tythes, that the clergy must pay the tax in proportion to them; he therefore saw no difficulty in ascertaining their amount with adequate certainty. So, with respect to the poor-rates, notwithstanding all that had been said as to the difficulty of ascertaining them, nothing could be more certain than that they must be known to the parochial officers by whom they were levied. The amended income too certainly produced less under the amended criterion; but that was not owing to any practicable defect of the plan, but because the proportion of the rate was taken too low. This must have been the case, or in the former mode they must have paid too much, or the amended criterion was demonstrably the truest. It is proposed to apply the rate to the rent alone. He contended, however, that as the value of a farm can alone be estimated by its outgoings, of which rent only formed a part, it was better to apply the rate, say three-fourths, to the aggregate of rent, tythe, and poor rates, which would best show the utmost capacity of the land, and probable interest of the tenant. This was a principle of such indisputable justice, that he should be obliged to persist in it, and should be sorry to find government, in a moment like this, when the utmost zeal and unanimity should be called forth, capable of opposing it.

Sir *W. Pulteney* conceived rent the best criterion of value, as it was most considered, and best understood by farmers.

Sir *F. Baring* was for increasing the proportion of the farmers by the aggregate rate. He was convinced they could bear it. Many of them, during last war, had made great fortunes.

Mr. *G. Vansittart* thought the case quoted by Mr. Pitt, as to the difference of rent from one to two hundred a year, on account of one paying the tythes and poor-rates, unfounded in fact; farmers, he said, never took tythes or poor rates into consideration when they took their farms.

Mr. *W. Smith* could not agree to this; he was acquainted with a town, even in which the rents were professedly low, on account of the great amount of poor-rates. This was, in fact, the ground on which the present bill proceeded in making the rate lower for Scotland. It assured us, as there were no tythes or poor-rates in that country, the rents must necessarily be higher.

Mr. *N. Vansittart* objected to the rate on the aggregate, conceiving it would diminish the amount of the tax.

Mr. *Pitt* said this could not be. The bill proposed to take on three-fourths of the rent. Now his proposition took on the rent and also the account of tythes and poor-rates. That it would therefore produce more instead of less was something as like certainty as he could conceive.

The *Attorney-General* admitted that the aggregate rate would certainly increase the amount of the tax, but as they already took it on a rack rent, this mode might produce more than they meant to take.

Mr. *Pitt* observed, that this was new shaping the argument. All objections were at first confined to the effect of diminishing the tax; and when he had answered them, the learned gent. arraigned the justice of his suggestion, and contended it would produce too much. As, however, it was the most perfect criterion, the result would be most consonant to the purposes of the bill.

Mr. *Bragge* did not think it sufficiently proved that the defect complained of in the amount of a similar plan, under the amended income act, proceeded from a defective rate, or too great complexity of the plan.

Mr. *Cowen* thought rent, in some cases, a very imperfect criterion of profit, as in the cases of accommodation ground near large towns.

Mr. *Calvert* proposed, that houses not taken for the purpose of farming should be exempted.

The *Attorney General* saw no objection to the amendment at present, but reserved to himself the liberty of altering it, if it should appear improper upon farther consideration.

Mr. *Pitt* proposed, that the principle of the former income tax should be adopted in the manner of collecting the tax, by the value of the tythes, and moved, that a clause to this purpose should be introduced.—The House divided: For the amendment 24, against it 91.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the abatements, of which he the preceding day gave notice, with respect to the scale of charges to be fixed upon landed income from 60l. to 150l. a year, which were agreed to.

Mr. *Plomer* said, that there ought to be some allowance for those tenants who had raised the value of their lands by their own industry.

The *Attorney General* contended, that this ought to be equally taxed with any other sort of property raised by industry.

A discussion took place between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Calcraft, and others, respecting the manner in which the value of land was to be ascertained, and concerning the propriety

taking the poor-rates as a criterion. It seemed to be agreed, that this method was very uncertain, and ought only to be resorted to in case of necessity.—After some farther conversation and immaterial amendments, Mr. Alexander reported progress.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 16.

[MINUTES.]—An account was presented of the rates of freightage paid by the East India Company, pursuant to an order of the 11th instant.—The Caledonian Canal Bill was reported, and ordered to be read a third time on Monday.—Sir W. Scott brought up a bill for encouraging the residence of stipendiary curates on their cures. Read a first, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday, and to be printed.—The Thames Police Bill was passed.—The Longitude Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.——The Militia Amendment Bill was committed. A clause was added, declaring that substitutes of the height of five feet two inches should be accepted. The report was ordered to be received on Monday.

[MAGISTRATES INDEMNITY.]—Lord Archibald Hamilton hoped, that previously to the question being put, he might be indulged in asking a question, the answer to which might save some future trouble. What he wished to know was, whether, consistently with parliamentary order, there would now be an opportunity of revising the provisions of the magistrates indemnity bill? He considered it as introducing quite a new principle in the laws, which he conceived to require more discussion before it ought to be adopted, if adopted at all.

The *Attorney General* replied, that understanding the noble lord, and others, entertained some objections to the bill, he had abstained from moving the order for its third reading, lest it should produce a discussion which might interfere with the other important business of the day. However, considering the present advanced stage of the bill, he believed there was no other way in which any alleviation could be made in it, except by holding a conference with the lords. As it was highly necessary that the bill should proceed without delay, he should move the third reading of it, should any opportunity occur in the course of the day, either by the property bill being deferred on account of a thin attendance, or from any other cause which might admit of the intended discussion. But if even the objections alluded to should be supported on a better foundation than he conceived them to have, they did not appear to him of sufficient moment to defer a bill of so much urgency. He believed, however, that on more mature consideration, the noble lord would be convinced that the objections proceeded only from a misconception of the law, and that so far from introducing any new principle, the bill was perfectly consistent with every old one. The present bill would only save trouble and expense, and give to magistrates and constables that indemnity which the law would afford. A magistrate may be induced from inadvertence, misinformation, or false charges, to issue his warrant, and a constable of course to execute it, upon a person quite innocent of the offence. This man had his remedy at law, and might bring his action against both or either of them for false imprisonment, but if he could not prove that the proceedings were malicious, he could not possibly succeed; and the main purport of this bill was to prevent such litigious and vexatious actions, as it protected no person who misconducted himself wilfully or with malice.

The *Speaker* put an end to any further conversation on this subject, by observing, that there was no question before the House.

[PROPERTY AND INCOME TAX.]—The House having resolved itself into a Committee on this bill, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated, that he was particularly desirous every clause should receive the most minute attention and discussion. He also informed the House, that before their final decision was asked on the bill, it should again be printed.

The Committee then proceeded to the consideration of the bill, and several very important alterations were made.——The clause for empowering surveyors to examine property, in order to estimate its value, was so amended as to do away the power of entering dwelling houses, which was originally given by the bill.—All the clauses relative to the mode of collecting the tax at the Bank were struck out, in consequence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer declaring it to be his intention to substitute others in their stead, when the Committee should have gone through the bill. He stated, that upon consideration it had been thought advisable not to require that the portion of the tax to be paid by funded property should be stopped out of the dividends at the Bank. It would, therefore, be the object of the new clauses to direct that the stockholder's return should be made in the same manner as those of other persons: if, however, after

the expiration of six months, no return should be made, it was intended, in such cases, to give the power of collecting the tax at the Bank in the manner first proposed. He trusted this arrangement would obviate all the objections which had been made to the clauses in their present shape, and at the same time afford sufficient security to the revenue.—A long conversation took place on the clause relative to foreign stockholders.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* introduced an amendment, which not only exempts stock already purchased by foreigners from the tax, but also all funded property, which may, during the operation of the act, be acquired by persons not subjects of his Majesty, and not residing in the British dominions.

Mr. *Pitt* expressed his satisfaction at finding the right hon. gent. was at last convinced of the erroneous principles on which the bill was originally founded, with respect to funded property. It was now not only acknowledged, that a violation of public faith had been avoided, but the right hon. gent. had extended his correction of the evil to points which were not hinted at in the arguments he had thought his duty to submit on this subject to the Committee.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not admit that the bill, as it originally stood, contained any breach of faith. In the present instance, it was not any doubt in his mind respecting the right of the legislature to extend the tax to funded property, which might hereafter be acquired by foreigners, that had induced him to suggest the amendment. The proposition was solely founded on considerations of policy; for it was certainly of importance to increase the number of buyers in the funds; and this amendment, he conceived, would be a farther inducement to foreigners to purchase British stock.

The *Attorney General* also contended, that the principle upon which the bill at first went, implied no breach of faith. Distinctions had indeed been made with respect to the nature of property. It had been thought just to make the revenue arising from permanent capital in London in the public funds, pay more than the precarious profits of trade or profession; and he regretted that those distinctions were abandoned for the sake of that uniformity of principle, which his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) had recommended.

Mr. *Pitt* insisted, that the only ground for the exemption of foreigners was the avoiding a breach of public faith. Making them liable to the tax, would not prevent them from buying into our funds. The advantages, and the security enjoyed by the British stockholder above the public creditor of any other country, would always procure plenty of purchasers.

After some further conversation, the amendment was agreed to.—The paragraph in schedule D, which subjects the annual profits made by persons not the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, nor resident in Great-Britain, on trade or employment exercised in Great-Britain, to a duty of 1s. for 20s. underwent a very long discussion. It was at last agreed to refer it for future consideration.—The first rule of schedule D, No. 2, which directs that the duty to be charged in respect of any trade or manufacture shall be computed on a sum not less than the full amount of the profits for the preceding year, was also discussed at great length.

Mr. *Pitt* thought that an average of the three years immediately preceding the time of making the assessment would be the fairest rule of estimation; but he was against leaving it to the choice of the parties, whether they would found their return on that average, or on the profits of the preceding year; because, in that case, the election would always be made in a way injurious to the interest of the public. The option to this effect, which had been given under the last income act, had occasioned a very great defalcation in the tax.

After a very long conversation, it seemed to be the general opinion of the Committee, that no option should be allowed, and that the duty should be estimated on the average profits of three years, immediately preceding the 5th of April last; but the clause was referred. The Committee, having got through little more than one-third of the bill, the Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 18.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were called to the bar, and evidence further heard on the Bristol Port Bill; after which, Mr. Adam and Mr. Harrison were heard in support of the bill, and Mr. Serjeant Heywood was heard in reply. The bill was then read a second time. On the question, that the bill be committed, the House divided—Contents 5, Non-contents 2. The bill was then ordered to be committed.—The Scots Inland Navigation Bill, for the grant of 20,000l; the Irish Loan Bill, and the Thames Police Bill, were brought up and read a first time.—On reading the Bill for procuring Returns relative to the Expense and Maintenance of

the Poor, the *Earl of Suffolk* said there ought to be a regular return of the poor. It was highly important that their numbers should be known. By some late and minute calculations, the poor of England amounted to three millions.

[WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE SUSPENSION BILL.]—The *Lord Chancellor* called the attention of the House to a bill brought in by a noble Earl, not then in his place, for the purpose of postponing to some distant day, the second reading of that bill, if their lordships should ever think proper to read it a second time. His lordship described the nature of the Woollen Manufacture Bill, which the House had referred to a Committee above stairs, and which went to repeal a variety of existing acts of Parliament. The object of the noble Earl's bill was to suspend the proceedings respecting the Woollen Manufacture Bill, so as to enable the House to renew them in their present state at an early period of the next session. Their lordships were induced to entertain it in the first instance, without perhaps giving it sufficient consideration. He had since turned his mind to the subject, and had learned, that no precedent for such a proceeding had obtained, except in cases of bills of pains, and for the due securing of those who were amenable to the laws. Such a measure, if adopted, would tend to establish a dangerous precedent, the practice might become frequent, and even a general bill of suspension. The option of deciding on the bill referred to a Committee lay with their lordships, and it necessarily became a question, whether, considering the advanced period of the session, they could pay it that due and necessary attention which it required. His lordship then adverted to the length of time, nearly eight months, it was before the House of Commons, and said it deserved one consideration, whether in the little period of the session that remained, their lordships would have sufficient time to weigh and examine the subject with proper care and deliberation. Every due attention ought to be paid to the interests of the several parties concerned; but probably, in the other House, they may think proper to go upon the report of their Committee at once. His lordship pointed out the different courses which the House had in their power to pursue respecting the Woollen Manufacture Bill, and concluded with moving, that the further consideration of the Earl of Radnor's Suspension bill be adjourned to that day fortnight; and that the bill to suspend proceedings in actions, prosecutions, and proceedings, under certain acts relating to woollen manufacture (ordered to be printed in Dec. last) be committed for Thursday next.—Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 18.

[MINUTES].—The bill for making a canal from Inverness to Fort Augustus was read a third time, and passed.—The City of London Army of Reserve Quota Bill was reported and recommitted to the next day.—The House resolved itself into a Committee, to consider of the bonding of prize goods. The following resolution was then moved: "That prize goods, after condemnation, should be permitted to be landed and warehoused, on paying for every ton of wine and vinegar, 2*l.* certain duties on brandy, &c. That corn and grain taken should be subject to the same duties as in Great Britain, and that prize goods should be liable to the same duties as if imported." The report was ordered to be received the next day.—The House went into a Committee on the Longitude Act, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.—The 4th report of the Commissioners for Naval Inquiry was presented, and ordered to be printed.—A Message from the Lords informed the House, that their Lordships had agreed to the Queen Anne's Bounty Amendment Bill and several private bills.—The report of the Churches and Parsonage Houses Bill was received. A clause was proposed for allowing persons to devise lands to the extent of 50 acres. Several other clauses were added, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day.—The Irish Treasury Bills Bill was read a third time, and passed.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The *Secretary at War* rose and said, that in consequence of the notice he had given, it now became his duty to propose to the House a motion for leave to bring in a bill for amending the act for the defence of the country, passed in the course of the present session, and to enable his Majesty more effectually to exercise his ancient prerogative in requiring the military service of his liege subjects. The bill already passed contained provisions which were extremely important in the present situation of the country. It contained provisions for enabling his Majesty to take such preliminary measures for ascertaining the strength and resources of the different parts of the kingdom as were necessary, with a view to further measures of internal defence. It likewise provided a compendious mode of acquiring

possession of such property, on the part of the public, as might be necessary; and there were provisions for giving a summary mode of indemnifying those persons, who might suffer either by the preparations, or by actual invasion; but, upon mature consideration of that bill, which was similar to the bill passed last war, in the year 1798, it did not appear to him to go quite far enough. It was particularly defective in one point, namely, in enabling his Majesty to avail himself of his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in commanding the assistance of all his subjects fit to bear arms, for the purpose of repelling the invasion of a foreign enemy. The bill went no further than requiring the different counties to furnish their quotas, and taking other measures with respect to the safety of public property. In order to prove what he had stated as the ancient prerogative of the crown, he conceived it would not be necessary to go much into detail. That it was the ancient prerogative of the crown, to command the services of all who were capable of bearing arms for the defence of the country, could not be doubted; but at the same time, it might be necessary to state very shortly the general principles of the law, as they were to be found in our books, and to refer the House to one or two precedents. The King's prerogative, with regard to those points, was laid down by Judge Blackstone, in the first volume of his Commentaries, chap. 13. Having spoken of the ancient Saxon constitution, by which every man was compelled to three duties—that *trinoda necessitas*, to which every man's estate was subject, namely, the *Arcium constructio Pontium reparatio et expeditio contra hostem*, the learned writer thus proceeded—"Besides those, who, by their military tenures, were bound to perform forty days' service in the field, first, the assize of arms, enacted 27 Hen. II. and afterwards the statute of Winchester, under Ed. I. obliged every man, according to his estate and degree, to provide a determinate quantity of such arms as were then in use, in order to keep the peace; and constables were appointed in all hundreds by the latter statute, to see that such arms were provided." The same writer added, "That it was usual, from time to time, for our princes to issue commissions of array, and send into every county officers in whom they could confide, to muster and array, or set in military order, the inhabitants of every district; and the form of the commission of array was settled in Parliament, so as to prevent the insertion therein of any new penal clauses; but it was also provided, that no man should be compelled to go out of the kingdom, at any rate, nor out of his shire, but in case of urgent necessity, nor should provide soldiers unless by consent of Parliament." In another passage, speaking of the power of the sheriff, the same writer said—"He is also to defend his country against any of the King's enemies, when they come into the land, and for this purpose he may command all the people of his county to attend him, which is called the *posse comitatus*, or power of the county; which summons every person above fifteen years old, and under the degree of a peer, is bound to attend upon warning, under pain of fine and imprisonment." Such were the general principles of the Constitution as laid down by that able lawyer. He would refer the House to one or two authorities more: by the 1st Ed. III. stat. 2. chap. 5. it was enacted, that it was the King's will, no man, from thenceforth, should be charged to arm himself otherwise than he was wont in the time of his progenitors, Kings of England; and that no man should be compelled to go out of his shire, but where necessity required, and the sudden coming of strange enemies into the realm, and then it should be done as had been used in times past for the defence of the realm. Undoubtedly, at that time of day, this was a decisive parliamentary recognition of the law; and in the 5th Hen. IV. upon a petition of the Commons, the form of a commission of array was then settled in Parliament, and of course had the effect of an act of Parliament. The commission of array was to be found in the rolls of Parliament, 5 Hen. IV. No. 24 and 25. It was to this effect: "The King to the Sheriff of Kent greeting: because by the reports of many to whom we give credit, it has come to our knowledge that our enemies, the French, having assembled with many of their allies and friends, with a large fleet of ships, and with other unusual appointments, our kingdom of England and our liege subjects to overthrow and destroy, and that they propose and intend to invade the same, unless (by God's favour) they shall be strenuously resisted. We, in order to provide for the salvation of our said kingdom, and our liege subjects aforesaid, and from the malice and arrogance of such enemies to guard ourselves by those means which may be most expedient, do command you, and most strictly enjoin you, that immediately on the sight of these presents, you order it to be publicly proclaimed in every place within your bailiwick, where it shall be fit and necessary, as well within its liberties as without, that all and every man able to bear arms, men having arms *bobellarii*, and

archers of your bailiwick (ecclesiastics only exempted) under pain of imprisonment, do provide, arm, and array themselves, each according to his degree and ability; and in such array do hold themselves, and remain so the end, that they may be prompt and ready to depart for the defence of our kingdom aforesaid, as often as the incursions of the enemy may threaten any danger, or as they shall be ordered by us, or in our name; and this you are not to omit, under the penalty that may await you.—Witness the King, at Coventry, the 26th of October, by the King himself." Similar writs were directed to all the Sheriffs in England. This he conceived to be a complete parliamentary recognition of the ancient prerogative of the crown. Now this being the ancient law of the realm, it might be asked, why was it necessary to call the attention of Parliament at this time to any parliamentary measure? It was because the process by which the prerogative of the crown and the duty of the subject could be enforced, was so tedious as to render it in a great measure useless. The party refusing to obey the King's summons might be fined and imprisoned; but it could only be by the due course of law, a delay which would render the process nugatory. It did therefore, upon the principle and reason of the thing, with reference to the ancient exercise of the prerogative so vested in the crown, seem to be necessary to adopt some simple, decisive, and effectual measure. He apprehended he would not be required to urge the necessity of such a measure. The situation in which the country at present stood was perfectly known to every one who heard him. It was threatened by an enemy the most formidable and vindictive this country had ever had to deal with; an enemy not only threatening invasion, but making preparations for it; not only having the insolence to threaten us with contaminating our shores, but with actual subjection. True it was, our force, both by sea and land, was powerful; but when he considered that the enemy were possessed of a considerable portion of the continent of Europe, and was every day extending its influence; when he reflected that the powers of the continent, unable or unwilling to resist, were compelled to submit to grace the car of the First Consul of France, it was not enough to rely on the force we had, great as it was. When he turned his eyes to the continent, and saw the great preparations that were making; when he considered that France was master of the whole coast of frontier from Holstein as far as the shores of the Adriatic, with the exception of Portugal, it was impossible not to say that they might possess themselves of the course of all the great rivers and the most considerable ports of Europe. Under these circumstances, though every one must have a reliance on the skill and vigilance of our navy, the most powerful navy in the world, and capable of sustaining a conflict with the navy of the whole world—a navy that, perhaps, had it in its power to blockade every port the enemy had, and to burn, sink, and destroy all the ships they ventured to send out, yet this was not enough—we ought to have the means of overwhelming and exterminating any expedition that might be directed against our shores. Though with the army we had, it was possible to line the whole coast of Great-Britain and Ireland—it, however, could not be done in such a way as to prevent the enemy from taking a temporary possession of some part of it. No one could suppose that with our present army we could do any more than assemble the main body at such points as were most material, with a view to a general plan of opposition, and the ultimate decision of the contest; the enemy might, undoubtedly, be able to throw a considerable force on the coast. If they embarked 100,000 men in eight or ten different directions, then, after deducting 50,000 that might be drowned or destroyed in the passage over, or dispersed, he would suppose that 50,000 men would be able to land. These remains of the expedition would come over more or less disunited, more or less sea-sick, and more or less provided with necessaries; and though it was probable we might give a guess where the enemy would land, yet we could not rely upon our opinion in that respect, for they might change their determination; or, from being driven out of their course, they might be disposed to throw themselves any where. Under those circumstances it appeared to him that the whole power of the country ought to be put in a state to be made use of in case of necessity, and that after calculating on our own powerful armies, we should have a second or a third line, or legion upon legion, and army upon army, in order to fill up the regulars, and bodies of troops in the field; and that we should calculate, in the first instance, those losses in battle to which we must necessarily look. In case of an actual invasion of this country, the operations in the field would, of course, be extremely active, and the conflict severe; we, therefore, ought not to look to the slow mode of recruiting by ballot, but we ought to resort to the ancient

law, and to those powers of the prerogative, by which the King could command all his subjects to bear arms. He thought we could not contemplate a better period of our history than the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors. Let any one consider those armies which had been produced in the field by some of the wisest princes on the throne. Let us see how Queen Elizabeth was supported, when she was attacked by the Spanish armada, an expedition not dissimilar to the present one. How was that army which begirt the throne produced? It was produced by having recourse to the antient prerogative of the crown. Having stated thus much, he would now proceed to develop the outlines of his plan. The plan divided itself into two heads; the first related to the enrolment, and assembling of the men when enrolled; and the second to the exercising and drilling them, what he proposed was, to make use of as much as possible of the machinery of the militia, and to avail himself of the powers entrusted to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants; recourse could not be had, to any thing better. He should recommend, that the lieutenancy in every county should meet as soon as possible, for the purpose of directing an enrolment of all men in every parish, between the ages of 17 and 55. He should divide the men comprehended in the enrolment into four classes, in a way something similar to that which took place in the militia. The first would contain all the young men between 17 and 30, who were unmarried, and without children of the age of ten years. The second, all men between 30 and 50, who were in the same predicament. Thirdly, all the men between 17 and 30, who were married, and had no more than two children. And the fourth class should include all the rest. He should also propose, that the enrolment should describe the persons in the following manner, distinguishing those who were serving in the army of reserve, or in the militia, or in any of the King's forces, or in any of the volunteer corps approved of by his Majesty; and also those who were serving by substitute in the militia; and for this reason, because while a person had a substitute actually serving, he could not be called upon for military services as long as it lasted. He did not propose to distinguish those who had served by substitutes; for the militia laws said they might be called upon whenever it came to their turn; with regard to constables and peace officers, they would appear in the roll so distinguished. When he came to speak of the assembling, he should propose to exempt such persons as long as they continued in those situations. The enrolment he was desirous should proceed much in the way of making on the militia. Every man would have an opportunity of appealing, in case he was improperly described, or was beyond the age, or belonged to any other class. He trusted as little time as possible would be lost in taking the necessary steps; and yet that they would not be so expeditious as to effect injustice. He meant to propose, that when the deputy lieutenants ordered the lists to be made out, that they should appoint a day for receiving them, which should also be the day of appeal. He proposed that the lists should be corrected in the spring and the autumn; that they should be kept in as correct a state as possible, and that the abstract of the county roll should be transmitted to the principal Secretary of State, divided into the different classes, so that it should describe the number of men, and those who were entitled to exemptions. Having so provided for the enrolment, he next proposed, that his Majesty should have it his power, in case of actual invasion, or the approach of an enemy's force towards our coast, to call upon the lieutenancy to assemble or embody all those persons who did not fall within the description of those whom he had mentioned, as entitled to be exempted, and to order that all those of the first class should be forthwith called out to repel the invasion, and during the time they were assembled, should be subject to military discipline, and be sent to any part of Great-Britain, into any existing corps, or any new corps that might be raised; that the time of their service should be limited to the period of the invasion, and that as soon as the enemy were exterminated, or driven into the sea, they were immediately to be at liberty to return home. That upon assembling, every man should be entitled to two guineas, to furnish them with necessaries, and when their services were over, and they were at liberty to return home, that over and above the usual sum allowed to the militia, they should be paid the sum of one guinea. He should also propose, that when these men were so assembled, they should take an oath of fidelity during their service, which should extend not only to repelling foreign invasion, but to quelling any rebellion or insurrection that might exist during the time. He had stated, in general, the outline of the plan for enrolling and assembling the people, he would now proceed to that part of it which related to the exercising and training. He should

say, in the first place, that the constitution of this realm not only provided for enabling his Majesty to call on his subjects to repel an enemy, but the wholesome institutions of our ancestors provided, that every man should be exercised in the use of arms. We might talk of population, but if men were unaccustomed to the use of arms, and did not know how to handle a firelock for their defence, the population was weakened in proportion to their ignorance. Our ancestors were so sensible of this, that there were many instances to be found in our books of obliging persons to provide themselves with arms, and to learn the use of them. As late as the reign of Hen. VIII. all servants and labourers are required to practise the bow, and townships were ordered to provide butts for shooting at, and were fined if they did not. By the 33d Hen. VIII. c. 9, every man under 60, not labouring under some bodily impediment, was directed to exercise the art of shooting with a bow, and fathers, governors, and masters, were ordered to have those under them instructed in the use of arms. He should highly approve of some measures being adopted by the House, for obliging all our youth in public schools to be instructed in the use of arms, and that the military art should be part of the public education; for we lived in times when, unless a man knew the use of arms, and had the valour to employ them, neither his life, his property, his honour, or his family, could be safe a month. By the statute he had mentioned, masters were to bring boys up to arms, to provide them, till they were seventeen, with a bow and two shafts, and after that age they were to provide themselves. Butts were to be kept in repair, under the penalty of 3os. Referring to this system, he should propose that his Majesty should be enabled to direct the Lord-Lieutenants to make preparations for exercising the young men of the first class, once a week, in the different parishes. For this object, the King might order sufficient arms to be provided for such young men. These arms might be lodged in the churches, or other convenient places; and should be kept in order, at the expense of the parishes, and parish officers and constables appointed for the custody of them. There were other provisions in the bill he intended to submit, directing the Lord-Lieutenant and Deputy-Lieutenants to appoint officers to command the men, dividing them, as much as possible, into companies of parishes; or where the parishes are too small, adding one or more. He should recommend that over every 120 men, the Lord-Lieutenant should appoint officers. That every person in the first class should attend once a week for the purpose of being exercised, provided the place of exercising did not exceed three miles; this was surely no very grievous burthen. He should propose that persons omitting to attend, should pay a small fine, proportioned to their circumstances in life. Those who are assessed to the parish rates, should be fined 5s. and young men who were in the inferior branches of life, 1s. In case of repeated omissions, the penalty would be increased in the manner described in the bill. There were provisions enabling the Deputy-Lieutenants and commanding officers to agree with out-pensioners to train the men. He was persuaded, that if the House should think proper to adopt a measure of this kind, nothing could be more easy than to find persons in every parish to instruct men in the use of arms, at least to prime and load, and turn to the right and left. This was easily taught, and once learned was never forgot. Officers would know best how far such men, having received such instruction, would be serviceable after they were assembled, if they were armed and mixed with regular troops. It did not require much time to make a soldier for effectual service, though, perhaps, for parade and manœuvring it did; he believed there would be very little manœuvring in this country if the French were landed in it. If an Englishman knew but how to use his firelock, he would soon become a respectable soldier.—He should propose, that when any part of these men were called out, if any young man was desirous of serving in the cavalry, he should be at liberty to do so, upon his appearing equipped as a dragoon. He should also propose, that if there were volunteers in a parish, to half the amount of its population, the remainder, though not exempted from enrolment, would not be required to serve personally. In such an emergency, no man deserved the name of an Englishman, who did not march out to meet the enemy—he ought to be set up as a mark of infamy. He therefore proposed, that no corps so volunteering should refuse to march under their own officers to any part of Great-Britain, where their services might be required. He should propose to extend this plan to the whole of Great Britain. He believed the ancient prerogatives of the Kings of Scotland were the same as our own upon this subject; but, be it as it might, he was sure no gentleman would ob-

ject to a proposition so limited as the present one was. It was limited to enrolment in the parishes while the enemy were out of the country, and, if they came, every man would feel himself called upon to march. With respect to Ireland, it was not his intention to extend the present measure to that country. The parochial divisions of Ireland were not carried to the perfection they were in England, though he hoped they soon might, and that every effort would be made to attain that object: at present, however, Ireland was not in a situation to make an application of this bill practicable; besides, the powers given for raising volunteers had been carried to such an extent, by the zeal and courage so natural to the people of that country, that the measure, with respect to Ireland, was not necessary. With regard to putting arms into the people's hands, and allowing parishes to have custody of those arms, he admitted it was very dangerous. He did not deny that, in some instances, it might be dangerous, but he begged the House to consider what was the state of Europe, and of this country. Some years ago, a measure of this kind could not have been resorted to; but he believed the bill was so framed as to obviate every difficulty; for, in the first place, the Lord-Lieutenants, as the magistracy, would have the appointment and control of those to whom the custody of the arms would be commited. The office of Lord-Lieutenant was every day becoming more important; they were the representatives of his Majesty in the several counties, and might occasionally be entrusted with important military command. They ought to consider their offices not only in a civil but a military point of view. With regard, therefore, to the danger, he was of opinion, that in such times as these it was beter to run the danger of the people making a bad use of their arms, than that they should not be able to use them. He would rather run the chance of his country misemploying the arms entrusted to them, than that they should be so reduced as to be obliged to submit to a foreign enemy; and with respect to those proud feelings and sentiments of independence by which they were actuated, he was persuaded they were superior to any enemy that could come against them. There was one point to which it was necessary he should advert, and that was the quantity of arms in the possession of private persons in this country; for though the arsenals of this country were never better supplied, yet the public arms might not be sufficient. We ought, therefore, to do in a good cause what the French had done in a bad one. Many useful precedents might be found in the conduct of a bad cause, which it would be prudent to apply to a good one. He apprehended, that under the late Defence Act, the King might require such arms to be delivered up. He was empowered to call for every thing that might be necessary. He might call for horses, waggons, and a variety of other things, and consequently he might call for arms. However, if there was any doubt, a bill could be brought in. It appeared to him, upon the whole, that this plan was simple, efficacious, and consistent with the ancient law, and if carried into execution, was calculated to give effect to that zeal and animation, by which every British bofom was inspired. With respect to the enrolment, it was no burden at all, but when the actual invasion came, it afforded an efficacious mode of bringing the powers of the country into action. He was not without hopes, that if the plan was adopted, in addition to the other methods resorted to, that this country would prove to France, and to the whole world, we were able to defend ourselves, and he trusted the people of France would be inclined to lay aside their insolent speculations at invasion, if they found this country determined to defend itself. He must be a brave man, who would run the gauntlet in the face of our navy, and then have to meet a race of people such as the inhabitants of England were. He believed that the mind of the military character at the head of the French government was at such a pitch, that his curiosity was incapable of being satisfied without his seeing England. The French were naturally a curious people; but he had been told, that if the gratification of it met with any difficulty, they were soon satisfied. The seemed very curious to know whether this country produced men capable of becoming soldiers. They had certainly done their utmost to deface and obliterate the page of history; but if they had at all consulted the annals of antiquity, they would have found that Great Britain and Ireland had produced soldiers, who had struck terror and dismay into the souls of their enemies. True it was, that the great General at the head of the French armies had had but little opportunity of judging what British soldiers were, but he might have recollected, that at Toulon there was a certain redoubt, named *De Grasse*, which was defended by a gallant officer, the late Colonel Duncan, in a manner which must have made every French officer remember the British troops. The next time the First

Consul had an opportunity of witnessing British valour, was at Acre; there that great General must have seen what could be done by a handful of British seamen, stimulating and assisting the Turks, and stopping the progress of his army for sixty days behind an old garden wall. Such actions were symptoms of what he would meet with, if he came here. There were many young officers in the House at this moment, who could give an account of what English troops had done in the last war. They could point out how, at the action near Carteau, a few divisions of British soldiers attacked the whole left wing of the French army, and took the French general prisoner. Our cavalry at that time did not know how to use the sabre. Now the English cavalry are as good swordsmen as any in the world. What did the French say to the affair at Lincelles, when three battalions of foot guards attacked and defeated six thousand Frenchmen, and took eleven pieces of cannon? Many other cases might be mentioned, one in particular, which redounded to the honour of General Fox, who commanded battalions of the 14th, 37th, and 53d regiments of the line; in all not more than 800, conquered the whole of the French forces, and regained the fortune of the day. Many of the officers who had achieved these glorious actions were still here, and sure he was they had the same stuff in them as formerly. They were animated with the spirit of British soldiers; and, if the French were curious enough to pay us a visit, they would find with what energy it would be displayed. Earnestly hoping that, if this measure was properly to be adopted, it would be encouraged by the House; and firmly believing it would tend to give us the command of a force more than equal to any the enemy could bring against it; and afford the means of filling up our regiments in case of necessity; he should conclude, by moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act, passed this session, for defence of the country, and to enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to use his ancient and undoubted prerogative in requiring the military service of his liege subjects in case of invasion.

Mr. *Windham* said he did not rise to oppose the measure. On the contrary, he wished it had been brought forward sooner. He wished it were possible so to vote the question, as that their decision might have a kind of retroactive force; a power of antedating the measure, and putting the country in a situation of having received the benefit of it long ago. Of all the charges against the present ministers, the best grounded was, that by their delays and their weakness they had brought the country to a state of danger of which their preparations were far short. He repeated the charge, and he was ready at any time to enter into the question. When ministers were accused of bringing the country into danger, the first question to be considered was, whether there was a *corpus delicti*, whether the danger actually existed? As to that, he should take the admission of ministers themselves. That a design existed, or was at least in contemplation, to invade this country, was admitted on all hands. Such a design could not exist, without implying considerable danger. He was the farthest from meaning to maintain that wherever a country could be said to be in danger, or was labouring under calamity of any kind, misconduct must, be imputable to those entrusted with its affairs. Dangers of invasion must from the nature of the thing proceed immediately from external causes. The ministers were answerable no further than as they had originally created them, or had neglected the proper means of providing and guarding against them. It certainly was not for those, who treated even at this time the idea of invasion with contempt, to say that the mere intention in Buonaparté to destroy this country was in itself a circumstance of great danger. Even he, (Mr. W.) who was so branded as an alarmist, did not talk that language. He said, that invasion was formidable only if a proper sense was not entertained of its practicability, and proper means were not taken to resist it. It was by this test that he wished to try the conduct of ministry. Have their preparations kept pace regularly with the preparations of the enemy? Have they by their exertions so kept a head of the danger, as that at no period it can be said to be greater, than at the period preceding? Or so, as that the country cannot be said to be in danger at all? For let it be remembered always, that according to the principles of those with whom he was arguing, danger from invasion, and blame to the ministry, were synonimous; since invasion in itself was, as they said, a mere bugbear, and had in it nothing to be apprehended.—It was quite consolatory to think how many comfortable opinions are heard upon that subject. The only drawback was, that they did not come from exactly the classes of people from whom one should hear them with greatest pleasure. We were told daily of the impracticability of invasion, by many eminent lawyers, many sound divines, many worthy country gentlemen, many respectable mer-

chants, many skilful agriculturists, many very handsome women. The only persons from whom we did not hear these opinions, were our soldiers and sailors. Ask a sailor, whether with any superiority of naval force he could ensure the country against an invading army? He would tell you, that such was the uncertainty of all naval operations, such the extent of coast to be guarded, such the variety of modes in which invasion may be attempted, some in larger and some in smaller vessels, some from nearer and some from more distant points, that with all the naval superiority in the world—even with that which the hon. gentleman deprived us of at the peace of Amiens,—he could not engage that an enemy should not effect a disembarkation on various points even in considerable force. But put this same question to a landsman, to a man who perhaps never saw the sea but from Margate or Brighton, who never embarked in any thing but a bathing-machine, and he will tell you, that to talk of invading a country in the face of a superior navy was the idlest of all follies, and that as long as we had our wooden walls, (he would more properly say, our wooden heads) we should never treat invasion otherwise than as a threat fit only to frighten children. The same in the case of the opposition to be made, should the enemy have effected a landing. A man who knew no more of military operations, than himself or most of those, whom he addressed, happily did; who never saw troops but on a parade; who had never a gun fired in anger, would dispatch you twenty thousand French in a morning, as easily as Capt. Bobadil: but men who really knew what they were talking of, men who were at once officers, and officers who had seen service, the men on whom we must rely, and on whom we might rely, should such an emergency arise, they would tell you a different story; and though they certainly would not speak of invasion with dismay, if proper precautions were taken, they would never consider it as a matter to be treated with contempt.—He would wish that those, who were guided by authority upon this subject, would consider how many of the opinions, which they heard, were entitled to the smallest consideration. For himself he would not declare an opinion one way or another. He would not even say, whether he considered the attempt as likely to be made. He preferred to take that fact on the declaration of ministers; because, he knew, if by any accident, such as might happen, the design were relinquished, what vapouring there would be, on the part of many, and how he and others should be told, that nothing but their own disordered imaginations could ever have given birth to such an expectation. He took the probability of the attempt, therefore, upon the ministers' admission: and starting from that point, he begged to know, on what ground we thought the attempt was to be disposed? Was it at this time of day, after all that had been achieved and suffered, that we were warranted in holding cheap the projects of French enterprize? Was it for Europe prostrated, as we were so fond of describing her, at the feet of France—was it for us, whom the treaty of Amiens had brought upon our knees before her, to treat with contempt, what she thought herself capable of effecting? If she pursued her design, it certainly was from a persuasion, that she had a reasonable chance of succeeding it: and who were those, who were entitled to claim to their judgment on this question, such an entire superiority over that of the persons whom France may be presumed to have consulted. He begged pardon, but he really must consider the opinion of Buonaparté on a military question, to be as good as that of any of the hon. gentlemen whom he saw before him. It did not appear either, what the advantage was which we possessed in point of materials for judgement. Did the French require to be told, that seas were deep and winds variable; that islands can only be approached by water; that if met with at sea they would be liable to be destroyed by our cruizers; with many similar truths, the knowledge of which we seemed to think was confined altogether to ourselves. If we might suppose ourselves on the one hand better acquainted with our means of defence, we must allow on the other that they were likely to be better acquainted with their means of attack: and, in the reduction of a place, he never had heard, but that the opinion of the engineers without was as much to be taken as that of the engineers within. In one case it would deserve a great deal more to be taken, namely, if they had carefully considered the question, and the others had not: and he wished that this might not be the fact with respect to the French and ourselves. For one person that had studied this question, for one memorial that was written in England, he would venture to say, that there were a hundred in France. If to this industry and to this knowledge nothing was to be opposed, but vague, general confidence, such as for the last fourteen years had been pronouncing to be impossible, every thing that had successively happened, he must confess that he could not rely much upon the secu-

rity, which he saw was enjoyed.——One circumstance he must complain of, viz. the clamour raised against those, who could not partake in this security, and who warned their countrymen, in consequence, not to trust to it too implicitly. These were treated as pusillanimous men, who were foolishly frightened themselves, and were doing no small mischief by communicating their fears to others. The terms of the charge, as commonly preferred, were, that they were exciting despondency. He could not feel much disturbed by an accusation, in which he was joined with such an associate as the hon. gent. near him (Col. Craufurd). He was perfectly ready to plead guilty to any fears which he shared in common with that gallant officer. But he could not but feel some impatience, and think the case a little odd, when those were only pointing out the danger, with a view to its being better resisted, were accused of despondency by those, who had not yet brought themselves to look the danger in the face. The shame of any punishment was thought to be aggravated by great unworthiness in the hand that inflicted it. If a knight, as they had learned on a late occasion, should act in a way to forfeit his knighthood, the sentence was, that he should have his spurs cut off by the King's cook. The case seemed to be much the same with him and some of his friends, who were occasionally called knights and Quixotes, when they were doomed to hear themselves charged with pusillanimity by the makers of the treaty of Amiens. He, Mr. Windham (said the hon. gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, alluding very truly, but not perhaps very properly to former communications) had felt a dread of invasion on other occasions besides the present. He certainly had so; but what the inference from thence was, was not apparent, unless it were, that having felt that alarm, when no danger existed, no importance could be attached to the apprehensions which he entertained at present. The hon. gent. then, it must be understood, did not entertain any fears, or not the same fears as he (Mr W.) did, at the period alluded to, that is to say, just before the conclusion of the peace. How whimsical then was the result! With the hon. gentleman's contempt of the danger, and with Mr. W.'s fears of it, he (Mr. A.) made the treaty of Amiens, which he (Mr. W.) would not have made: and really, said Mr. W., the fear that counsels resistance does seem entitled to rank at any time with the magnanimity that deals only in submission. But setting aside the propriety of this charge, as coming from the hon. gentlemen, let it be considered what it was in itself. Those who saw danger to the country, which only the exertions of the country could prevent, were not to declare its situation, were not to call for those exertions, but were to leave the country to repose in false security, till the moment should perhaps be past, when resistance would be any longer practicable. Though the House was on fire, they were not to alarm the family by any intemperate cry or knocking; but were to tap gently at the door, and whisper only, that if they did not get up they would be burnt in their beds. There were two cases in which representations of danger seemed to be unnecessary: one, where the danger was of a sort to admit of nothing being done to prevent it; the other, where all that could be done, was done already. If a patient was labouring under a disorder, which no application could cure, or relieve, it was useless and might be injurious, except with a view to incidental purposes, to point out to him the nature of his situation: on the other hand, where the case was such as amply to admit of exertion, where armies were engaged, or ships on fire, it might still be useless or mischievous to enforce a representation of the danger, because whatever could be hoped from such representation, was done or doing already. When the right wing of an army was actually engaged it would be of no use to inform it, with a view at least to encourage its exertions, that the left was giving way. While the captain and crew were straining every nerve to extinguish the flames, in a ship that was on fire, it could do no good, and might do great harm, to tell them that the flames were likely to prevail, and were fast approaching the magazine. But was either of these the case of this country? Were *we* in circumstances in which nothing could be done, or in which every thing necessary was already doing? Ministers, indeed, would have us suppose that we were: and, when pressed upon the subject, enumerated their exploits in a manner altogether diverting. They told us, with great triumph, of the expenses they had incurred, and the inconvenience they had produced: how, in a time of profound peace, they had filled the nation with all the bustle of war; how, at a moment when nothing was to be heard but economy and saving, they had suddenly started forth into measures, the most extravagant and wasteful. They had called out the militia: they had twice augmented the army and navy. They had brought forward the Army of Reserve Bill, with all the enormous expense attend-

ing it; they had lastly produced the measure at present under consideration. All these things they had done; but with all that they had done, had they done enough? And the measures, which they had taken, had they been taken in time? The hon. gentlemen seemed to have a great fondness for proceeding by gradations. Every measure was to come separately. One coat of paint must be dry before another was laid on. The hon. gentlemen, too, seemed to think, that every measure was completed the moment that it is begun. When they had brought in a bill, they seemed to consider their work as done; without reflecting that this was merely putting the seed in the ground, which must afterwards have time to grow; and that while the grass was growing, the steed starved: the consequence was, that nothing had been done, at the time that it might have been done. There was no possible reason to be assigned, why every measure, that had been adopted, should not have been adopted weeks and months before. What made this so inexcusable was, that there was nothing in our situation, that ministers ought not distinctly to have foreseen. There was not a danger to which the country was exposed, that was not the natural and necessary consequences of their own measures. It was a cunning child, the proverb said, that knew its own father: and, upon the same principle, it must often be a cunning father that knew his own child. The hon. gentlemen did not seem to be endued with this power. The whole train of our present calamities and dangers was the genuine progeny of the treaty of Amiens. One might make an allegory of it, and say, that the treaty of Amiens, which had been begot by Wisdom upon Folly, by Dignity upon Meanness, as you choose to call it, by Boldness upon Pusillanimity, had two daughters, War and Invasion, which in due course, the time of gestation being longer in the larger animals, it was now delivered of. Not only, therefore, ought the hon. gentlemen to have begun their preparations from the date of the King's Message, but from the very moment, when they signed the treaty, which was to settle the country in the happy enjoyment of the blessings of peace. Nothing, however, could prevail upon them to do this. They resisted all admonition, reviling and calumniating all who attempted to admonish them. Latterly, the secret of this had come out. The country, it seems, is a commercial and monied country, and must not be suddenly alarmed. The hon. gentleman was afraid of his *omnium*. But he ought to have recollected, that there was an *omnium* of another kind, the *omnium* of our laws, liberties, independence, and lives, which was likewise deserving of some consideration, and which would infalliby go, if we were thus to keep the country in ignorance of its danger, for fear of alarming the monied men. Nothing could justify the ministers, therefore, if, in a matter of this sort, where all was at stake, any thing really important was either omitted or delayed. But they had omitted and delayed not only great and important measures, in the execution of which there might be a difficulty, (but about which, nevertheless, there ought to have been no demur, if they were really conducive to the public safety) but innumerable other measures, about which there could have been no difficulty, and which required nothing but thought and consideration. Such were all measures of precaution and timely arrangement. Every possibility ought to be provided for; every case duly considered; nothing, when it could possibly be avoided, be left to chance, or the decision of the moment; the best military opinions, foreign and domestic, have been taken and compared together; all measures, which were foreseen to be necessary, prepared or executed before hand; in a word, nothing omitted, which care, foresight, and able military counsel could effect. Our motto should be:

> Omnia precepi, atque animo
> Mecum ante peregi.———

But was that the picture of our actual state? Had not the very measure of a board of military reporters and advisers been rejected, though the effect of such a board, besides its other advantages, must have been, to restore to the service those officers, whose age alone prevented their serving us in the field, but who were certainly not on that account likely to be less valuable in counsel? The benefits to be derived from such an institution were without number, to whom too could they have been injurious? It was not in the power of any single mind, to embrace at once all the details of an army such as ours, and all the important measures required by a situation such as ours. It might not perhaps be a bad consequence if such an establishment, that it must operate as a control and a stimulus, and be an additional security that other departments did their duty. But other departments must be glad of its assistance, having more to do than they could possibly suffice for. Persons too, who might have valuable suggestions to offer for the public good, would address themselves more readily to a board of this sort, than to individuals whom they did not equally con-

fide in, and whom they might suspect of rejecting their proposals from jealousy or partiality. The illustrious personage at the head of the army could never think it any disparagement to him, to receive the opinions of eminent officers; on matters too which it was impossible that he could have leisure to consider himself. Here then was one substantial instance of a measure omitted, capable of being of material importance in our present situation. But were there not others of a different description which many might suspect not to be attended to, as they ought to have been? Was nothing to be done in the way of works, by which the deficiency of our living force might be in part supplied, and the points which troops would be called upon to defend be rendered less numerous? Much of this sort, he was persuaded, was to be done; but it was not for him certainly to speak in detail on matters of this nature, nor was it necessary for him to dwell upon them at all, after the manner in which they had been enforced by an hon. gent. (Col. Craufurd) who to all the authority of professional abilities, and all the force of truth, had added that eloquence, as he would call it, which is the result of strong feeling operating upon a clear and vigorous understanding. But in the midst of these omissions, if such they were, there was one measure, the hon. gent. might say, which we have amply provided for; we have given full instructions for the driving of the country! He was well aware that this was a measure adopted by the late administration; and which, as a power, to be lodged in the hands of the executive government, and to be employed in certain special cases, and with respect to certain special objects, possibly in the single instance of horses, he did not mean to condemn. But as a measure of general application; as a measure to be relied on, generally for stopping the progress of the enemy; nothing more absurd, he would venture to say, could have entered into the mind of man. The first objection to the measure was, that even if capable of being executed, it would be utterly useless. In half the time, that it would require to carry this driving into effect, the enemy would have passed the country, to which it was meant to apply. The next objection to the measure, if objection it might be called, was that it was utterly impracticable. In hardly any circumstances would a tract of country, adjoining to the sea, be capable of being driven, before the enemy would be at hand, to drive the drivers, and totally mar the operation. But the attempt in the meanwhile would be mischievous and fatal. The confusion it would produce would be endless. The roads would be blocked up; the passage of troops stopped; all military operations impeded: we should be run down by our own bullocks. It would be the scene described by Major Sturgeon. "The drums beat in the front; the dogs barked in the rear; the oxen set up a gallop; on they came thundering upon us; and threw our whole corps into confusion." We might say with truth in the concluding words, that it would be "a most unfortunate day for us all" whenever we should rely on this measure of driving the country, and destroying the provisions, as one of our staple resources for stopping the progress of an enemy and providing for the general safety. He came now to the immediate measure before them. In a constitutional view, not an objection could be made to it; so that it seemed unnecessary, though it might possibly not be improper in the hon. gent., to cite so many acts of Parliament, and adduce so much legal learning in support of its character in that respect. It was clearly neither an innovation nor necessary to supply any thing, which the old law did not contain, but was merely expedient, in order to carry the old law more readily into effect. As a compulsory measure, though he was for objecting to it, because he thought it perfectly right, that such compulsory means should be vested in the crown, yet he wished it not to be acted upon unnecessarily. The power might be wanted, and therefore very properly existed: it was useful too, that it should be known to exist: but if the end proposed could be accomplished by other means, it might be right, that it should not be exerted. Here his Majesty's ministers seemed to be a little inconsistent. For the sake of a great and most important object, the instant creation of a regular army, when it was proposed by some gentlemen, and concurred in by him (Mr. Windham) and others, that there should be a ballot for troops of the line, to serve in Europe only, and for term of years, and with the privilege of commuting the service for a fixed fine, the ministers would not hear of the proposal: now, in a milder way, it is true, but perhaps hardly milder, if considered in proportion to its object, their whole thoughts seem to run to compulsion. For his part he was, on this occasion, as on most others, far more inclined to voluntary service than to compulsory. By this universal compulsory training, it must be considered that much inconvenience would be produced, where it could not be attended with

any correspondent advantage. The training would be universal: every one would partake in the burthen of it: but of those who were thus trained, a portion only, and comparatively a small one, could by any possibility be brought into a state convertible to any military purposes, much of what would be fashioned by this act must be formed of materials, which the hand of the potter would throw away. This was ceriainly an inconvenience, and an objection as far as it went. You consumed more of the time and comfort of individuals, than was capable afterwards of being converted to public use. But there seemed to be something besides the mere constraint, and interruption of business or pleasure which would make this necessity of training be felt as a hardship—Men, in England, had not the same feeling as Frenchmen in general had, with respect to exhibiting themselves in public, nor had those, who would view them in those exhibitions, the same feelings as the people of France, with respect to military show and parade. There was a modesty with us, which would make many, who from their size or figure, or want of ease or suppleness might be conscious of not appearing to advantage, unwilling to display themselves under the discipline of the drill; while instead of exalting and magnifying, and giving an artificial importance to such displays, there was a universal disposition in our people to depreciate and make a jest of. These dispositions, added to the impatience which many would feel of being mixed familiarly with those, whom they were accustomed to meet upon a different footing, would, he feared, have the effect of rendering this general training more disliked than in proportion to the mere time it occupied, and the inconvenience which it created. He was therefore the more inclined to seek the aid of voluntary service, as far as it could be obtained. For in this mode you were sure of one advantage. The volunteers had at least one qualification, which you looked to in a soldier, namely, good will. A man who came of his own accord, felt at least some qualities in himself, which were likely to render him useful. He must be actuated either by zeal for the service, or sense of duty, or desire of distinction, or some general ardour and love of action. In compulsory service all was apt to be cold and lifeless. No distinction would be obtained, and every one, it was to be feared, would be seeking, as far as he could, to throw off the duty from himself. He was, therefore, for availing himself of the voluntary service as far as it would go; keeping the other in reserve, in case the spontaneous exertions should fail; and, in the meanwhile, leaving it to act as a stimulus, which might serve to quicken their operation. But here several considerations required to be attended to. It was first to be seen how these voluntary exertions were to be obtained, and afterwards what shape was to be given to them. For the obtaining such exertions, it would seem to plain men that there was but one course to be pursued in the first instance, namely, to show, that exertions were necessary. Before people betook themselves to means of defence, they commonly required to be satisfied that there was some danger against which defence was wanted. But to attempt to satisfy them of this, was, according to the phrase at present in use, to *excite despondency*; and accordingly every man who sought to rouse the people to what their safety required, was branded as an alarmist, and treated as little less than a traitor to his country. The duty of every man was said to be, not to dispirit, but to encourage, the people; and to follow, in this respect, the example of his Majesty's ministers. Here, however, the example of his Majesty's ministers had something singular in it. One should naturally understand by *encouraging* to inspire men with courage for the purpose of resisting something which was considered as dangerous: but the hon. gentlemen's notion of *encouraging* was to lead men to the belief, that courage was unnecessary, because, in fact, there was no danger. He must confess, that he thought the other way both more proper, and more respectful to the country. He could not agree with the hon. gentlemen, that to tell the people of their danger was to throw them into a panick in which they would be able to do nothing. On the contrary, he believed it would only animate them to new exertions. This, at least, was sure, that they would not be animated to exertions without it. And why should they? The measures necessary for defence, were not in themselves of a nature so pleasant, as that men should have recourse to them, if there was nothing particular to require their being adopted. Either therefore you must forego these measures altogether, or you must take the course, so much condemned, of appealing to mens' fears, in other words, of apprizing them of their danger. And, upon this occasion, it was impossible not to remark upon the difference, there was, in the practice of the two nations, France and England, and upon the different ideas, which the governments severally entertained of the character of the

two people. In France, when the nation was in danger of invasion, and the Duke of Brunswick threatened to march to Paris, the government so far from dissembling the danger, sought, by all means, to proclaim and publish it even with a degree of exaggeration. They thought that to apprize the French people of the approach of the enemy, was the way to summon them to exertion: and the French people answered to the call. They chearfully fell to work to fortify Montmartre near Paris, and undertook, with zeal and alacrity, whatever else the government prescribed. But the compliment paid by his Majesty's ministers to the people of this country, was to suppose, that to announce to them their danger would be to frighten them out of their wits. It was said, in answer to this, that the cases were different, for that the danger in France was much more pressing: that those in France had more to fear from the march of the Duke of Brunswick, than we have from the invasion with which we are now threatened. But this argument would conclude just the contrary way. If the fear of terrifying the people was the reason for not apprizing them of their danger, the greater the danger, the less they ought to be apprized of it. The fact was, that those entrusted with the government, were bound by every tie early to possess the country with a knowledge of its situation, in order to give full and timely effect to those exertions, which would not fail to be made: at the same time, as in a matter of this sort, nothing which was capable of being otherwise provided for, ought to be left to chance; it was fit that powers, such as were now proposed, should be deposited with government, to be used by them, should the occasion require it, and to operate in the meanwhile as a stimulus to the voluntary exertions, were it to happen, that these should, in any part, prove deficient. He was, therefore, clearly of opinion, in favour of the existence of these powers, as he was, that they should be used sparingly, and only in case the voluntarily exertions should not be found equal to what was expected. Generally speaking, voluntary service was to be preferred always before that which arose from compulsion. Compelled service had always in it something of disinclination and reluctance. If it did not find a man disinclined, it could not but have a chance of making him so. There was in it nothing of zeal, animation, or distinction. On the other hand, the volunteer, whatever else he might want, was sure to have one very useful quality, and which often stood in lieu of all others, good-will. He could not be a volunteer but for some motive, of zeal, or patriotism, or love of fame, or love of action, which would contribute to qualify him for the service he was to perform. He (Mr. W.) was therefore much inclined to try what the spontaneous exertions of the country would do, in the thousand ways in which they might shew themselves before he would have recourse generally to the compulsory training, with the several objections to which he feared it would be found liable. Among these, one which he had not before sufficiently dwelt upon, was the *mode* of training, which was sure to be adopted, and which could not indeed very well be avoided. This would be, the practising men to the common exercise of the drill, than which a more useless employment, except for those who should afterwards be turned over to regular regiments, could not well be imagined. As corps, the men trained in this way, considering what description of persons the majority must consist of, would be worth nothing. All that could be said was, that many would thus be half trained, (parboiled as it were) and more ready to be completed as soldiers, should they hereafter be enrolled in regular corps. Connected with the above objection, and in part arising out of it, was that which applied in point of time, and to the period, when the men prepared under this measure were likely to be ready. The training was not to be, as in the case of embodied corps, from day to day. A period of months would give but a few days of training. It was the error often of those who were concerned in the management of affairs, to suppose that they were doing a great deal of good, when they were only creating a great deal of disturbance. A long complicated bill, with its enactments and clauses, with its first and second readings, its commitment, report, and re-commitment, had something very imposing; but the inquiry after all was, what did it do? The value of a book was not to be estimated by its bulk, though the author might sometimes think so, but by the real quantity of new and valuable matter which it contained. The old maxim, that "*a great book was a great evil*," might often be transferred, with a little variation, to bills in Parliament. How little effect this measure was likely to produce, in proportion to its unwieldy bulk and volume, might be judged by comparing it with what might have been hoped from another course of proceeding, which he had sometime since taken the liberty to recommend, and to which he could not forbear to refer. It was impossible not to contrast to the slow and

toilsome march of the measure now proposed, the speedy effect which might have been produced, had they adopted at once the mode of establishing small depositories of arms, in different parts, and sent down proper officers to instruct the people in firing with ball. That measure would have begun to take effect, from the very moment that the adoption of it was decided upon. There was no reason, why both arms and officers, where they happened to be ready, should not have set out at four-and-twenty hours notice. The officer, who would travel by the mail, would in another four-and-twenty hours have been at the place of his destination; and if the arms, which would have gone by the waggon, would not have arrived so soon, the interval would just have been sufficient to give time to the officer, to communicate his instructions, to make himself known to the neighbourhood, to erect his butts, to collect the people, and to take such other preparatory steps, as would enable him to begin his operations, the moment the arms should have reached him. In ten days from the measure being resolved upon, a great portion of country might have been actually at work, engaged in a species of training, which was not of mere eventual utility, dependent for its effect upon something afterwards to be added: but was the thing itself, which must of necessity be looked to, in case of an enemy's landing, which, not possessed, would render all the rest useless; and which, if possessed, would to a very great degree render every thing else superfluous. Every other part of the country, to which it should have been thought right to extend the operation of the measure would, in succession, have got into the same state, in proportion to its distance from London, and the priority which government might have thought fit to give to it. There would at least have been no time lost, nor any thing done, that was not of actual utility. But considerations of this sort, he feared, did not always serve to recommend a measure. There was a way of judging rather by the report than the execution. A great measure was one that made a great noise; whereas there might be a succession of small measures well directed, a sort of fire of musketry, which often produced more effect, and did more towards deciding the day, than any of these pieces of heavy artillery with all their tremendous roar. All that seemed to be wanted, at the present crisis, was to impress the people with a due sense of their danger, and then to give a right direction to the exertions which that conviction could not fail to produce. The means of the country were equal to any thing; and the disposition to employ them would never be wanting, when once the necessity was pointed out. The motives indeed were such, as had hardly ever existed in any other case, and were equally calculated to operate upon the selfish and the ordid, as upon the patriotic and the high-minded. The destruction of this country, should it once be accomplished, would not be like that of any of the other countries, which have fallen under the French yoke. Other countries, when subdued, they would consider probably as part of themselves, and treat accordingly. But there was no reason for thinking, that such would be their conduct towards this country, were a case so dreadful ever to happen, as the one which would bring that question to the test. It was impossible to say what freaks of vengeance they would practice with us, they would not leave us like Flanders, or Holland, or Swisserland, or Genoa, or countries, which while they pillaged, they would seek to make productive, through the same means by which they formerly flourished: after removing whatever was worth removal, delivering over the rest to general plunder, and destroying all the sources of future greatness, they would probably cast the island, as it were, to the dogs, or use it only as a place of growth for timber, and of men to man their ships. They would send us back to the woods; to the same state as we were in, when the country was first visited and conquered by their predecessors the Romans. Of what use would the island be to them? They had land enough of their own, of a better quality, and under a far better climate. They wanted neither our harbours nor our rivers. Why should the lords of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Seine, the Garonne, of all the ports of Holland, of France, and of Spain, come to England for the use of the Thames; or of the harbours of Portsmouth and Plymouth? Let no man flatter himself, therefore, that he can be saved in the general wreck; and since few, it was to be hoped, would be so foolish, even if they could be base enough, to act upon such an idea: let no man doubt of the exertions of the country, after the country should be once satisfied of the danger. This was the first step to be taken, namely, to satisfy the people that their exertions were necessary. The notion, that this would produce panic, he for one would not admit. But if it would, so much the more necessary was it, that that panic should be produced in time, in order that it might be over, and the first agitation subsided, before the crisis actually arrived. That the exertions of the people

would then be great, he was the last to doubt. He thought most highly both of the native courage and of the martial character of the inhabitants of this country; though he was afraid to say of them all that had been said with so much becoming warmth, by the hon. baronet (Sir William Erskine) with whose ideas too, though agreeing in general, he was not able to agree in all parts. He thought with him, that the machinery of modern tactics might be sometimes too cumbersome for the sort of warfare, which we should have to carry on, and in which we might hope to excel. But the hon. baronet must recollect, that in talking of this machinery he must not exemplify it, with a view, at least, to the case now before us, by the example of the Austrians. Whatever the Austrians might be, it was not with them that we should have to do. The machines to which we should be opposed, were French machines, which were certainly any thing rather than cumbersome. The great strength of the French lay in that very species of war, for which we considered ourselves, and justly too, as best qualified. We had reason to flatter ourselves, that we excelled in it; and we should be opposed by those who excelled in it likewise. In experience, and in intelligence, resulting from that experience, he was afraid, the French would beat us; but no one was inclined to confide more than he in the superiority which we might hope to see displayed by the common people of this country in individual prowess and hardihood. He could not help here lamenting the systematic pains, that had long been taken to extinguish among the common people those qualities of body and mind of which we were inclined at all times to talk so boastingly; and on which we were now, it seems, to place our chief dependence.—In allusion to something which he had said the other day upon that subject, an honourable gent. had asked, whether he meant *bull-baiting*, and what the courage was of turning loose animals of one species to torment and worry those of another? He would only advert to the question so far as to say that he did *not* mean bull-baiting, though he did mean what many would consider as of the same sort, namely those athletic sports and hardy contests, which heretofore made the delight of the common people and which, in a way suited to their capacities and habits, trained them as those Gothic practices, the tilts and tournaments of old, did persons of better condition, to every generous and manly sentiment. As to the *courage* of bull baiting, he could say but little for it; but might at least put it upon a level with that of a set of gentlemen, who in fancied coats, and upon prancing horses, cracking their whips, and rending the air with their shouts, were inciting forty or fifty savage animals to pursue to destruction a poor hare or fox.—Upon the whole, he thought it perfectly right, that powers such as those proposed by the act, should be vested in the executive government; but that government should not be in haste to make use of them, till it should be seen what might be hoped from exertions purely voluntary. It was likewise of great consequence that government should exert its influence to give to these voluntary exertions a right direction, without which they might prove injurious instead of useful.

Lord *Hawkesbury*.—Sir, what has fallen from the right hon. gent. who spoke last is so very loose and general, that, in my opinion, no practical result can arise from it. And it appears, as if observations were made, solely for the purpose of making an attack against his Majesty's government; and what was still more remarkable, upon the present occasion, as well as on those formerly alluded to by that right hon. gent. this attack was made by a kind of side-wind, which precluded the possibility of meeting it regularly. The language and sentiments which he held out are certainly of a desponding nature. With respect to the danger of the country, it certainly is the duty of every man to give information on the subject; but there may be a mode of giving this information, which with a view to prepare the public for meeting it, may do a great deal of injury. I do not consider the language of the right hon. gent. as calculated to awaken the energies, or rouse the spirit of the people; but it is the language of one who would say to them—you have little to hope for; your danger is great, and you will hardly escape it. This is the same kind of language which he has held on former occasions. I certainly am far from thinking, that the right hon. gent. or those who think with him, are actuated by bad motives in what they do; I am sure that no man posseses more of a true English spirit than that right hon. gent. But if the tendency *of his observations be to dishearten the people*, instead of stimulating to exertion, they have the same effect as if their motives were such, as I do not consider them to be. The whole of the mode in which he has treated this subject, is such, as to make men believe that nothing has been done to rouse

the country to active exertion. With regard to the measures, the adoption of which has been frequently recommended for the defence of the country, it is very easy for different persons to recommend different plans; and he who appears to outstrip another in bidding, who will go farthest in his ideas of the subject, is supposed to be right; but this principle I deny, both in theory and in practice: for if we should adopt measures that are too large, extensive, and complicated, we may run the risk of having none at all. I believe, that in all such cases, it is the wisest course to proceed gradually, and not to propose any expedient too hastily. The hon. gent. charges his Majesty's ministers with a general remissness and inattention in all those measures that were necessary to be adopted for the defence of the country. I wish the house would examine this charge, and see whether it is well founded or not. I do not wish to dwell upon what has been done during the late peace, but the right hon. gent. and the House must know, that during that period a much greater number of seamen was kept on foot, and a mush greater military establishment, than ever there had been in this country during any former period of peace; insomuch, indeed, that its extent has excited the disapprobation of many great authorities in this House, on the ground of its expense, although it has been strongly complained of by the right hon. gent. and his friends as inadequate. The injustice, however, of this complaint, like many other complaints from the same quarter, is manifest from this circumstance, that not one soldier has been disbanded from the time peace was concluded till the recommencement of the war, who was not enlisted for a limited period, and the terms of whose enlistment of course required his discharge; or else, where troops were only engaged to serve during the war. So much as to former censures, repeated this evening. As to the present state of the military force, I maintain, that with respect to the quantity or quality of our troops, they are much more formidable than at any period that could be quoted; are more so than at the end of the year 1797, or in the beginning of the year 1798, when the danger of invasion was not less imminent than it can be considered at present, nor at a time when the country was engaged in a war not only with France, Holland, and Spain, but with the Northern Confederacy. In addition to this comparison, so favourable to our present situation, and so demonstrative of the activity and precaution of his Majesty's ministers, it ought to be taken into account, that we are only now in the first year of war, and that after any peace, however short or advantageous, it is always found impossible for any government immediately to mount up to a state of preparation suited to the circumstances. Making, then, all the allowances which it is fair and reasonable to claim, I contend that we had a larger and better disciplined body of regular troops fit for service than under similar circumstances the country ever witnessed. I disdain any wish, in making this comparison, to provoke a discussion or detail as to the conduct of ministers on the state of preparation at particular periods, but merely with the view of replying to the assertions of the right hon. gent., and of shewing that we are not only fully competent to the defence of the country from invasion, but when that danger shall cease, our force is also competent to foreign operations. The right hon. gent. has, in the course of his speech, taken occasion to allude to letters which have been addressed to the Lords Lieutenants of the several counties; but the right hon. gentleman's charges upon that point will be best answered by simply saying, that those letters were sent by government, in consequence of a measure sanctioned by the approbation of Parliament; and that, in the preparatory arrangements, these letters were deemed essentially necessary. The right hon. gent. has objected to the mode of electing officers, which the measure before the House prescribes; but he ought to have remembered, that the principle of such appointments is precisely that which has been adopted and acted upon during the last war; and although the officers are to be chosen by the men, yet they are not to receive their commissions unless recommended to his Majesty by the Lords Lieutenants of counties. The right hon. gentleman's objections to this measure, on the ground that it is of a compulsory nature, are rather singular, when his former declarations are considered, in which he generally called out for compulsory measures, if necessary, to arm the country; and, indeed, whatever doubts might prevail upon the justice or policy of attempting a compulsory levy for any purpose of foreign operations, no doubt can exist, as to the propriety of enforcing it, should necessity demand it for our internal defence. But the right hon. gent. asks, why not rely on the voluntary offers of the people? although, upon every occasion, he complained that government did not come forward to urge the people to arm—to rouze them to exertion. With regard, however, to the measure before the House, it is not intended to attempt any thing compulsory,

unless where the voluntary offers are not made, and unless they do not promise to be effectual towards the object. As to the general principle of this bill, I think it the most unobjectionable that could be devised—the most congenial to the spirit of the constitution, the least disagreeable to the habits and feelings of the people, and the most likely to answer the main view. To the mode of proceeding, which Government has thought proper to pursue for the purpose of putting the country in a formidable posture, I feel confident, that upon a candid consideration no sound objection can be made. We have brought measures forward separately, each at the convenient time; and I submit to the good sense of the House whether a contrary course, namely, the proposition of all of them together, even if matured, might not tend to delay and prejudice the practical accomplishment of them, and endanger the success of the object. I am aware that it is the opinion of some very respectable members that the measure now under consideration ought to have been laid before the House much sooner—that it ought to have preceded those which regard the arrangement of a more regular force; but I firmly believe, that had this idea been acted upon, it would have been extremely difficult indeed to prosecute the ballot for the army of reserve, or to carry into effect, with the necessary facilities, the previous ballot for the militia. From these considerations I am of opinion, that it was much wiser the several measures alluded to were not suffered to follow each other more rapidly than we contrived. That an invasion may be attempted, and may possibly succeed for a short time, I will not deny; but I do deny that the capture of London, or any other place, would decide the issue of it; for as long as there remained an acre of English ground, on that spot of ground the people of this country would fight the enemy. I agree with the right hon. gent. that in case of being unsuccessful, inasmuch as we have been great, true, wealthy, and powerful, in the same proportion would be the extent of the evil we should suffer. I always felt this, and I feel it to this moment; but I am not to suppose that those who have enjoyed freedom and prosperity, would become slaves, without being the worst of slaves. This idea gives me reason to form the best hopes from the spirit of the people in preserving their country. This principle has been proved to be true externally, and it must be so internally; for in every war in which we were engaged with a foreign enemy, we always came off with honour and glory. If it should ever be our fate to bow down to a foreign enemy, our fate would then be worse than any other country which had ever fallen under the subjection of that enemy; for our degradation and ruin would be in proportion to our former greatness, glory, and success. I do not blame those gentlemen who feel and see the danger beyond what it really is; but there are certain bounds, to which the apprehension of that danger should be limited; otherwise it may be exaggerated to such an extent, as to be productive of more harm than good. The right hon. gent. has alluded to a speech of an hon. baronet (Sir W. Erskine). I heard that speech with a great deal of satisfaction, and am convinced that his opinions have been confirmed by experience and practice. I must again repeat, that it would be highly prejudicial to the country if the feeling of our danger were advanced to such an extent as to damp the spirit of the country.

Mr. *Windham*, by way of explanation, stated that his objections to the measure applied rather to the mode of raising the people *en masse*, than to the principle of such a proposition.

Sir *F. Burdett*. The best, and, in my judgment, the only effectual scheme of defense which can be devised for the country at this crisis, may be comprised in one measure, namely, a repeal of all the acts applying to constitutional topics, which have been passed since the accession of the present King to the throne, and then you may rationally hope to rouse the ancient enthusiasm of the people, and furnish them with real motives to fight for the blessings of constitutional freedom and personal security.

Mr. *Pitt*. I feel sincerely happy that this measure has been at length brought before the House, as it affords a prospect of that vigour which is necessary in the present conjuncture. I approve of its principle and object. It indeed is founded on the principles of the plan, which, unconnected as I am with his Majesty's government, I have thought it my duty to intimate to ministers. I have been always decidedly of opinion that such a measure was essentially necessary, in addition to our regular force, in order to put the question as to our domestic security entirely beyond all doubt. I am not now disposed, because indeed I do not think it necessary, to enter into any investigation of the degree of danger which the country has to apprehend, though I am aware it is material that the danger should not be under-rated. But to return to the measure before the House—I rejoice in its introduction as the most congenial in its spirit to the constitution of this

country, and in its execution not at all likely to meet any obstacle from the character or dispositon of the people. In its structure there is nothing new to our history; in its tendency there is nothing ungrateful to our habits; it embraces the interests, it avails itself of the energies, and it promises to establish the security of the country. It imposes no burthens, nor does it propose any arrangement of which it can be in the power of any class of the community to complain. Its object is the safety of all, without containing any thing in its provisions offensive to any. It is perfectly agreeable to the best institutions of civilized society, and has for its basis the rudiments of our constitutional history. It is obvious, that unless we make efforts adequate to the crisis in which we are placed, the country is insecure, and if those efforts cannot be effectual without compulsion, I trust no man can entertain a doubt of the propriety of resorting to it; but I have a confident expectation that compulsion will be unnecessary; that the number of voluntary offers will be sufficient to obviate the necessity of that disagreeable alternative. It is, however, an alternative of which I hope no man will disapprove, should the necessity arise, and least of all my right hon. friend, who has not, on a former occasion, hesitated to recommend that compulsion. By his Majesty's prerogative he has it in his power, at any time that the country is threatened with invasion, to call out all his subjects for its defence; and the object of the measure before the House is, that the people when called out should be prepared to second his views—should be trained to military evolutions—should be ready to act with promptitude in any quarter where their services might be required—should be capable of conforming to orders without confusion or delay—of collecting with celerity, and acting with decision. Such a plan is highly desirable, for it would be unwise to leave the defence of the country placed on our naval force, however superior, or in our regular army, however gallant and well disciplined, or even in the people armed *en masse*, unless previously drilled in military manœuvres, and subject to the directions of Government, who, by the measure before the House, are to be invested with ample powers of rendering the application of this force effectual, of directing it to the several branches of public service which circumstances may call for. The training of the people, however, should be prompt; no delay should be suffered, for there was not room to allow it. The efforts of those to be entrusted with the execution of this important duty should be unremitted, and indeed of all public and private individuals, until the country shall be completely secure against any attacks of the enemy. This security is certain if every man will be active in his station, and of that activity I have not the least doubt, if Government will give the proper stimulus. With respect to the observations of my noble friend upon the sentiments of my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) as to the dangers of invasion, the noble lord seems to have quite mistaken his meaning, for my right hon. friend *did not at all describe the danger in such a way as to damp the spirit of the country, but rather to excite its caution and energy*, by removing the idea that an invasion is impracticable; and as soon as that delusive notion shall cease to prevail, I am quite certain that the whole tenor of my right hon. friend's remarks will be to produce confidence of security in the public mind, at the time when that feeling of confidence ought to exist, either with reference to the safety of the state, or of individuals. *The amount of our danger, therefore, it would be impolitic to conceal from the people.* It was the first duty of ministers to make it known, and after doing so, it should have been their study to provide against it, and to point out the means to the country by which it might be averted. *It is quite impossible that a people will make adequate efforts to resist a danger, of the nature and extent of which they are studiously kept in ignorance.* Upon those grounds I disapprove of the outcry so often raised against my right hon. friend and others, who have endeavoured by their speeches to rouse the energies of the country in the most effectual way, namely, by pointing out the necessity which existed for employing those energies. After, however, the grounds of apprehension shall have been extinguished, I have little doubt that the exertions of my right hon. friend will be to point the attention of ministers to such means of annoying the enemy as his ingenuity can suggest, and that those grounds will be removed with proper attention and activity on the part of ministers, I can have no doubt, for who can fear for the event when millions of Englishmen are to be opposed to the detachment of the instruments of French ambition? and whatever the number of our invaders may be, they cannot, comparatively with the force I trust we shall have to oppose them, be more than a mere detachment. I have not understood from the words of my right hon. friend that he had any fear as to the event, but that he wished solely to urge to the adoption of such measures as

might tend to give an effective direction to our natural strength. My right hon. friend has appeared to me very little to indulge in those gloomy presages which are ascribed to him by those of whose sluggishness, supineness, and inactivity he has been long in the habit of complaining, but I feel the most sincere gladness that the charge of supineness can no longer apply: his Majesty's ministers seem now determined upon rousing the spirit of the country, and upon giving that spirit a just and powerful direction. I hail, for the sake of my country, the appearance of this resolution. This is an auspicious day; but I cannot help expressing my surprise that this measure has not been submitted to the consideration of the House long ago; but even now I hope it will answer its purpose, that it will meet the approbation of Parliament, and that the people will promptly come forward to second its object. After the precise views of this country shall be made known, and after its dangers shall be fully understood, I am sure that no man will shrink from the calls of his country in this hour of peril, unless from motives such as he dare not avow. Whether ministers ought sooner to have proposed this measure, is a question into which I shall not now enter at large, but I will merely observe, that if it becomes necessary from a knowledge of the enemy's views, I believe no knowledge of that kind has been recently obtained—none of which ministers and the public were not aware at the time that war was declared; and even before. Why then was this important measure delayed? The danger to be looked for has been apprehended for a considerable time back, and upon the contingency of it my noble friend admits, that even during peace a very large and expensive establishment was kept up. I cannot conceive any excuse that can be alleged for such procrastination. It did not proceed, I suppose, from the desire of ministers to consider the scale and measure of our dangers [a laugh], or from an opinion on their part, that it was better they should be tardy and gradual in their measures of defence against the gigantic efforts of the enemy [a laugh].—This cannot have been the reason, and really I see no difference in the state of Europe, nor in the relative situation of this country with respect to France, from what it was at the commencement of the war. I am therefore at a loss to divine the motives which have influenced the conduct of ministers, and why this measure was not brought forward long since. If there was no necessity to be active, if there was leisure for slow deliberation, then of course the period is not such in their estimation as to call for any extraordinary promptitude of exertion, or such as ought to excite alarm; but, in truth, if there was any particular measure which claimed precedency, it was that now under consideration, which could not interfere with any other military arrangements. The question simply is this—was it prudent to postpone the introduction of a measure which had for its object to prepare the people for a general armament, and which preparation must necessarily consume some time before it could be efficient; yet in the wisdom of ministers this is the particular measure which is to be delayed to the last. I will not, however, stop to inquire into the time which has been already lost; but I shall express my earnest hope that no time will be wasted hereafter—that every instant will be actively engaged until the country be completely safe. I think that some arrangements should be made to connect the different departments of the executive authority, that upon orders issued from government to the Lord Lieutenants of counties, the people might be immediately set in motion; that, without interfering with agriculture, which should not by any means be disturbed, the several classes might be disciplined; to attend the drill at least two days in each week; to assemble in particular places throughout the country; the limitation of distance from the residence of each man to the place of assembly to be about six miles; the time of attendance to be not less than half-a day. The distance I propose is not more than the stout English peasantry are in the habit of going to a cricket match, or any other rural amusement. These men, in my conception, might be disciplined by soldiers on furlough, who, on being called back to their regiment, when danger should actually reach our shores, might be enabled to bring with them one hundred sturdy recruits prepared for military action through their means. With regard to the motion before the House, I must say that it is not liable to the objections advanced by my right hon. friend, on the ground that it would have a compulsory operation, for in fact it does not propose to resort to compulsion, if the object can be attained by voluntary offers; and I am of opinion that the purposes may be so effected. These voluntary offers may be promoted considerably by the presence of the nobility and gentry in their respective districts, and on that account I rejoice in the prospect that we are soon to separate, not only with reference to this, but to the other

measures which have passed the House, and to the execution of which the presence I have alluded to must materially contribute. The great men of the country to animate by their example, to countenance by their authority, and to assist by their advice the operations of the people, have it in their power to achieve the most important good, to excite a zeal and devotion to the public cause, and to diffuse their own spirit through all ranks of the community. With a view to those desirable advantages, I wish that the session may be short; and I hope that as little time as possible may be lost in examining and arranging the details of this important measure, and that whatever reasons we may have to look for voluntary offers, we shall not rely on those offers altogether; for, as the representatives of the people, we are bound to provide for their safety, and to provide a sufficient force. Though they may not be disposed to take care of themselves, it is our duty to take care of them. If, therefore, voluntary offers shall not be adequate to the purpose, we must of course resort to compulsory proceedings. The dwelling of the man is, as I have already observed, the principal object to be attended to; but I beg it to be understood that, in my opinion, the poorer classes should be remunerated for the time they may be engaged in discipline. I hope it is so intended, though I have not heard any thing of the kind mentioned by my right hon. friend in the opening. The man who is taken from his labour for the public safety ought certainly to be paid for his time, and this would serve to reconcile such persons to a practice which otherwise would be justly considered a very great hardship. As to the trouble which the nobility and gentry may be called upon to submit to in this general armament, I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they would not submit to it with alacrity, or that questions of mere personal convenience would, in such a crisis as the present, have any weight with them. In the execution of this measure I do not like the idea of waiting for the slow progress of a ballot. I think that unless the volunteers should, within a certain date, comply with the condition prescribed, their consent should not be waited for. In those parishes where the voluntary offers should not be promptly made, the compulsory levy should be promptly enforced This compulsion, however, would not, according to my apprehension, be in any instance necessary, if the Lord Lieutenants of counties, with the deputies and other persons of respectability, would go round from house to house in their respective districts, and solicit the people to come forward. This I know I am not too sanguine in believing would effectually accomplish within one month the ends we have in view without any compulsion whatever, particularly when they are apprised fully of the necessity for their service; when they were encouraged by the advice of their superiors; and when they have the satisfaction of knowing that the legislature have deemed their country's danger demands it. Much has been said of the danger of arming the people. I confess that there was a time when that fear would have had some weight, but there never was a time when there could have been any fear of arming the whole people of England, and particularly not under the present circumstances. I never, indeed, entertained any apprehensions from a patriot army regularly officered, according to the manner specified in the measure before the House, however I might hesitate to permit the assemblage of a tumultuary army otherwise constituted. From an army to consist of the round bulk of the people, no man who knows the British character could have the least fear—if it even were to include the disaffected, for they would bear so small a proportion to the whole, as to be incapable of doing mischief however mischievously disposed. There was, indeed, a time when associations of traitors, systematically organized, excited an apprehension of the consequences of a sudden armament of the populace, but that time is no more, and the probability is now, as occurred in the case of the volunteers, that if there are still any material number of disaffected, that by mixing them with the loyal part of the community, the same patriotic zeal, the same submission to just authority will be soon found to pervade the whole body, and that all will be equally anxious to defend their country or perish in the attempt—that the good and the loyal will correct the vicious disposition of the disaffected, will rectify their errors, and set right their misguided judgments. We may thus enlist those among our friends, who would otherwise, perhaps, become the auxiliaries of our enemy. Under all these circumstances, he felt that the objections urged upon this score were not tenable, and that they should not have any weight against a measure which was necessary to the preservation of public order and private happiness. The right hon. gent. concluded a very animated speech in calling the attention of the House to the interests for which he had to contend, to the means by which it was in our power to render the country completely impregnable, and a strong exhortation to the members to attend and endeavour to facili-

tate the progress of this and other measures necessary to the defence of the country.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, I request the attention of the House to a few observations, which it is my wish and desire to submit to their consideration, and it shall be my endeavour to detain them as short a time as the nature of the subject will allow. I trust the House will feel the course the debate has taken; and although the measure now proposed by my right hon. friend does not meet the approbation of the right hon. gent. over the way (Mr. Windham), yet I think I may safely leave it to the House and to the country, on the high authority of the judgment and fair opinion of the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) who has given it his unqualified approbation, though he has been pleased to say, that he thinks the measure has not been brought forward with that celerity with which it might have been proceeded in. I beg the House to recollect, that when his Majesty's ministers are arraigned by hon. gentlemen in their places, for not having generally acted in such a manner as to give satisfaction to every individual member who may have occasion to descant on the measures they have adopted, it becomes extremely difficult to give a specific answer to such charges; at least such a one as may be perfectly satisfactory to the whole House, so as for them to draw a fair conclusion. If his Majesty's ministers have done amiss; if, in the opinion of any honourable member, they have failed in the performance of their duty; or if, by their measures, any honourable member should think them inadequate to the task of performing those duties annexed to their stations, the only fair and just mode of calling them to an account is, by a motion for an inquiry into their conduct; they will then know what they have to answer to, and may make their defence accordingly; but to such modes of charge as had lately been so often resorted to, it was impossible to answer, and they could be productive of no good, whilst, in the most trying and important crisis this country was ever placed in, they tended very much to embarrass ministers; to tie up their hands, and to cripple every effort they attempted to make for the public welfare, and interest of the state. I assure the House, I do not say this from any personal feelings on the subject. I wish the whole conduct of his Majesty's servants to be examined, in order that measures which are necessary should be carried into effect without delay; for till that point is settled, I fear that much inconvenience, if not mischief, may ensue, to the forwarding and promoting the most important interests of the country. Before I enter upon the measure now under the consideration of the House, I must beg leave to say, that I cannot help differing with my right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) that it would have been politic to take up the matter otherwise than has been done, and in regular succession one after another; and I am strengthened in this opinion, when I recollect, that at the time the measure of the army of reserve was under the consideration of this House, my right hon. friend then said, that he highly approved the measure, but should not have done so if he did not expect that it would immediately be followed up by another measure still more extensive and efficacious; and if ministers suffered Parliament to separate without adopting some such measure, it was his opinion they would be greatly wanting in their duty. I am of opinion that this measure could by no means have preceded those which have been already adopted by government, without being productive of the greatest inconveniencies. If you had required lieutenants of the several counties to make out these enrolments, when you gave them lists for the army of reserve, they would not have had time to put what has so often this evening been called "the machinery" of the business in motion: and, Sir, it is my opinion, that even if this measure had been perfectly ready in the very first moments after his Majesty's message, yet, in point of policy, it ought to have been kept back and reserved till the present moment. I beg the House to recollect, that though his Majesty's ministers have only now brought forward the present measure, that they have long been in possession of all the voluntary services that have been offered, and that they have only held back from the immediate acceptance of those patriotic offers, from a fear of crippling and obstructing the raising of the army of reserve. Far be it from me to say any thing that may in the slightest degree seem to undervalue the voluntary services of those who wish to step forward in the defence of their country; yet, situated as these corps are, and ever have been, from the moment of their being raised, they are certainly inferior in point of real and essential service to the army of reserve; which, therefore, I contend, ought, on every account, to have preceded the force which is meant to be raised by the present measure. With respect to the volunteer force, no man can have a higher opinion than I have of its efficient strength in both countries; I speak more particularly of that part of the United Empire to which I am particularly attached—I mean Ireland; in which, from the best in-

formation that I can collect, there are not less than 60,000 men of this description; and I will venture to say, that there cannot be produced a more efficient force, short, I mean, of the regular army, than the yeomanry force in the province of Ulster. I speak on this head particularly, only so far as relates to Ireland; but I understand that in Scotland also, the forces of that description are both numerous and greatly to be depended upon. The great object of this measure is, to secure the benefit of those which have been antecedently adopted. Parliament has already given government a power of raising the greatest possible disposable force, and especially of that of volunteers. But what is the ground of policy on which this measure rests? Volunteer forces have been found extremely expensive; and in the present situation of the country, it is very necessary, and will be highly beneficial to its interests, to have an aid that will not cost so much. One great advantage attendant on the present measure is, that it introduces nothing new into the military system of the country. The prerogative of the Crown on this head is universally known, and undeniable; but at the same time, is not, as it at present stands, effectual. Coercion, in certain cases of extreme danger, may be necessary; and if coercion can be wise, it must be by making those measures to which it is applied, effectual. How is this to be done in the present case? It cannot be by indictment; for that mode of proceeding would be infinitely too slow and tedious to answer any of the ends proposed to be obtained by it, towards carrying into effect the present measure. Unless, therefore, a special power of previous instruction and arrangement should be given to the crown, with a summary mode of punishment suitable to the exigency of the case, it will be impossible that the power of the prerogative could be of any avail in the present instance. I beg the House to look forward to the practical utility of the measure, and not run away with the idea that it is to arm the mass of the people, for the sole purpose of making it an army to act in one concerted body, similar to that of the regular army or the army of reserve. It was merely intended to enable government to cover such parts of the country as should stand in particular need of assistance, by calling on those whose situation placed them nearest to the points of attack, to which it might be peculiarly necessary to dispatch immediate aid and assistance. There is another idea, also, which I should be sorry should go abroad into the country, which is, that every individual who is enrolled is to be armed: it is no such thing. All the present measure professes is, instruction. The whole is a mere system of instruction; to be armed on emergency, in order to call on persons most conveniently situated to defend those parts which may most stand in need of it; and the great utility that is to be expected from it is, that it furnishes the crown with additional means of waking men to a due sense of their duty. There is one point, Sir, on which I beg leave to make a single observation, and that is, with regard to the election of officers. I believe this has been, in some measure, misunderstood by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham); the recommendation by the companies of the officers they would wish to choose, is nearly upon the same footing as that contained in the act for the defence of the realm, which was passed during the late war. But those officers so chosen, must have the approbation of the crown, and therefore are by no means calculated to introduce any new system into the service, which may endanger its subordination. I beg pardon for having detained the House so long; but I thought it necessary to shew my own impressions, and the feelings I have upon this subject. They certainly differ very widely from those of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), and though I am convinced, that no hon. member can have a stronger attachment than that right hon. gent. to every thing which affects the honour, welfare, and interest of his country, yet there seems on the subject to be no other feeling in his mind than an unqualified attachment to regular troops, which makes him behold all others with a jaundiced eye. I am convinced, however, that his mode would not be so essentially serviceable to the interests of the country; and for this reason I have been a strenuous advocate for raising the army of reserve, and am equally so for the adoption of the present measure, as that which will be most likely to serve most essentially the safety of the kingdom.

Mr. *Fox* said, Sir, I shall not trouble the House at any great length; more especially as the present measure will have my hearty concurrence. This is the first time that I have made my appearance in the House for some weeks past; and I am by no means ashamed to state my reasons for having so long absented myself. Having already assigned my reasons for not approving of the present war, I did not wish to oppose those measures which must of course be necessary for carrying it on with effect. Every one knows the obloquy which was attached to measures of that nature; and I was desirous

of avoiding the imputation of intending to obstruct the measures of government, or to embarrass his Majesty's ministers. This is the first measure which I could, consistently with my own opinion, come down to support, being a measure for the defence of the country. I could not have voted for the taxes, nor for many of the other measures which have been already adopted; but, Sir, I came to vote for this measure, on the ground that it was a measure directly opposite to that which the noble lord says it is. The noble lord says, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) looks with a jaundiced eye on every other than a regular force. I think quite the reverse. The right hon. gent. says, there are two kinds of force (and I agree with him) which ought to be kept up, and particularly attended to, in a country which is invaded. We ought to have a regular and disciplined army; that is, as great an army, and as well disciplined, as the nature of circumstances will allow; but I never understood him to say, indeed I am sure he could not say it, because he has studied the subject too minutely to say—that in case of an invasion, he would trust entirely to the efforts of a regular army. I hope that we shall have an army in discipline, and also superior in officers; but are we then sure of victory? Has any man read in the most extensive researches into history, ancient and modern, that in war there was any certainty? I believe at this time of day, there are few men who know any thing of the nature of invasion of one country by another, who stand in need of so high an authority as that of Julius Cæsar to inform them that in such cases we must rely on events; and as such, it is impossible to suppose that the right hon. gent. could rely for security on the regular army only. That, like the naval department, is liable to many vicissitudes, and therefore, I am sure, the right hon. gent. as well as myself, would be very sorry if we had not other resources to recur to in case of any unforeseen accident happening to those modes of defence. There is another force which is less liable to objection, and which, however calamitous events may turn out, we may look up to with more hope and satisfaction. When I say this, I am peculiarly looking to, not the regular army, but the mass of the country; acting not in single regiments, but as a great mass of armed citizens, fighting for the preservation of their country, their families, and every thing that is dear to them in life. Let it not be supposed, Sir, that I have not the greatest respect for, or that I would say any thing that could convey the smallest insinuation against the value and importance of the regular army—I would wish to have as great and as good a regular army as can possibly be obtained. As to the mode of raising it, I should certainly regret the necessity of raising a regular army by compulsive means: but if it was not to be got without, I will say, you must have it; and in the hour of necessity, I should not scruple to use such means. The question in such cases is not what it ought to be; but we will suppose that circumstances are so situated, that all measures must be resorted to which the necessity of the case could require. The regular army, therefore, is out of the question in this case. There is another species of force, and that is the militia. I will not go into a minute detail of its construction or effect; but I have my doubts whether it is not an anomalous sort of force, partaking more of the regular army than it ought to do, for the purposes of mere defence. The militia and army of reserve, therefore, I view in the same light as the regular army; and I cannot but believe on that account, that this measure is the best calculated for the defence of the kingdom, and to defeat the daring efforts of an invading enemy. He may have a great regular army, composed of the bravest and best disciplined soldiers; he may have officers of the first talents in their profession, to direct their soldiers, and to lead them on to victory; but he cannot have an armed mass of a country, who are bound by every feeling and by every tie to defend that country to the last drop of their blood, before they will give way to him and his invading forces. I am sorry to say, Sir, this bill is not framed in the way I could have wished. I would have its operations to be voluntary, and not compulsory. The noble lord has mentioned volunteers; and that where in any districts volunteers come forward in any particular number, such districts should be relieved from the operation of this bill. I do not like the word relieved. I would not have this measure thought a burthen by any one. It is certainly my warmest wish, that whatever ought to be done, may be done: but I would rather have the means voluntary. He who instructs himself, and goes out at his Majesty's call, when the enemy lands, does no more than he is obliged to do by law. He may be compelled to go; and there is no merit in services of such a kind; on the contrary, I would wish it to be a voluntary force, and that you should go round from house to house, to know who would be willing to go and serve their country in the hour of danger; and that those who agreed

to go should bind themselves so to do, and should be immediately called forth, to be instructed as often as the circumstances of the case will allow. I am convinced, Sir, from that good sense which the people of this country possess, added to their love of their country, and the connexions they have in it, that there would not be five refusals in five hundred. You would then get the object of this bill; but in a way much more popular and more extensively beneficial to the country. It has been said, "I won't compel one man to go into the army, in order that he may be instructed;" but this bill says, "I will compel a whole people to be instructed." I can easily believe a man may be compelled to go into the army or the navy, and may thereby be made a good soldier or sailor; but I can never believe, that a whole people can be compelled to enter into any mode of instruction by which they may be enabled to defend their country, if such compulsion be altogether against their sentiments and inclinations. I will put the case of an invader coming into this country;—I will not name any particular invader, but suppose he may be successful, because the people wished him success; whereas, if the people were in a great mass adverse to his coming into the country, and determined to oppose him, it would be impossible that he could ever make any progress which could, or ought to be alarming to the government or the country. I own, Sir, that, at the present moment, I approve the system of this bill, by which you are to get a large force; but in doing that, my opinion is, that you ought not to wait for too much instruction. In such a case, a great deal of instruction is not necessary. Perhaps I may be told, these are not soldiers. Be it so; I am not attempting to give you soldiers, but armed citizens; men, whose bosoms glow with the love of their country, and their connexions; and who, in defence of these, would be as ready and willing to fight an enemy as the best disciplined soldiers in the world. I cannot bring myself to agree with the sentiments of the right hon. gent on the same bench with me, relative to the existing danger of an invasion. I mention this with considerable deference, for I consider him as half a military man.—(On some motion of surprise being expressed, Mr. Fox said) I declare I do: I know the right hon. gent. has paid particular attention to the army, and read very deeply on the subject; but still I do not scruple to say, that I think there is far less probability in this invasion than he does, and than many others do. The right hon. gent. may say to me, what signifies your opinion, you know nothing of the matter. Yet, Sir, my opinions are not formed on my own judgment alone; I have advised and consulted with others, who I thought were capable of fully understanding the subject; and it has been on their opinion, as much, or perhaps more than my own, that I think on that subject in the manner I have already mentioned. I by no means consider an invasion as impossible—that, I am sure, would be going infinitely too far; but as to the probability, I must differ very widely. As to the observations made by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), as to the consequences of an invasion, should it prove successful, I can by no means subscribe to them. If I were to know that I was to be sent to the West-Indies, and there sold as a slave, I should not think it worth my while, when any particular person was about to purchase me, to inquire whether he was a good tempered man, or what were the leading features of his disposition. So, in the case of an invasion, it would be matter of equal indifference, who was the ruling power in France under whose direction the invasion might take place; nor do I think it is of any essential consequence whatever. I am one of those who are willing to go to the greatest lengths in the supposition, that the people of this country will defend it to the last extremity. When the noble lord talks of one acre of English ground being only left in our possession, I certainly look upon that as a figure of oratory: but I will admit, that if the enemy gain Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and even London itself, that (oratory quite out of the question) the people of this country would fight to the utmost stretch to regain those places, and would never suffer an invading enemy to continue long in possession of them. The landing of the French must certainly be considered as a most mischievous event, and from which the greatest inconvenience could not fail to be felt. If they get to London, great and extensive would be the mischief indeed. But there were three things, which our duty to our country most energetically pointed out to us: first, by our naval force to prevent this mischief, by impeding their landing; secondly, to stop their progress; and, thirdly, to prevent their getting back again. As to the present measure, I do not by any means approve of the right hon. gentleman's idea of ranging the people under different classes. Why not make it consist of one class, who would voluntarily bind themselves to go? It is a measure

that would be well worth the trial. I think the people ought to be called on for that purpose, and in that manner; and if that is done, I have no doubt, but the numbers would be more extensive than at present any opinion can be formed of. This bill is intended to strengthen the prerogative. In the name of Heaven, Sir, why has it not been thought of before? Ministers must have foreseen the danger of an invasion from the moment they made a rupture of the negotiations with France; yet the present measure has never been mentioned between the 8th of March and the 18th of July. This is somewhat late. His Majesty's servants must have known the danger of an invasion long ago; they could not suppose the French were arming in Holland in order to attack Jamaica, or any of our distant East or West-India possessions. They must have been sensible that the great danger from any armament of the enemy, must be by a blow aimed against this country itself; and invasion alone was what they had to dread and to counteract. If this is the peculiar weapon by which to resist invasion, why apply all the other weapons first? In answer to all those observations of the same kind, which have fallen from the right hon. gent. it has been asked, 'Why not call for inquiry?' The answer is extremely obvious. The time of those inquiries must depend on minute and particular circumstances. If the right hon. gent. on the same bench with me (Mr. Windham) had called for inquiry, the cry would immediately have been—'Inquiry!!! What, you call for inquiry?—You, who think the French are already at our doors?' And every idea of inquiry would be scouted at as unseasonable, and as interrupting the measures of his Majesty's ministers at such an awful crisis as the present. It might then be asked, what could be the motive of the right hon. gent for making such observations? It was extremely obvious; it was to find fault with, and reprehend ministers for the delay which they had been guilty of; and certainly, if no other good should arise from it, it would at least have this effect, that it would put them on their guard, and make them more cautious in future of being guilty of such tardiness. There is one point, Sir, which has been mentioned, which I beg leave to observe upon, and that is, the danger of arming the people in general. I am convinced, that the present measure cannot be attended with any danger of that kind. Those who thought they had reason to be discontented with the government of this country, for many unconstitutional acts which it had been guilty of, and who boldly spoke their sentiments on those various occasions, as they severally arose, now when the danger of a French invasion threatens them, will be united as one man in defence of their country. To shew confidence in the way, is to draw forth zeal. If you apply to the people for voluntary efforts, I have not the smallest doubt, but you will meet with the most extensive success; and you will have a large army of armed citizens, ready and willing to march whenever commanded, and to whatever place, cheerfully to meet and bravely to fight the enemy. But if the bill is to operate in a similar manner to those passed for raising the regular army and the army of reserve, and as a means of recruiting those, I very much fear it will not be efficacious.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—It gives me the greatest satisfaction to find there has been no opposition to the motion of my right hon. friend. Every member who has delivered his sentiments on the subject has given the measure his unqualified approbation: and the only difference seems to be as to the voluntary efforts. My right hon. friend, in opening his proposition, has said, that the prerogative of the crown was undoubted; he was, however, desirous, that Parliament should interfere so far as to make the power of the prerogative efficacious, and not have to resort to the slow and formal proceedings of the law courts, in which alone a punishment could be awarded for not obeying the summons of the crown. The bill provided, however, that if any district should give voluntary assistance, such district should be relieved. I declare I do not like the word relieved any more than the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), but that may be modified in the passage of the bill through the House. Government has been arraigned, Sir, in two or three instances, for the tardiness with which they have brought forward the several measures in defence of the kingdom; and the right hon. gent. has, amongst the rest, observed, that his Majesty's message was delivered on the 8th of March, and that it is now the 18th of July before the present measure is introduced; but, Sir, I can appeal to the House that ministers have not been tardy in all that time. When that message was brought down to the House, it was pending a very delicate negotiation, during which, armaments were carrying on in the ports of France, not to any very great extent indeed, but large enough

to call forth caution on the part of ministers. The message produced the immediate calling forth of the militia. After that, in a very short time, the supplementary militia was ordered to be embodied; and directly afterwards, the army of reserve was provided. Volunteer corps have also been known to have offered, whose numbers in Great-Britain alone, amounted to upwards of 60,000 men; and now on the heels of all, the present measure is brought forward; so that I am confident there is no real ground for accusing ministers of tardiness and unnecessary delay. There is one point, Sir, to which I must beg leave to offer a few observations, and that is what has been insinuated as to the danger of arming so great a number of the people. I know, Sir, there have been periods when there were persons in this country who would have overturned its most excellent constitution; but, thank God, those times are passed; and I do not believe, that, through the whole of the United Kingdom, there ever was a minute when the people were more universally satisfied with their government, or more unanimous in their determination to support and defend it; and it is with some degree of pride I can say, that the chief cause of this happy effect, is the so much reprobated treaty of peace. There had for some time prevailed an opinion, though an unjust one, that the war might have been sooner terminated; but though that was not the case, the obtainment of peace gave the people time to reflect; and now, though it is so soon renewed, every one is sensible of its injustice on the part of the enemy, and the whole people are ready to join heart and hand in defence of their king and country, and to die, if necessary, rather than become the slaves of an invading and insolent foe. I know, Sir, it was necessary for the security of the kingdom, to continue for some time the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and some others, which the necessity of the times had produced; but I know, that to the peace we owe the restoration of those valuable bulwarks of the constitution, and they are not amongst the least of its blessings. I have the satisfaction to reflect, that in adopting this measure, it will be found one that is singularly adapted to the genius and sentiments of the people, as it makes with them a common cause; and their zeal, enthusiasm, and love of their country, are too well known to doubt for a moment of their most active and vigorous exertions in defence of their common rights and common country. My right hon. friend proposes, with permission of the House, to bring in the bill, to have it read a first and second time, and then to be printed, and a day fixed for taking the report into consideration.

Dr. *Laurence* contended, that the terms of the late peace had humbled the pride, and depressed the spirits of the country, and, had it not been for the rumour of an invasion, it would have been no easy matter to revive them. The accounts received from France, gave room to imagine that a spirit had been raised there, on which but feeble symptoms were yet to be discovered among us. Such a spirit, no doubt, did exist in this country; but it differed from that which animated the enemy—theirs was a restless turbulent spirit, ours was steady, solid, and persevering; our situation, no doubt, was such, that we should be found equal to and worthy of ourselves; but nothing, however, should be omitted and left untried to rouse our energies, and rally every man round the standard of the country. The learned gent. concluded by expressing a fear that, should ever the British laurel wither and die, it should die at the top.

Sir *James Pulteney* had always been of opinion, that a regular force was absolutely necessary for the defence of the country, but at the same time he was equally forward to assert that, such was the spirit of the country, that no real apprehension should be entertained from an invasion. In his mind, the result of such an attempt could not but prove useful and honourable to the country. As to volunteer corps, he hoped that some provision might be introduced into the bill for subjecting them to the same conditions which were to be imposed upon those to whom the provisions of the present bill should extend.

Leave was given, *nem. con.* to bring in the bill.—The bill was then brought in, and read a first time.

The *Secretary at War* then expressed a wish, that no objection would be made to now reading the bill a second time, committing it *pro forma*, and receiving the report, that the bill might be taken into further consideration on Wednesday.—Ordered to be printed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 19.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel was heard in the appeal, Anderson and Caddell. The farther hearing postponed till Monday.——Queen Anne's Bounty Bill was returned from the Commons by Mr. Hobhouse, without any amendment.—The bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.
Tuesday, July 19.

[MINUTES.]—A message from the Lords stated their assent to the Portugal Wine Bonding Bill, the Irish Malt Duty Bill, the Poor-house Bill, and some private bills.—The Militia Amendment Bill was read a third time, and passed.

[COURT PRIZES BILL.]—Sir *Wm. Scott* moved, that the Court Prizes Bill be committed on Friday next.

Mr. *Burrowes* wished that the learned gent. who had introduced this bill, would agree to insert a clause for establishing prize courts in India, with the right of an appeal from those courts to the Court of Admiralty here. An Admiralty jurisdiction had been given by act of Parliament to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, but it was the opinion of high authorities, that that jurisdiction did not extend to prizes. During the latter part of the last war, there was no prize court nearer to the Indian seas than the Cape of Good Hope, and all the prizes taken on the coast of India were obliged to be sent there or to England for adjudication. He saw no reason, however, why the power of deciding on prizes should not be given to a court which possessed almost every other judicial authority. The same powers ought to be extended to Madras and Bombay.

The *Speaker* thought it his duty to interrupt the hon. gent., as it was quite irregular to enter into general arguments on a clause to be moved, when the question was merely, whether the bill should be committed that day or on Friday.

Mr. *Burrowes* then said, he would move a clause for giving the jurisdiction he had alluded to, when the bill was in the Committee.

Sir *William Scott* observed, that no bill for regulating captures had ever contained a clause for establishing prize courts, which were always formed under the authority of the crown. He deprecated any clause similar to that proposed by the hon. gent., as it would be an improper interference with the royal prerogative.

[PROPERTY BILL.]—The House resolved into a Committee on the Property Bill.—Several of the clauses were agreed to, without any amendment.

Mr. *Alderman Coombe* objected to the part which authorized the commissioners to reject the nominees which the party to be taxed might appoint, in order to examine into his affairs, without stating any reason for it. He urged some other objections on the same point.

The *Attorney General* replied and said, that it might happen that the commissioners might think that the person appointed was not one that ought altogether to be trusted. It would be hard for them to be put in a situation to be obliged to tell any person that they did not think him a person of integrity. Several amendments were to be made, however, in this part, with respect to commissioners and referees, which he hoped would meet the hon. Alderman's ideas.

The *Lord Mayor* said, that he agreed in the objections made by his brother Alderman; but after the elucidation of the Attorney General, he believed they might easily be done away.

Sir *Francis Baring* objected to any person inspecting the accounts of another in the same trade.

The *Attorney General* thought that, unless in case of rivalship, this would be the most effectual mode of proceeding.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that it might meet the hon. Baronet's objection, that the person whose accounts were to be inspected should have the power of objecting to the person appointed by the commissmissioners, and be allowed four peremptory challenges.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that they had this power already.

Mr. *Smith* wished that the power of challenge should be final.

Mr. *Vansittart* proposed, that none should be employed as a referee, to inspect the accounts of another in the same trade, unless approved by the parties; which was agreed to.

The *Attorney General* added a clause, by which the commissioners were enabled to procure payment, in case any person should refuse to pay the sum at which he should be assessed by his own referee.

Mr. *Wm. Smith* said, that the profits of the land on which manufactories stood, as in fact the interest of the capital sunk in that manner was lost, so a loss was sustained, and not a profit gained, by such land.

Mr. *Wm. Smith* then objected to surveyors and inspectors having the power of calling upon parties to verify the amount of their income, in cases for examining which, they were in every point of view totally unfit.

The *Attorney General* said, that it was not possible to come at a verification of income, in doubtful cases, in any other way. The inspectors and surveyors, he contended, were the most proper persons to discharge this duty.

Mr. *Wm. Smith*, in reply, adverted to the power which surveyors and inspectors would

have, of hurting the feelings of gentlemen.—The clause then passed in its original state.—The Committee went through a few more clauses of the bill, reported progress, and had leave to sit again.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 20.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Alexander and Mr. Romilly were heard on the appeal, Syme *v.* Erskine, when after a few words from Mr. Adam, on the part of the respondent, the interlocutor was affirmed.—All the bills on the table passed a stage each.—Mr. Alexander brought from the Commons a returned bill, and three others, which he and others presented. Alderman Coombe brought up the London Quota Bill of the Army of Reserve.—They were severally read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 20.

[MINUTES.]—Sir William Scott observed, that the word "benefice" had been accidentally omitted in one of the clauses of the clergy residence bill, and in another clause, the statute, it was made to amend, was described according to the terms of the ordinary edition of the statutes, but upon looking into the Parliamentary Roll it had been found incorrect; therefore, to avoid the possibility of inconvenience, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to rectify certain mistakes in an act of this session of Parliament, for amending the laws respecting spiritual persons holding farms; and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons; and to remove doubts as to the statute of Henry VIII. therein mentioned.—The bill was afterwards brought in, read a first and second time, and committed for the next day.—The Attorney General stated, that persons in custody on civil or criminal process were often required to attend to give evidence before courts martial, commissioners of bankrupts, commissioners for auditing public accounts, and for that purpose the judges issued writs of *habeas corpus*; but doubts had arisen in their minds, as to their power to issue such writs. He, therefore, to obviate any difficulty, moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable judges of record to award writs of *habeas corpus*, to bring persons confined in gaol before courts martial, and the commissioners therein mentioned. He afterwards brought in the bill, which was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.—The curate's bill was read a second time, and committed for Monday.—Sir Wm. Pulteney said, that the Committee on the Bell Rock Light-house Bill stood as one of the orders of the day. That bill was founded on the resolution of a Committee, stating the necessity of erecting a light-house on the Bell Rock, and recommending additional duties to be paid. Unfortunately in the bill the latter part of the resolution had not been attended to. In order to remedy the omission, he should withdraw the present bill, and move that the House should the next day resolve itself into a Committee to consider the report of the first Committee.—The bill was accordingly withdrawn, and the Committee appointed for the next day.—The City of London Quota Bill was read a third time.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought down the following message from his Majesty.—"G. R.—His Majesty relying on the "zealous support of his faithful Commons "in the vigorous prosecution of the war, in "which the country is engaged, recommends to the House to consider of making "provision towards enabling his Majesty to "defray the extraordinary expenses incurred in the service of the present year, and "to take such further measures as the exigency of affairs may require."—The message was, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referred to the Committee of Supply.—The Longitude Bill was read a third time.—The Prize Goods Bonding Bill was read a first time.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The *Secretary at War* moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the report of the General Arming Bill. He observed, that it was intended to propose several amendments, afterwards to have the bill printed, and then re-committed. He wished to suggest, that it would be more convenient to let the bill go into a Committee, in order to make it as perfect as possible. If there was any doubt as to the principle of the bill, it might be debated at a future season.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he agreed in the propriety of what had fallen from the right hon. gentleman; it was his wish there should not be the least delay, but, on the contrary, that the measure should proceed with vigour, firmness, and energy. Although the bill had been read a second time, yet he apprehended the principle was open to discussion; and in any future stage, any gent., if he objected to the principle, and thought the bill ought to stop, was at liberty to state his objection. If this objection was only to the clauses, and not to the principle, then it would be proper to let the bill go into the Committee. For the present, he would not

enter into the merits of the bill, or whether other measures ought or ought not to have been proposed. Many persons might have matter to throw out as to the general principle of the bill. When the bill was engrossed, he should be happy to deliver his sentiments upon it, but he thought there ought to be no opposition to the re-commitment.

Mr. *Kinnaird* begged leave to differ from his right hon. friend who had just sat down, as to the propriety of canvassing the principle of the bill in the present stage. With this opinion, he should avail himself of the present opportunity of delivering his sentiments on the bill as it now stood, before it was again submitted to the Committee. As to the fundamental ground of accusation against ministers, so far as this measure was concerned, he had to declare unequivocally, that it had been delayed far beyond the period when it was powerfully required by the extraordinary circumstances in which the country was placed. He had strong objections to the time which, as the bill was now framed, would be necessary to reduce it even formally into effect. Before the business of raising the body, which the bill proposed to discipline, could be completed, a period of upwards of six weeks would elapse, and he surely needed not to remind the House how important it was that the least possible delay should take place, in carrying into effect a measure so materially connected with the protection and security of the empire. It was not to be supposed, that the whole complex machinery of the bill would be carried into effect in a moment. Was it to be supposed, that as soon as the drum was beat, a body of soldiers was to make their appearance in the field? Was the sexton to throw aside his surplice, and take up the musquet? Were the people, after attending on the exercises of religion, to throw aside their prayer-books, and, taking up their arms, to be drilled in the church-yard? To suppose that all this was to be effected by the means which the bill proposed was altogether ridiculous, and could only tend to deceive the public. He felt it his duty also to animadvert on the time which was proposed to be allotted for training the men to be raised. Was government really serious in such a suggestion? Did they really imagine that such a period was at all adequate to prepare men for active services in the field? If this was their opinion, he confessed he was very far from being inclined to give them implicit confidence at the present perilous crisis. He had another important objection to the measure in its present form. The objection was, that the measure, so far from being clear and simple, was so complicated in its machinery, that it would in a material degree embarrass the conduct of those appointed to carry the bill into effect. He had besides to say generally, that as a member of Parliament he felt it his duty to be jealous of the foresight of the ministers of the country, in providing for the national security. But in the present instance, the degree of foresight to be allowed to ministers was to be estimated by their previous conduct, and in that conduct he had nothing to justify confidence in this foresight. He begged leave to call the attention of the House to the conduct of ministers with regard to Hanover. In this instance there had been no sort of foresight of danger, no adequate preparation to meet it with firmness and effect. The hon. member was proceeding to descant on this topic, when he was called to order by

The *Secretary at War*, who contended that this reasoning was totally inapplicable to the subject before the House.

Mr. *Kinnaird* resumed, and begged leave to contend, in opposition to the sentiments expressed by the right hon. gent. that he was strictly in order. In introducing the subject of Hanover, he had done so merely with the view of shewing, by a particular instance, what was his opinion of the general conduct of ministers, and their claims to confidence. It did not appear to him that in this view his observations were at all foreign to the subject before the House. He was aware that to the objections which he had taken the liberty of stating to the bill in its present form, the usual answer in such cases would be given: "are you, who object to the measure proposed, able to offer one more effectual in its room?" In reply to this, it was only necessary for him to say that he was entitled to rely on the wisdom and discretion of those whose duty it was to bring forward plans for the protection of the country at this momentous crisis. True it was, that after the measure was brought forward, every member of Parliament was entitled to offer his opinion on its expediency; and in addition to the objections against the difficulty of the bill, he had one capital objection to the principle, and that was, that it did not give sufficient encouragement to voluntary offers of service, but depended on compulsory operation, a mode of raising a force for the defence of the kingdom, at all times to be avoided, if possible, in a free country. The bill appeared to cast a slur on the offers of vo-

lunteers, and it appeared the object of ministers to discourage them. He could state, on undeniable authority, that many offers of voluntary service had actually been rejected. He begged leave to ask of ministers why, at a time when it was so infinitely desirable to raise a large force for the defence of the empire, those means, formerly found so effectual, were at the present moment altogether abandoned? Without being supposed to be too strongly under the influence of national partiality, he might be permitted to say, that the experience of the last war shewed what numbers of our best and bravest troops could be obtained from the Highlands of Scotland, and at the present moment this great source of military supply appeared wholly neglected. He would not now stand up, as the advocate of feudal institutions, but when they could be rendered subservient to principles of patriotism, they ought not to be overlooked by any minister who looked to the real security of the country. The hon. member descanted a good deal further on this point, and concluded by expressing a hope that in the Committee some of those important modifications would be introduced into the bill which its present very imperfect form required.

Mr. *Sheridan* did not conceive that the speech of his hon. friend contained a single objection to the postponement of the discussion on the bill till it had proceeded to some of its other stages. He allowed that the bill did require some important alterations. Indeed, it was impossible for any man reading the bill not to see that such alterations were indispensable. The measure itself was, however, one to which it was impossible to object; for its principle was to rouse the spirit, and embody the force of the counry. Though he differed with an hon. gent. on the same bench (Mr. Windham) in many opinions which he had expressed relative to the present situation of the country, he cordially agreed with him in thinking that the spirit of the country was not yet raised to the level which the present situation of affairs demanded. The national spirit was indeed mending, but it was not sufficiently raised to the level of our circumstances. Spirited resolutions appeared on paper, but they were not followed up with corresponding energy. He might allude to a variety of proofs in support of this assertion. He knew that there was no want of exertions, on the part of government, to complete the militia; and as an instance of the necessity of such exertions, he might take the liberty of stating, that the regiment under the command of Lord Cranley, formerly consisting of 600 men, at present only amounted to 280; and that the other regiment under the command of Lord Grantly, was nearly as defective; so that the two regiments of Surrey militia, which ought to consist of 1,200 men, only contained about 600. He said he had lately been in Hampshire, and that he found the same opinion prevailed there as elsewhere, in respect to invasion. When people in that quarter talked of invasion, he knew that they were accustomed to say, that if their heads never ached till an invasion was attempted, they were certain their heads would never ache at all. From every circumstance, he was convinced that the real fact was, that the people of the country were not properly awake to a due sense of their danger; and there was an absolute necessity for their being impressed with this belief before their true spirit and patriotism could be shewn forth with all that energy which he knew they possessed. He thought that it was proper to make the bill as perfect as possible in the Committee, ere it was advanced to the last stage. His hon. friend had found fault with the measure of the bill, because it had not been brought forward sooner. Whether these steps might, or should have been proposed earlier, he should not determine; but he was thoroughly convinced that such measures were now absolutely necessary. He professed himself very ready to go into all those general or particular topics but he hoped that no hon. member would be the means of occasioning delay by stating objections, in the present stage, to a plan which ought to have the minds and hearts of all to go along with it, especially when no other mode of procedure more eligible could be proposed for the adoption of the House.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that he could not agree in regard to the reasons assigned by the hon. member, who wished to postpone the discussions on the bill till another stage of its progress. He thought that the bill was liable to considerable objections, in regard to its general tendency to procure within the time requisite, a force suitable to the situation of the country. He hoped that any amendments that might now be proposed would tend to relieve the Committee of some degree of trouble. As to the objections which had been stated by an hon. member opposite to him (Mr. Kinnaird), though he had not been in the House at the commencement of that hon. member's

speech, he conceived the general scope of his objection to be, that the measures proposed were not sufficiently adequate to the real object in view. Any objections he had heard stated, he thought, were perfectly proper for the discussion of the Committee, for they could not be stated as amounting to objections to the principle of the bill. As to what had been said with regard to volunteer exertions, he hoped the House would do him the justice to say, he had stated on a former occasion, as strongly as was necessary, these very sentiments. He still was inclined to think that some additional provisions ought to be introduced into the bill as to the voluntary exertions of the country, and that every encouragement ought to be afforded to that object. He could not unite with the hon. member (Mr. Kinnaird) that the present bill went to throw any degree of slur upon the people, by refusing their voluntary offers. He never understood that there was any thing in the bill tending to repress such offers; on the contrary, there was a clause to encourage volunteers, by holding out to them certain privileges of exemption in point of extent of service. He thought, however, that the encouragement given to them was not sufficiently extensive. He concluded by again pressing upon the House a due sense of the necessity of expedition in the adoption of the measures proposed by the bill, and hoped that the House would not allow it to go out of their hands that evening, till it had passed completely through the Committee.

Mr. *Sheridan* explained, and said, that he had heard the right hon. gent who had just sat down affirm, that he (Mr. Pitt) had not been in the House when the hon. member (Mr. Kinnaird) had commenced his speech, stating his objections to the present bill. He thought the right hon. member (Mr. Pitt) might have also said, with equal propriety, that he had not been in the House when he (Mr. S.) had taken the liberty of offering a few words on the occasion; for the sentiments he had then given, seemed to have been totally misunderstood by that right hon. gent. For his part, he saw no improper aspersion, slur, or even discouragement offered in the present bill against the voluntary exertions of the country.

Mr. *Windham* observed, in allusion to what had fallen from Mr. Pitt, that the right hon. gent. had of late spoken so much on different sides of the House, that he was at some loss to conceive whether he alluded to him, or the hon. member on the same bench with him (Mr. Sheridan); but in answer to both him and the other member, who charged him (Mr. Windham) with *depressing the spirit of the country*, he would say, that his object, in endeavouring to impress upon the country a due sense of its danger, was only *to bring up the apprehensions of the country to a level with that danger*; convinced that when that was done, there would be no want of spirit on the part of the people: but those who were really chargeable with depressing the popular spirit, were those whose duty it was to have brought forward this measure long since, and had deferred it to the present moment. He could not coincide with the hon. gent. on the same bench (Mr. Sheridan) who deprecated discussion in the present stage of the bill, because he thought discussion now would throw many lights upon the subject, which would better enable the House to form decisive opinions upon the subject, and go into the Committee better prepared to suggest amendments when necessary, and thus put the bill into a perfect shape, with much more expedition than by hurrying it crudely, and without discussion, through the Committee now, with a view to recommit and debate it a future opportunity. [Here the bill was accordingly recommitted to a Committee of the whole House.]

The *Secretary at War* then rose to state what were the general heads to which the alterations which he meant to propose would apply. The first of these was the mode in which the force to be disciplined should be enrolled. As to the expediency of the enrolment, he believed that no difference of opinion prevailed. This was indeed necessary to their being at all applied to any efficient purposes. It was in the first place proposed to vest the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenants of counties with the power of calling for the services of all within the ages specified by the bill. The next step would be, to issue orders to the proper officers to leave notices with the householders in the respective parishes, who would be required within a given period to make their return. An hon. gent. had alluded to the scandalous deficiency of the quota of the militia to be furnished by the counties. He was aware of the existence of this evil, and great criminality was imputable to the subordinate officers, through whose negligence and stupidity the grossest frauds were committed. To prevent the recurrence of these frauds, it would be necessary to put it out of the power of the stupidity or the igno-

rance of the inferior officers to repeat such scandalous negligence. Unless such precautions were taken, the returns would be so loose and unsatisfactory as wholly to defeat the important end which the bill proposed to have in view. With such alterations, calculated to make the returns more correct and satisfactory, he trusted that the enrolment would be conducted without difficulty or embarrassment. But indeed all depended on the exertions of the gentlemen in the different counties, in having the measure reduced to practice within the shortest possible time. If those whose situation in life, and natural influence over the lower orders were only for a few weeks to devote themselves to the object of facilitating the execution of the act, he was confident that it would be carried into effect in a much shorter period than it could be by any positive resolution on the subject. The bill was worded in such a way as all bills of a similar nature must be expressed; but by the exertions of disinterested, generous, patriotic zeal, the time necessary for carrying it into effect might be materially shortened, and the object much more effectually accomplished. The Committee did not require to be reminded, that without such a spirit as that to which he referred, all enactments of the legislature must necessarily be tedious in their application. The next point to which he thought it necessary to advert, was the manner in which the forces were to be assembled. The arrangements on this subject would of course, in the first instance, be left to the lord lieutenants of the different counties. They would be the best judges of the mode in which the alarm should be given, in case of invasion. When the signal of alarm was given in any of the counties on the coast, then the first class of the force proposed to be trained to the use of arms should be immediately directed to march to the head quarters of the army in that district, or to any other place where their services might be considered most useful. If this class was not sufficiently extensive for the exigency of the moment, then of course the services of the other classes would be required, and they would receive correspondent orders. The next point to which he wished to allude was the mode of obtaining offers of voluntary service. The bill, as it now stood, had been objected to on this ground, by an hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) whose opinions on all subjects had very great weight. He had paid attention to the suggestions thrown out on that occasion, and he meant to introduce into the bill such alterations as he believed would meet the hon. gentleman's ideas. He meant to propose, that in districts where a sufficient number of offers of voluntary service were made, the operation of the bill should cease. With respect to the services of the volunteer corps already formed, he intended that some new regulations should be formed applicable to the case of invasion. He begged it, however, to be underssood that these regulations would be introduced in another bill, and would not at all counteract the principles of their original offers of service. It was the fixed unalterable determination of government not to violate those terms of service which were originally adopted. If a corps, accepted by government, limited their services to a particular street, he would allow that beyond that street their services could not be compelled without a voluntary offer on their part. The fundamental principle adopted by government was, that when an engagement was formed, it should be adhered to with the utmost fidelity. He had now only to advert to the mode in which the force to be embodied under the bill was to be trained and exercised. As to the period in the year to which the exercise was originally proposed to be extended, he had no difficulty in saying that he approved of the suggestion for extending it. The particular day allotted for the service as it now stood was, he believed, conceived to be liable to very considerable objection. So far as Scotland was concerned, he meant that the clause for appointing the training on Sunday should be totally inapplicable. In England he was aware that the same objection might to a certain degree exist, and with the view of remedying every inconvenience which might arise on the subject, it was proposed to grant to lord lieutenants of counties the power of appointing such days for exercise, as to them, under all the circumstances of the case, should seem the least objectionable, and the most agreeable to all parties concerned. This was an alteration brought forward from respect to those persons of tender consciences whom the clause, as it originally stood, might have displeased. The right hon. gent. having touched on these points, concluded by expressing his readiness to hear with satisfaction whatever improvements in the measure might be proposed, and to adopt them, if they appeared to him calculated to give it greater force and efficacy.

Lord *Castlereagh* said a few words on the

mode in which the enrolment might be formed. He suggested, that, long before the whole process required by the bill was gone through, the lord lieutenants should be empowered, as soon as the act was passed, to receive voluntary offers of service. In this way delay would be avoided, and from the moment that the act was passed the discipline of a great proportion of the force to which the bill referred would be going forward with alacrity and effect.

Mr. *Kinnaird* declared that if the suggestions of the noble lord were carried into effect, the grand source of his objection to the measure would be removed.

Mr. *Pitt* next rose, and at considerable length canvassed the general provisions of the bill. That the time allotted for exercise must be extended, he believed every member of the House would admit, and he was glad to find that his right hon. friend (the Sec. at War) had expressed his conviction of the necessity of this alteration. As the bill now stood, it would be quite impossible to enter with effect on the discipline of the force proposed to be embodied till the spring of the succeeding year. It was an object infinitely desirable that the period for completing the enrolment should be shortened as much as possible, and nothing was more essential than to prevent the inaccuracy of the levy to be raised. The suggestion of his noble friend tended in a considerable degree to remove the objections which he had to the present provisions of the bill on this subject. The bill, to a certain degree, professed to look to the preference of offers of voluntary service, but in his opinion its provisions on this head were not sufficiently explicit.—The great object at the present moment was to obtain offers of this kind to as large an extent as possible, while the process of regular enrolment was going forward according to the rules which the bill prescribed. If, during the interval occupied in going through this process, a sufficient number of offers of voluntary service could be obtained, then the application of the provisions of the bill would be unnecessary, and a most important object would be obtained with a view to the real security of the country. He was sure that he need not, as a member of that House, as possessing any regard to constitutional principles, enlarge on the preference at all times to be given to voluntary above compulsory service. The superiority was at once obvious, and while this mode was superior in point of feeling, it was no less so with reference to real efficient service. The means of accomplishing this most desirable object were obvious and simple. It was only necessary to invest the lord lieutenant with the power of issuing a proclamation immediately after the passing of the act, inviting offers of voluntary service, and enabling those appointed to collect the return, to ascertain the wishes of the people. This would be the mode applicable to counties generally; and in parishes the vestry might, without difficulty, collect the wishes of those to whom the invitation was addressed. In this invitation not merely the first class, but all the classes prescribed by the bill, or even to the age of sixty, or beyond the age of fifty-five, if voluntary offers could be obtained, might be included. A report might, without any considerable delay, be made by the lord lieutenants to his Majesty, who might order an immediate proportion of those making voluntary offers of service to be received. Of course the discipline of those so received would be soon without interruption. This was a provision which could not but, if properly reduced to practice, materially contribute to the expedition which was so infinitely desirable. There was, however, a provision of a different description, which would promote the speedy application of the bill in a still more effectual manner. The provision to which he alluded was, that without waiting for the enrolment at all, to fix for a particular county the quota which, on a fair calculation, it was supposed was a fair proportion; and if before a particular day specific voluntary offers of service to the amount of three-fourths or four-fifths of the whole number were obtained, to suspend the operation of the bill in that county or district. In such a case as this, minute accuracy was not at all important, and any trifling errors in the calculation of the quota to be required could easily be corrected at a subsequent period. If the calculation was too high, the inaccuracy could be easily corrected. It would only be necessary to determine by ballot what was the actual number required. On the other hand, if the number was too low, the deficiency could be easily supplied. It had been stated that the number in the first class was four hundred thousand, and if this was accurate, the calculations for particular districts could be formed on principles which at least afforded the prospect of general accuracy. It was not necessary for him to refer to examples to prove the practicability of this general accuracy. He might, however, just allude to the case of the Cinque Ports, where, without any reference to the system on which the militia quotas were arranged, a tolerably accurate calculation had been established. The right hon. gent. next, with extraordi-

nary clearness and simplicity, alluded to the time which, as the bill now stood, would be employed in reducing the bill to practice. The whole period would not be less than two months. He suggested the expediency of shortening the different divisions of this period. He thought that the ten days for the meeting of the deputy lieutenants were quite unnecessary. The time allowed for giving the notices was also much greater than necessary. The householders ought to make their returns within a much shorter space. As the bill now stood, sixty days would be consumed, whereas by new regulations the whole business might be finished in less than the half of that time. After adding a few other observations on this point, the right hon. gent. sat down with declaring his determination to offer to the Committee a clause, with a view of carrying into effect the suggestion in the conclusion of his speech.

Lord *Castlereagh* explained the point to which his right hon. friend, who had just sat down, alluded, with respect to the operation of this bill before the enrolment should be made. The fact was, that the compulsory power of calling every man to parade in case of necessity, would by the provisions of the bill vest in his Majesty; but the object of the bill was, that this compulsory power should not interfere with the voluntary offers of the people, from which an inexhaustible force was expected, fully competent to answer the purpose of security, to serve without expense, and to be trained without any material inconvenience to the individuals engaged.

Mr. *Pitt* admitted the great saving of public expense, but thought at the same time the saving could not be prudently carried to the extent alleged; for if men whose livelihood depended upon their daily labour, were to be called to devote their days to drilling for the public service, it would be but reasonable to remunerate them for the time so devoted from their means of livelihood.

The *Sec. at War* had no objection to remunerate, in such cases, men who were so situated as not to be assessed in poor's rates; but he could not feel the necessity of extending the principle farther, as every man was bound, in exigencies like the present, to contribute his share of service in the public danger; and so long as a man was only called upon to devote a few hours in the week for the purpose of being trained to the use of arms, and not called upon for actual service, it was no such hardship or loss as to call in all cases for remuneration. Beside, if the principle recommended by the rt. hon. gent. were to be adopted, it would, he feared, open a door to frauds that would be incalculable. The bill had, he said, two objects: the one to encourage as much as might be the offers of voluntary service; the other to effect dispatch in carrying its purposes into operation. With respect to the former, he had no objection to the mode proposed by the right hon. gent of directing the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of counties, and those who act under their direction, to canvass their districts, and see who are willing to volunteer their services; but he begged leave to observe, that there was a clause precisely to this effect, in the act of the present session, which the present bill was designed to amend and render more effectual. He could not say how far the powers given by that clause to the lords lieutenants of counties and their deputies had been fairly tried; but hitherto he had no proofs that it had been attended with the desired effect. With respect to the numbers necessary to be called for discipline on the present occasson, he was well convinced the first class alone namely, unmarried males between the ages of 17 and 30, would amply supply them. The calculation was, that the number of those, in proportion to the male population of the country, was as 1 to 24, making the whole from 4 to 500,000; and if by a demand upon this number, three-fourths could be found willing to volunteer their services in any county or district, he perfectly agreed in the idea of suspending the further operation of the act in such district. With respect, however, to many of the arrangements proposed by the right hon. gent. for omitting from the preparatory arrangements the meetings of the deputy lieutenants of counties, as well as some others for shortening the period for making returns, he questioned much whether they could be practicable, consistently with the desired effect.

Dr. *Laurence* acknowledged that the House owed much to the noble lord by whom the amendment under consideratibn was proposed, although it went in some degree perhaps to impose posthumous penalties.

Sir *J. Pulteney* disapproved of the idea, that the voluntary offers of three-fourths should exempt from service those who might be so base in such a crisis as the present to shrink from their duty. He cautioned the House on reckoning so much on the extent of voluntary offers, or on the efficacy of volunteers in case of attack. The hon. baronet declared that he had many other observations to offer on the bill, but that he would

not any longer trouble the Committee. On the whole, however, he could not help feeling some fear that the provisions of this bill would interfere with some military arrangements of great importance, for the establishment of which he was exceedingly anxious.

Mr. *Sheridan* professed his inability to understand the argument of the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) upon the subject of voluntary offers, and the circumstances under which compulsion should be resorted to. With respect, however, to these voluntary offers, he confessed he could not help agreeing with the hon. baronet who had just sat down, that the probable amount of such offers was rather over-rated; but the amendment proposed by the noble lord, of which he much approved, provided that, in case the voluntary spirit should fail, other means should be resorted to, to secure the object of the bill. As to the act of the present session, referred to by the right hon. the Sec. at War, he believed that the fruits of it would be very small indeed. It appeared to be an exact transcript of the act of the last Administration, which was almost universally considered to be a very foolish act, and which not at all answered the ends which those who proposed it professed to have in view. The hon. gent. read an extract from this act, requiring a return of the men, and the manner in which each wished to serve. He stated that at the time this act was carrying into execution, he was in Northumberland, and that he saw the return made from a village in the neighbourhood; from which it appeared that 13 offered to serve in the infantry, 25 in the cavalry, 130 as guides, 260 as waggoners, and 300 as drivers of cattle (*a general laugh*). He did not mean to infer from this that any want of sufficient zeal for the public service was to be found in the country, nor would he attribute it to any thing like shameful cowardice, but to that which he feared was the case at present, namely, that the people were not sufficiently alive to their danger—of that every man should now be fully aware, and also that in the event of the menaced invasion taking place, his person was at the command of his Sovereign

Mr. *Sullivan* stated that directions had been dispatched to the several lord lieutenants, &c. to make the returns prescribed by the act referred to by the hon. gent.

Mr. *Sheridan* asked whether any returns had yet been made, and of what nature they were?

Mr. *Sullivan* answered that there had not been yet sufficient time to send in the returns.

Mr. *Windham* heartily concurred in the wishes expressed by the hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan), *that the spirit of the country should be sufficiently roused*; and that the argument which the hon. gent. had applied to a measure of the late Administration (operating upon quite a different state of things from the present), but which the hon. gent. himself had afterwards answered, would not be found to apply hereafter. With regard to the idea of his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt), that such districts should be exempted from the operations of this act, as should furnish a certain number of volunteers, he highly disapproved of it upon this ground, that it would tend to the introduction of substitutes, upon an occasion where the armament should be general. He also objected to his right hon. friend's opinion, that the men called upon to serve under this bill should, if occasion required, be transferred to other corps. In no instance would he permit volunteers to be thus removed.

Lord *Castlereagh* explained, that by a clause in this bill the penalties of desertion would attach to any person, who, after having been regularly trained, should decline to come forward in case of invasion.

Lord *Hawkesbury* wished it to be understood, that the voluntary offers of a certain number of men in any district, would discharge such district from the obligations of this bill only; but that it was by no means intended to interfere with, or narrow the prerogative of the crown, as seemed to be supposed, for that prerogative would always have the power of calling out all subjects.

Gen. *Tarleton* said, that a spirit adequate to the crisis was rapidly extending itself throughout this country; or rather, as soon as the possibility of invasion was credited, the spirit of the people immediately stood forth. In Lancashire he stated, that the supplementary militia was almost immediately filled up, and the army of reserve was likely very soon to be complete. The hon. member read a letter which he had lately received from the county alluded to, descriptive of the zeal and spirit which prevailed in that populous district. He spoke in preference of voluntary service over compulsory, and said, some of the most glorious achievements and prodigies of valour detailed in military history were performed by volunteers. He stated two instances: one in the time of the great Prince of Condé, when his army was beaten by a body of 5000 British volunteers under Gen. Boyd; and that prince, in detailing the battle to his court, said, the French fought like men, but the English like devils. The other instance was, where, at a council

of war, and under the advice of the celebrated Vauban, it was determined to attack in the open day a strong fortress of the enemy, which, which was carried by the signal bravery of 100 volunteers; and he was convinced of the truth of the position advanced by Mr. Pitt, that 75 volunteers were at any time better than a hundred men not so raised.

Mr. *Canning* explained, and vindicated the argument of his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt), contending that it was not his object to give an exclusive preference to voluntary offers, but to give them a convenient chance with the other mode of levy proposed by the bill. As to the comparisons made between voluntary and compulsory service, he was surprised that a preference should have been given to the latter in a British assembly, particularly by his hon. friend on the other side (Mr. Sheridan), who was, he confessed, the last man in the world from whom he could expect such a sentiment. Indeed, were he disposed to lay a trap for a speech from his hon. friend, he should have thought no expedient more likely to succeed, than to assert that it were better to compel the service of Britons in defence of their country, than to rely on their voluntary exertions.

Mr. *Sheridan* observed, that the right hon. gent seemed, indeed, to intend his allusion to him as a trap for a speech; but if so, he should be disappointed, for he would simply say, that all he meant in his former observations was this, that *we should not deceive ourselvees as to the effect of voluntary zeal*, not doubting, however, that the zeal of the people would be amply sufficient for the protection of the country, provided they had an adequate impression of their danger.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that though much advantage, no doubt, had arisen from the discussion, and many useful lights were thrown upon the subject, yet he wished to remind the Committee, that no progress whatever was made in the bill. He expressed, therefore, his sincere wish that the Committee would proceed to the clauses of the bill, and give them such amendments as appeared necessary; after which the bill, in its amended shape, would be printed, and the discussion might then take place upon the principle; and the bill, if necessary, be recommitted for farther consideration.

General *Gascoyne*, in reference to what had been said of the preferable service of volunteers, observed, that it was the peculiar characteristic of the British armies, to be always entirely composed of volunteers.

Mr. *Pitt* objected to the time allowed to constables for making the returns of the lists. Instead of ten days for leaving such lists, he proposed seven days, which amendment was agreed to.—He also proposed that instead of seven days, which were allowed to the occupiers of houses, &c. to make a return of their inmates, the words two days should be substituted. This amendment was also agreed to.

Mr. *Sheridan* objected to the exemption of persons who are now serving in the militia by substitute. He said he saw no reason whatever for such exemptions, and the person so serving ought not to be sheltered from the service under the present bill, because he had skulked out of personal service on another occasion. He was the less entitled to exemption also, for having by his money taken away a man as a substitute, who would now, if not so employed, be liable to serve at all all events on the present occasion.

Mr. *Pitt* agreed in opinion with the hon. gent. who spoke last, and thought that persons serving by substitute in the militia, ought not to be exempt, unless they went to serve in person in the militia, and returned the substitute to fill up the present service.

The *Secretary at War* said, the principle of the militia laws formed a contract, which was certainly in favour of these persons being exempted, and in a measure of this kind, he thought the House would do well not too press too far; though he allowed many persons would thereby be exempted, he thought they ought not to cut too close on persons who have already paid a sum of money for a substitute, which perhaps they could very ill spare.

Mr. *Windham* thought this was a new service, and the contract alluded to in the other instance did not extend to it.

The *Attorney General* was of the same opinion with the Sec. at War, and considered this as a contract which ought to be kept to; this was not to be considered as the case of a gentleman, to whom 25l. or 30l. may be nothing: but it is more likely to be a person who has mortgaged his house or property to raise the money; and in doing so, he thought he was entitled to be exempted in all respects the same as if he had served in person.

Mr. *Pitt* supported his former opinion, and thought it no burden on any person, but only that it enabled him to instruct himself in the use of arms, for the purpose of defending his familly, his property, and his country.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he felt this to be a question of expediency, and conceived we should not violate any principle of good faith; for at the time they found substitutes, they had no more this measure

in contemplation than his Majesty's ministers had.

Mr. *Tierney* was of the same opinion as the Attorney General, and thought the exemption ought to stand good.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, an armed multitude, without knowing the use of arms, was no more than a vast number of men drawn out for slaughter. Government was, therefore, doing a service to every one by having him instructed in the use of arms; and he was, therefore, against the exemption.

Mr. *P. Carew* thought those who are now serving by snbstitute, at least, ought to be put into the fourth class under the present bill.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, the militia law gave a man the power either to serve in person or by substitute. When the question of the army of reserve was before the House, the exception was made; but the present measure is so different in its nature and charactet, there can be no comparison.

On the question being put, the exemption was done away; and persons now serving by substitute are liable to the present measure.

On the clausc being read which went to regulate the days and hours on which the first class are to be exercised and trained to arms, it was mentioned from the 25th March to the 25th Dec.

Mr. *Pitt* rose, and said, that this was a part of the bill to which he wished particularly to call the attention of the House. The great object of the present measure was to obtain, with as much celerity as possible, a very large mass of the people, so well instructed in the use of arms, as that in case of a great emergency, and an actual invasion, they might to be able to march against and fight the enemy with effect. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, that this instruction and training should be gained in as short a time as possible, for there could be no doubt but the enemy, active and vigilant as he was on all occasions, would use every effort to carry his insolent design of invading us, before we can take all the means in our power to repel his attacks. The season of the year best adapted for his succeeding in such a design, was that in which long nights, and the stormy weather incident to the season, might enable him, from our cruizers being blown off their stations, to push over his forces before they could return to them again. It is, therefore, highly necessary that we should be as speedy in advancing this measure as possible; and when it shall be once brought into a state of forwardness, he should believe that it would be a means of making our insolent foe, with all his mighty vaunts, pause before he ventured on so rash a step as that of attaking us on our shores. If, however, that haughty foe should be so daring, he (Mr. Pitt) had no doubt but his attempt would end in discomfiture and disgrace; and that our brave countrymen would, by that discomfiture, give a glorious example to all Europe of what may be achieved by a gallant and courageous people, who are determined to live free or die. A French army beaten and discomfited, and driven back to their own coasts with disgrace, might also have the great effect of rousing the powers of Europe from that state of apathy and lethargy in which they have for some time past been sunk, and might also awaken in the French people themselves sentiments of resentment and indignation, which would make our haughty foe severely repent the temerity and insolence of his attempt. He therefore hoped that all descriptions of persons would cheerfully give up their time to so important a purpose, and that even our harvest should be in some measure delayed, rather than this measure should not be forwarded. The landholder, the great farmer, and the little farmer, should all now consider that the first of our care should be to secure the grain that is now in the ground for its true and real owners, and prevent it from becoming possessed by spoilers and invaders. He would, therefore, take the liberty to propose some amendments, and that instead of one day in a week (Sunday), should be substituted one or more days: and that such a number of days should be allotted for that purpose, as in the opinions of military men would be sufficient to attain that degree of training as would enable them to act immediately with effect; for instance, two or three days in a week, or so many days successively, at periods of small distance, as should make up twenty days at the least, and not more than thirty. He thought no persons who considered the danger of our present situation would object to this, which could not fail to be attended with the most beneficial effects, and which, in its result, may turn for ever, in a great degree, the future destinies of England and the world.

After a very long conversation, it was agreed that the days for drilling should be Sunday, or any other convenient day in the week.

A conversation of considerable length took place on that clause by which the men were to be exercised on Sunday. It was strongly objected to by Mr. R. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. W. Smith, Gen.

Maitland, Sir William Erskine, and Mr. Grant, that such a thing would be totally incompatible with the religious scruples of the people of Scotland, who would refuse to comply with any act of Parliament that enjoined them to commit such a breach of the Sabbath.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he had as tender a regard for the religious scruples of individuals as any man; and in a country where the whole of the people were nearly of one opinion, as in Scotland, he would never recommend the adoption of any such violent and outrageous proceeding as that of forcing them to do a thing repugnant to their consciences; therefore, although the word Sunday might be omitted in the bill when applied to Scotland, he saw no reason why that should be done with regard to England, where a very small portion of the people comparatively dissented from the established Church; and notwithstanding the reputation many of these had for exemplary piety, the truth of which he very much doubted, he wished that number was still less. For the sake of those few, he would not leave out of the bill a most useful provision; which, so far from being inconsistent with the tenets of the Church of England, was perfectly conformable to them. This was a subject of very great importance, and it was necessary to impress on men's minds, that next to the performance of their religious duties, the defence of their country was a duty of the most sacred and indispensable nature; and he did not see how it could be contrary to our established religion, for men to devote that short interval of the Sunday, which, after the performance of divine service, was usually spent in recreation, to the object of preparing for their defence against an enemy, who would destroy the whole of their religion and liberties. He was sure no doctrine in the Church of England forbad such a practice; and he saw no reason why the word Sunday should be omitted from the bill, because a small number of persons might object to exercise on that day.

Sir *Wm. Curtis* wished to know what those gents. who wanted to prevent all training on a Sunday, would recommend to be done, if the enemy was to land on Sunday? Would the omnipotent Creator of the world be offended at our troops being sent out to protect us from destruction?

The *Secretary at War* said, that, in consequence of what had been stated relative to the opinions of the people of Scotland, he would omit Sunday in the bill with regard to them: but with respect to England it must be retained: a provision being made, at the same time, to enable the lord lieut. to appoint any other convenient day beside Sunday, for the purpose of exercising the men. This provision would satisfy the religious scruples of persons in England who might object to going out on Sunday. He then introduced a clause to this effect, which was agreed to.—The House then continued debating on several other clauses of the bill; and several other amendments were adopted. The bill being gone through, it was ordered to be reported that day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 21.

[MINUTES.]—A bill to correct a clerical error in the former bill, which had passed, relative to allowing spiritual persons to hold farms, and to enforce the residence of the clergy, was brought up by Sir William Scott and others, presented, and read a first time.—The Earl of Westmorland brought down a message from his Majesty, relative to the present situation of the House of Orange. (See *Commons*).—Ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.

[WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE.]—The order of the day for going into a Committee of the whole House upon a bill intituled "An act to suspend, until the 1st day of July, 1804, proceedings in actions, prosecutions, and proceedings under certain acts, relating to the woollen manufacture, and also under an act of the reign of Elizabeth, so far as the same relates to certain persons employed or concerned in the same manufacture," having been read,

Mr. *Fielding* came to the bar as counsel for the journeymen weavers, and said, that if that gigantic measure of the bill, to sweep away all the existing statutes, had been persisted in, his clients would have been in a deplorable situation indeed, as they would have been deprived of all the protection those statutes extended to them; but their lordships having their attention called at present to a short bill of suspension, he would not add to their fatigue, by a long occupation of their time. He then confined himself to two single points, imploring their lordships so to frame the bill in the Committee, as to take care that a provision should be inserted to prevent the introduction of any new machinery during the period of the suspension, and the other to secure the petitioners all the benefits of the act of Elizabeth, respecting apprentices.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, the title of this bill stated that it was an act to suspend, for a given time, proceedings in actions, prosecu-

tions, &c. &c. and that in fact ought to be the sole principle of the bill; but the first clause went far beyond the reach of the title, and actually proceeded to suspend the operation of the various acts themselves, upon which such actions and prosecutions had been founded. The Legislature could never, he conceived, mean to go that length, and therefore he should move in the Committee, such amendments as should confine the bill to what ought to be purely its principle, viz. a bill of suspension of the actions and prosecutions already commenced. His lordship said, that the necessity of passing some bill arose from the Commons having sent up to that House another bill, which was a bill of great magnitude and importance, and which it was impossible for that House, at so advanced a period of the session, to give that due consideration and attention to which so large and comprehensive a matter as that bill went to, absolutely required. That a number of provisions in the old statutes stood in need of revision, no man could deny: many of the regulations contained in those laws were actually impracticable, and inflicted penalties on the woollen manufacturers for not doing what, from the change of circumstances, it was at this time of day impossible for them to perform. From such provisions, accompanied with penalties, they ought to be relieved; but it was one thing to grant necessary relief, and another to go the length of sweeping away at once all the statutes, and all the various regulations they contained. Many of those regulations were still useful and fit to be reserved. At any rate it was incumbent upon their lordships to be enabled to judge for themselves, upon the policy of so important a change in the law, before they decided upon it. The Commons had sent them a copy of the evidence that had been adduced before their Committee upon the bill, but their lordships could not admit that as evidence, they must go into the examination of witnesses themselves, and a great deal of examination would be absolutely necessary. It being, therefore, impossible to proceed with the other bill, they were necessarily driven to the present bill of suspension; but although they agreed to suspend existing actions and prosecutions, till Parliament could have duly considered the subject, they ought to leave the old statute entire and untouched; indeed, that was the only regular and parliamentary course of proceeding. With regard to what had been said of the introduction of machinery in the interim, and during the suspension, great doubts had been entertained whether gig-mills were further affected by the ancient statute, than the recital of the clauses in that bill stated; and it had been replied by some of the learned lawyers heard at the bar, that they were not. But if any clause was meant to be moved for insertion in the present bill, it ought to be drawn with great caution, and so framed, that it should not go one atom beyond its real object, because if it did, it might raise additional doubts and difficulties, and interfere with the use of gig-mills in the manufactory of woollen cloth, for such purposes as were not only not injurious to the manufacture, but highly useful, and had been habitually in practice for many years. With respect to the taking apprentices, under the act of Elizabeth, his own idea was, that that statute, like all the others, should be left as it was during the continuance of the suspension. The practice ought for the present to go on as usual, where the manufacturer either took apprentices, or what was as good as apprentices, bred up boys for seven years to the business, in the nature of apprentices. His lordship made some other observations, and then moved first, that the consideration of the preamble, and next, that the whole of the first clause be omitted. His lordship afterwards moved a great variety of amendments in the bill; among others, that the words "1803" be omitted in the title, and the words "1804" be inserted. At length having gone through the bill, the House was resumed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 21.

[MINUTES.]—A message from the Lords announced their having agreed to the Grenada loan and some private bills.—The clergy farming and residence amendment bill, was read a third time and passed.—The Chatham chest transfer bill was read a third time and passed.—Lord Hawkesbury then appeared at the bar, and delivered to the following effect, a message from his Majesty.—G. R. "His Majesty having taken into "consideration the present situation of the "illustrious House of Orange, the bonds of "alliance and affinity between him and that "illustrious family, the important services "it has rendered to this country on so many "occasions, and the losses it sustained in "the course of the late war, recommends "these circumstances to the attention of his "faithful Commons, trusting that they will "enable him to make such pecuniary allow-"ance, to that illustrious family, as may be "warranted by its present situation, and "the justice of this country."—Lord

Hawkesbury then moved, that the message be referred to a Committtee of supply, which being agreed to, his lordship gave notice, that on Monday next he should submit a motion on that subject to the House.—On the question for committing the volunteer corps bill, it was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Ormsby, that it be an instruction to the Committee to receive a clause to subject serjeants, drummers, trumpeters, &c. in volunteer corps in Ireland to martial law.—In the Committee on the bill, the Sec. at War proposed some clauses; one of which was, that volunteers should in case of invasion be compelled to march where they should be ordered: and another was, for settling the rank of the officers. Agreed to.—The Habeas Corpus extension bill was read a second time.

[LORD AMHERST'S GRANT.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, on the order being read for the House to resolve itself into a committee to consider of the grant of crown lands made to the late Lord Amherst, and his successors in the province of Canada, moved, that an abstract of the proceedings of council, relative to that grant, be referred to the said committee, which was agreed to.—The House then resolved itself into the committee, Mr. Alexander in the chair.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the proposition he had to submit was founded upon the message the committee had now to consider of. It would be unnecessary for him to dwell on the distinguished services of the late Lord Amherst, and it would be sufficient for him to observe, that it was to his meritorious services, and those of the late Gen. Wolfe, that we were indebted for the valuable annexation of Canada to the Crown of Great Britain. It would be very superfluous to attempt a detail of those glorious exertions to persons at all conversant in the history of this country; it would suffice to say, that his Majesty was willing to reward and did reward those services, by a grant to Lord Amherst of certain Crown lands, situated in the province which had been conquered by his valour. When the grant was submitted to the Crown lawyers in America, a number of considerations opposed obstacles to the execution of the grants. It was observed, that the lands were only granted to furnish his Lordship with an annuity of 250l. whereas, by the grant, he had a right to demand the possession of the whole, though subject to account to the public for the remainder of the produce, after the deduction of the annuity. The ground also, consisting of a million of acres, was capable of very great improvement, for the equal benefit of the colony and of the revenue; and, after these improvements had been made, should Lord Amherst lay claim and make good his title to the whole, the fortune arising from it would be too enormous for any subject of this country to possess. In consequence of these difficulties, Lord Amherst failed in his applications for the reward of his services, and remained till his death in expectation of being enabled to avail himself of the favour of his Sovereign. As the first fortune, then, to which pretensions may be made, was thought too exorbitant, and much more than could have been originally intended, the properest way seems to be, for the House to commute it for an annuity, commensurate with the amount of the grant originally proposed. But as it should be considered, that his lordship and his representatives had been deprived of the benefit of the grant for these 40 years past, the amount of the annuity should be fixed, with a view to that circumstance. He concluded with moving a resolution. "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that there be granted to his Majesty, out of the consolidated fund, the annual sum of 3000l. as a compensation to the representatives of the late Jeffery Lord Amherst, to begin from the 5th of July, 1803."

Mr. *Courtenay* bore ample testimony to the high character and honour of Lord Amherst, of whose eminent services no person could be more sensible than he was. He had many opportunities, while he was in an official situation, of observing on his conduct, and never knew a man in his life who was less actuated by any thing like selfishness or personal consideration. Indeed, he lamented to find that his lordship had, till the time of his death, good reason to complain that his services had not been rewarded. He now rejoiced to find that his representatives had been more successful, but he could not approve of the intended commutation. The reason why justice had been so long delayed, had never yet been satisfactorily explained, for he knew himself that the former Lord Amherst presented numerous petitions, which had been sent to the law officers in Canada, and by them referred back again. The revenue disliked making this perpetual charge upon the consolidated fund, which had in it nothing similar to the original grant, and, whatever may be the fate of Canada, would remain for ever chargeable upon the public. He conceived it would be much better to let the annuity intended for the Amherst family, come from the revenue the lands themselves.

Mr. *Canning* observed, that as a

agreed respecting the merits and important services of the late Lord Amherst, the only difference of opinion that could arise was on the question, would the public consent to purchase the grant of lands for the proposed annuity? Upon this subject he had no hesitation. He would not reduce the noble lord, the present representative, to the necessity of becoming an accountant for the produce of these lands over and above the grants, but should prefer this annuity as the mode most convenient to his lordship, and beneficial to the public.

Sir *W. Dolben* was in favour of the annuity, as he thought the dignity of the peerage, and the services of the late Lord Amherst, required that any representative of his, having a seat in the other House, should be secured in an income of 3000l. a-year for ever.

Mr. *Courtenay* said, that if this grant should, as proposed, be commuted for a pension, he hoped, that the House had reason to expect, that the same lands would not be granted away again The resolution was then agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

[NORTHERN LIGHTS.]——The House having resolved into a Committee on the report respecting the northern lights,

Sir *W Pulteney* moved a resolution for imposing duties to support the establishment of a light-house on the Black Rock in the north-western coast of Scotland. What he proposed, he said, was a mere trifle, being no more than 3d. per ton on every ship that passed and entered any of the ports of Scotland, allowing an indemnity to vessels employed on the Greenland whale fishery; which was agreed to, and ordered to be reported the next day.

[NATIONAL DEFENCE.]—The *Sec. at War* moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the bill for the general defence of the country; and on the question for the Speaker's leaving the chair,

The Marquis of *Titchfield* called the attention of the House to a circumstance upon which many gentlemen considered their character and honour to be involved. On a late occasion, when he happened not to be present in the House, he understood that the right hon. gent. (the Sec. at War) had said, speaking of the deficiencies in the numbers of the militia, that there was a scandalous and discreditable neglect in the enrolment of the regiments in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that it was owing to the misconduct of those who were appointed to carry the measure into effect. So far, the Marquis said, was this from being the case, that it entirely proceeded from the difficulty, as far as regarded the Middlesex militia, at least from the great difficulty of finding persons in this metropolis suited to that service. So sensible was he of this circumstance from former experience, that previously to the militia being ballotted, he had himself told the right hon. Sec. that the general laws of the militia system were quite inapplicable to the metropolis. He hoped the right hon. gent. would have the goodness to explain the ground upon which he made that statement, in order that, if well-founded, his Majesty might appoint persons better qualified than those that were now employed. He assured the House that he felt so much reluctance to address them, that if his own character only, as Lord Lieut. of this county, was at stake or implicated, he should feel rather disposed to pass it over in silence, but he could not act in the same way, feeling as he did for the honour and character of others. He conceived the public interest to require the explanation he requested, as nothing, he thought, could be more injurious to the public service than undeservedly to hurt and wound the feelings of an honest and meritorious set of gentlemen.

The *Sec. at War* expressed his regret at its having been believed that the expression of his, thus alluded to, was meant to convey any reflections on the characters of the noble Lords Lieutenants of the two counties. He certainly did, and was well-founded in saying, that there were great frauds and mismanagement in the militia departments of the two counties of Middlesex and Surrey, but he could never mean to impute these frauds to the Lords Lieutenants, or those who were higher in office. He recollected very well, that the noble marquis represented to him some time since, that the militia laws in force were not applicable to Middlesex. He then thought the noble lord mistaken in that opinion, and conceived that a remedy might be found in putting it under a new regulation; but in that he found himself disappointed, for the militia of Middlesex were then no better raised than it had been before. It was evident, therefore, that some other measure became necessary; but it was not within the exclusive department of the Secretary at war, nor could it be likely to prove effectual, unless devised in conjunction with the lord lieutenant and others.

The Marquis of *Titchfield* replied, that the explanation was satisfactory, as far as regarded himself personally, but he was much

more solicitous to ease the wounded feelings of the deputy lieutenants.

The House then resolved itself into the Committee, in which a variety of clauses were introduced. Among others was a clause for exempting the Judges of England and Scotland from the operation of the act.

The *Secretary at War* proposed a clause to the effect, that the persons comprized in the first class, who engaged to serve as volunteers, should be bound to march in case of invasion; and that all persons comprized in the other classes should remain, and continue to exercise, in the parishes till further orders. This clause was agreed to.

Tho next clause was, that if his Majesty ordered out any part of the subsequent classes, that it should be chosen by ballot.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, it would be more advantageous to have the ballot beforehand, than at the moment the men might be wanted.

Mr. *Pitt* suggested, that it was not possible that any more would be required to go out of the country, than those who were contained in the first class.

The *Secretary at War* said, the details as to the number and description of the men to be drawn out ought to be left to his Majesty. It was certain that the persons in the first class would be the first to assemble; but it was necessary to provide for a case which, though unlikely to happen, might happen.

The next clause was for training the men for 21 days at farthest, and not less than 14 days till the 25th of December next.

Colonel *Wood* wished, that men should be trained all the year round, as there was no knowing how long the alarm might last.

Mr. *Pitt* said, the object was, that the 20 days training should take place as early as possible. He thought 14 days would be too little, unless it was meant to be in addition to the Sundays. He thought it was not possible to train any number equal to the first class in the course of the present year. It would be much better to leave it to his Majesty.

The *Secretary at War* observed, that it was in his Majesty's discretion to give directions as to the period of training. In 14 days a man might learn all that was sufficient. It was not necessary to keep men longer exercising than just to give them the first rudiments.

Sir *W. Pulteney* remarked, that exercising men upwards of two hours at a time only tortured and wearied them, instead of facilitating their improvement.

Mr. *Courtenay* stated, that he remembered a regiment under Lord Howe, in the year 1756, which, consisting of raw recruits, in three weeks learnt its exercise, and was able to fire in platoons as well as the most experienced regiment; he saw it afterwards embark for America. He mentioned this to shew that 21 days were sufficient to learn people the use of arms. He often saw old regiments manœuvring, looking to the right and left, and figuring in and out like schoolmisses with French dancing masters, while young recruits, with very little instruction, became effective soldiers. If this bill was essentially carried into effect, it would make every man able to face the enemy.

The *Secretary at War* then brought up a clause, enacting, that persons earning their livelihood by daily labour should be paid 1s. for every day's attendance; and that the same should be reimbursed by the overseers of the poor, who should be reimbursed every month by the receiver-general, under the order of two justices of the peace.

Sir *W. Pulteney* thought this clause would be ruinous to the whole system. If such a principle of remuneration was once begun, it could not be withdrawn. He was therefore averse to there being any payment at all. He wished that people should come forth to exercise after their hours of labour were over. He recollected, that when the French fleet in the Channel were superior to ours, and there was a fear of invasion, the people exercised after their labour was over, and all they received was two-pence to drink. It was a proposition destructive of the whole system, for he was well persuaded the money must eventually come out of the public purse. He hoped the Committee would not listen for one moment to it.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he considered the adoption of the clause necessary to render the bill efficient for the present purposes of it. He did not mean to say, that men were to be paid when they were not taken from their labour. He had no wish that they should be remunerated for exercising on a Sunday. Referring to the employing of the people during the approaching hay and corn harvest, he was sure they could not devote themselves to 21 days exercise without taking so much time from their labour. In a future year, the payment proposed might be regulated, but at present it was a proposition of indispensible necessity.

Sir *W. Pulteney* said, that if such a precedent was laid down, it never could be departed from. We ought to make a struggle to avoid paying any thing; the service should be entirely voluntary.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he partly felt the force of the objection. With regard to Sun-

day, it would be travelling out of the question to talk of giving pay on that day, or in any case where the hour of exercise was not the hour of occupation. He thought the clause ought not to be general, because, undoubtedly, there were individuals who would wish to make a sacrifice of their time to the public. He was of opinion, that if words were introduced into the clause, limiting its operation to those who should require remuneration, the objection might be obviated, and he thought the officer ought to certify when the party exercised after the usual hours of labour. He was satisfied, that a people so full of the cause in which they were engaged, were capable of making whatever sacrifice might be necessary. The people of Ireland had willingly made that sacrifice, and nothing had ever occurred more to confirm them in habits of industry. As legislating for the public, he was of opinion, the remuneration ought to be given where it was required.

Mr. *Plumer* said, many men went to work at five in the morning, and continued till eight at night. If gentlemen thought a man, after such labour, could go to exercise with any degree of spirit, they were mistaken.

Mr. *Courtenay* observed, that those who were adverse to the clause, seemed to think that virtue was its own reward; but he believed men who rose at four o'clock, and worked all day, would have very little inclination to exercise for two hours afterwards, merely from a spirit of patriotism. When he looked up to the higher ranks, he did not perceive that they were fond of working gratuitously for the public. Much importance seemed to be attached to this splendid shilling. He thought it was a proper encouragement to men to give up their time. It was not very light labour, after an hard day's work, to handle a firelock for a couple of hours; and he was persuaded, if the hon. baronet tried his hand at it, he would not think himself very well paid at receiving only a shilling. It had been mentioned, that the people who exercised themselves upon an alarm of invasion, had received only two-pence; now. he recollected having read in the works of General Monk, that when men were lead on to dangerous enterprizes, it was necessary to give them a pot of beer. General Monk was a man of experience, and as he had said in his time, that every man, in a service of danger or trouble, should have a pot of beer, surely it was not too much to say, that they should now have a shilling to drink the King's health, and success to Old England. The precedent was not intended to apply to another year. It only referred to the present and ensuing harvest.

Mr. *Kinnaird* objected to allowing the 1s. *per* day, unless the men exercised 21 consecutive days.

Mr. *W. Smith* was of opinion, that 1s. a day might be too much at one period of the year, and too little at another.

Lord *Castlereagh* admitted, it might sometimes be more or less than a compensation; but no man was to receive it at any rate, unless he earned his bread by daily labour, and required it.

Mr. *Gyles* observed, that labourers in some parts of the country were hired for the month, and fed by their masters; consequently, if they exercised during the hours allotted to labour, the loss would be their masters', and not theirs. He thought the remuneration ought to be left to the discretion of the lords lieutenants.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he wished that the system of training might extend to 1,000,000 of men; and to talk of paying them a shilling a day, would be to impose a very heavy burthen upon the country. The price of labour was already rising in the country, but this plan would tend to make it rise still more; for if a man could get a shilling for exercising two hours, he would be apt to compare that remuneration with the profit of his whole day's labour. — The clause was agreed to.

The *Secretary at War* then proposed a clause, impowering sheriffs of counties to summon juries to ascertain the value of property appropriated to the public service, in cases where the owners should be dissatisfied with the compensation allowed by the lords lieutenants. The last clause proposed by the Sec. at War, was the schedule containing the form of the muster-roll.

Mr. *Tyrwhitt* brought up a clause giving the same powers to the lord warden and deputy warden of the Stannaries, as to lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants: and also another clause endowing them with the same military command in the stannaries, as lords and deputy lieutenants in the counties. —The House resumed, and the report was received and ordered to be taken into further consideration the next day.

[TAX ON PROPERTY.]—The order of the day was moved for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the property bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* trusted, the Committee would approve of the arrangement he meant to propose. He had a great number of clauses to submit, but it

was impossible they could be taken into consideration in the state they now were. It was his intention they should be engrafted in the bill, and that the bill should be reported and printed; but it would be recollected, that there were some amendments which could be made in a Committee. He therefore should propose, that after it was reported, it should be recommitted for the next day, and that it should then be amended, reported, and ordered to be taken into further consideration on Monday or Tuesday next.—The bill was accordingly reported with the clauses, and ordered to be taken into further consideration the next day.

[IRISH CANALS.]—Mr. *Bernard* called the attention of the House to a petition on the table from the grand jury of the King's county, respecting the tolls on the grand canal; he stated that a sum of 500,000l. was granted by the last Irish Parliament for the purpose of making canals, opening navigable rivers on reducing tolls, and purchasing exorbitant tolls on canals. That part of this money was so applied as to enable the Royal and Barrow Canal Company to lower their tolls very considerably, but that the tolls on the grand canal, which ran through almost the entire of the county which he had the honour to represent, had not derived any advantage from the grant, although the tolls were now so very exorbitant as to materially affect the trade of that county to Dublin. The county of Kildare and Queen's county are in some measure affected also by those exorbitant tolls. He had reason to expect that these counties would have presented similar petitions, otherwise he would have brought forward the subject at a much earlier period; at this late hour of the session, he should therefore only give notice of his intention to submit to the House some proposition on the subject early in the next session, if in the interim some measures should not be adopted by which those exorbitant tolls could be reduced; preparatory to which he thought it necessary to move, "that there be laid before the House an account of the manner in which the sum of £00,000l. granted by the last Parliament of Ireland for promoting the inland navigation of that country, had been disposed of."

Mr. *Corry* observed, that it was the intention of the lord lieutenant of Ireland to lay before the House the fullest information on the subject alluded to in the hon. gentleman's motion.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 22.

[MINUTES.]—Sir C. Pole brought up from the commons the Chatham Chest Bill and the Longitude Bill, which were read a first time.—The Highland Canal Bill was read a third time and passed.—The several bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The Prize Goods Bill, the Irish Justices Bill, the Irish Militia Families Bill, were committed, and the report ordered for Monday.—The Bill for erecting a light-house on Bell-Rock was brought in, pursuant to a resolution of the Committee. The Court Martial Witnesses Bill was committed. On account of a mistake which had crept into the Scotch Militia Bill, another Bill was introduced to correct it.—Mr. Dent presented a petition on behalf of the debtors confined in the jail of Lancaster. Ordered to lie on the table.—Bonding and Warehousing Bill read a first and second time.—Bill for repealing the present stamp duties on receipts and enacting others, read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 22.

The Additional Duty Bill on tea exported to Ireland went through a Committee, and the report was ordered for the next day. Also the Additional Duty Bill on quassia, etc. etc.

[PORT OF LONDON, &c.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee to consider so much of his Majesty's speech as relates to the accommodation to be afforded to merchants. Previous to the House resolving itself into the Committee, he moved, "that a copy of the second report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the best mode of improving the port of London be referred to the said Committee." The Speaker having left the chair, the right hon. gent. observed, that in moving to have the report he had alluded to laid before the present Committee, his wish was to shew that the plan he should now bring forward was grounded on that proposed and recommended by that Committee. Its object principally would be to adopt some intermediate system between that of free ports and the system of drawbacks. What he should have the honour to propose would, in his opinion, remove many of the inconveniences to which merchants and the revenue were exposed by those two systems. The system of free ports permitted the importation of goods duty free, and left it

at the pleasure and discretion of the owners to export them. Hence a variety of frauds might arise on the revenue. It was therefore scarcely possible that this system could be followed without limitation or control. The inconveniences of the other system were obvious, they affected individuals and the revenue. It was therefore desirous to adopt an intermediate system that might, as far as possible, steer clear of the disadvantages which attended the other two—a system which would guard against frauds on the revenue, while it afforded accommodation to mercantile transactions; a system that would protect the public revenue, without resorting to a rigour that was uncongenial to the spirit of our free constitution. Of the system he had in view, the country had already some experience, when two years ago it was applied to the articles of sugar, coffee, wine, &c. It then proved beneficial to the merchant, without injuring in any degree the public revenue. That experience afforded encouragement to extend the operation of this system, while the most perfect security would be afforded, both to the revenue and to the articles to which it would apply. These articles might be comprehended under five heads, and classed according to them in the bill. Under the first head would be comprised all articles of West-India produce; the second would comprehend tobacco, wine, brandy, &c. the third heavy and bulky articles, liable to pay a small duty; the fourth, such articles as required peculiar caution and care; the fifth, drugs, ingredients for dying, &c. which pay heavy duties: the whole to be deposited in warehouses approved of by government, and placed under the inspection of custom house officers. Some articles would be committed to the care of the proprietors, upon their first entering into a bond to secure the payment of the duties; and in all other cases where the articles to be warehoused required no particular attention, they must be deposited in the warehouses appointed by government, and placed under the superintendance of custom-house officers. Such a distinction the Committee would, no doubt, feel the necessity of. To the principle of this measure he could not imagine there would be started any objection; at least he did not think that a mode could be devised less liable to objection. In framing the measure, every source was applied to from which information could be derived. The most intelligent merchants had been consulted, and the opinion of the Revenue Board and the Board of Trade had been taken upon it. These propositions necessarily required much time and labour, and therefore prevented him from being able to bring forward the measure as early as he expected. The bill would, in the first instance, confine the benefits it held out to the city of London and the West-India Docks; but it would vest a power in the Privy Council to extend the licence to other ports on certain conditions. The licence would be granted only to such ports as carried on trade in the articles already enumerated to a just and reasonable extent, and which had docks, wharfs, &c. to afford the requisite accommodations for landing and warehousing such goods with security to the owners and to the revenue. From this power and discretion given to the Privy Council, no undue partiality or favour could be apprehended. The Privy Council would act under the inspection of Parliament, and any other check or guard, that could be suggested, for preventing any undue partiality, he should cheerfully attend to. Under these limitations and checks, it would be competent for the Privy Council to grant licences; nor shall it be necessary that the port soliciting such licence should trade in all the above mentioned articles. To trade in some of them to any considerable extent would be sufficient. Indeed, it may become necessary to extend the advantages of the bill to many articles which have not been enumerated. But the Lords of the Treasury have not the power of making such an extension without the previous approbation of the Revenue Board, and the subsequent sanction of the Privy Council. Neither should any extension to other articles affect the accommodation that has already been granted to some merchants in some particular articles: that accommodation will remain as before. Should the principle be not objected to, as he ventured to hope it would not, he trusted the House would allow the bill to be brought in immediately: what objections might be urged against it would come best in the Committee. He hoped, therefore, the bill might be permitted to pass as rapidly as possible through its first stages; that it might then be printed; and after the interval of a few days, to be again considered and discussed. By limiting the bill in the first instance to the port of London, a variety of useless questions and discussions would be obviated, which would naturally be indulged in by those gentlemen who were more particularly connected with other ports; but that limitation would be no obstacle to extending the benefit of the bill to those ports also, where it should appear that they pos-

sessed the claims requisite for obtaining that indulgence. The right hon. gent. concluded with moving, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient to permit certain goods to be warehoused without paying the duties.

General *Gascoyne* did not rise to oppose the measure, as the right hon. gent. seemed to expect. On the contrary, he approved of it highly as far as it went. He was only sorry that it had not been brought forward somewhat sooner, and he feared that some alarm might arise from applying it exclusively to the port of London. Something of that alarm did exist in his mind, but came rather from the apprehensions of those who might be affected by the measure, than from any opinion he entertained that it would operate to their prejudice. He trusted sufficient time would be allowed for the parties whom it may concern maturely to examine it. Until the out ports were acquainted with the nature and tendency of the bill, he should with-hold any observation upon it.

Sir *William Elford* anxiously hoped that the benefit of the bill would be extended as fairly and as generally as possible, and that even the appearance of partiality might be studiously avoided; it would benefit not only the public, but also individuals, whom it would enable to extend their capital: all he should now ask was, whether government was to furnish the warehouses to which the privilege was to be granted, or whether they were to be provided by the individuals who solicited the indulgence?

Mr. *Vansittart* observed, that individuals were to furnish the warehouses, which should be approved of by government.

Mr. *Hutchinson* was anxious to know if the benefit of the bill might not be extended to Ireland?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that government did not intend that the bill should now extend to Ireland. Before it could be extended to Ireland, much investigation must take place, and much information be obtained, respecting the particular trade of the ports of Ireland. He felt with the hon. gent. how desirous it was to communicate these commercial advantages to Ireland; but he could not, for the reasons he already alluded to, now attempt to extend the bill to that part of the united empire.

Mr. *Vansittart* reminded the hon. gent. that his right hon. friend (Mr. Corry) had already given notice of his intention to introduce a similar bill for Ireland.—The question was then put and agreed to; and the House being resumed, the report was brought up, the resolution agreed to, and the bill ordered pursuant to the same.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The General Defence Bill was read a third time; after which the following clauses were brought up: a clause allowing persons who had more than one place of residence, to be enrolled in which they should prefer; a clause providing, that in case persons enrolled should, during the hours of training, misconduct themselves, they should be imprisoned a week, or fined five shillings; and a clause reserving the rights of the city of London.

Mr. Alderman *Coombe* said, he could not with-hold his approbation of the respect which had been shewn for the charter of the city of London, but at the same time he hardly thought such a clause necessary, for in his opinion the bill did not tend to invade them, or the rights of the citizens. The bill did not force them to go to war, but only to put themselves in a better state for their own defence, in case the necessity for their exertions occurred. He approved highly of the bill, but thought the exemptions it contained might be prejudicial. Every man in the country ought to go forth when the exercise of the King's prerogative called upon him. There ought to be no exemption, but on the ground of inability. From one end to the other, the city of London were not only ready, but anxious to know how they could come forward with most effect. If there was any apprehension, it arose from the probability of embarrassment, by the myriads the city would pour out. In every ward, parish, and street, the people were waiting with impatience till his Majesty should point out the means of organising their courage.—A clause was proposed for allowing those whose religious scruples made them averse to exercising on a Sunday, soliciting any other day, but restraining them from receiving pay.——The last clause brought up was for granting to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports the same power as Lords Lieutenants of counties.——A short conversation took place relative to the allowance of one shilling to persons exercising; after which the question was put that the bill should pass.

Colonel *Craufurd* observed, that he had already expressed some strong opinions as to the necessity of increasing the numbers of the regular army. Those opinions were not changed by any thing that had since taken place, nor did he mean in the smallest degree to retract them; on the contrary, he felt himself justified in supporting them.

But lest he should be supposed to under-rate the exertions made by the government for the safety of the country, he thought it necessary to state, that no man in the House felt more than he did the immense importance of this bill: he believed government never had proposed, or Parliament adopted, a measure more calculated to produce the effect intended by it. He did not doubt, that, if it pleased God to crown the efforts of the navy with success, so as to prevent the invasion till the period when the bill should be carried into effect, it would place the country in such an attitude of strength as would defy the universe—a state in which, should the whole world attack us, it would not be able to conquer us. He attached much importance to the co-operation our large army would receive from his countrymen in arms. He had concurred in the wish that the whole population of the country should be in arms; and, therefore, no man ever gave a vote with greater satisfaction than he did on this occasion. But, exclusive of the general advantages of arming, he conceived it was a mere measure attended with a moral advantage. The advantage he meant was, that it confirmed the truth of the language used by different gentlemen in the House. It was that language which had produced the effect of arming the country. It was the language of this bill that convinced them they were to be invaded by a powerful enemy, roused them to take up arms, and proclaim that they would not be conquered by all the enemies in the world. The people naturally said, if the danger was exaggerated, why have recourse to an army of 400,000 men? If we were not in a state of comparative weakness with reference to France, why increase the regulars by 40,000 men, and raise an army of 400,000 men? Such extraordinary measures justified those persons who had been stated to have held out desponding language; they had roused the people to a sense of their danger. He had been much misrepresented; he had been supposed to have held out, that this country had no alternative but submission to the enemy, and that such arguments had been used in order to ground an excuse for patching up a dishonourable peace. He never entertained an idea of peace with France. He thought that, under the circumstances of the times, his Majesty's ministers were entitled to the thanks of the country for the Treaty of Amiens. When they undertook to conduct the affairs of the kingdom, the crisis was a very difficult one, and they had displayed an uncommon degree of vigour and energy. The peace they made was the best that could be made. In any sentiment he had at any time expressed, nothing was further from his mind, than that we should make a peace inconsistent both with the honour and dignity of the country. Now we could make no peace unless standing on the highest ground. Since the hour France said that England could not single-handed contend with her, peace had become impossible. Had she said so before the treaty of Amiens, we should not have made peace with her, without inserting in the face of the treaty, that single-handed we could contend with her. We must now convince the whole world we were able to do so. He trusted it would please God to avert the invasion till our measures of defence were complete, when we should have nothing to fear. However, as we must, for some time to come, be in a state of comparative weakness, he lamented that more prompt measures had not been taken for carrying the old regular army of the country to the highest extent, for he was convinced that it was to that force we must ultimately look for the defence of the country. Every measure that, in a military point of view, was the best, ought to be taken; he therefore lamented that the measures for extending the regular army had not been more prompt and vigorous. It had been said, he had avoided mentioning the danger of the enterprize, when he talked of 60,000 Frenchmen landing, and marching to London—— that he had totally set aside the danger of the winds and tides, and supposed a thing that never could happen. When the plan of defence was opened, he listened with satisfaction to that part of the speech of the Sec. at War, in which he admitted the possibility of an embarkation of 50,000, after 50,000 should have been drowned in the passage. For his own part he had only talked of drowning 30,000. He had been told that he had not taken into account any of the difficulties that would necessarily occur, and that he was supposing an impossible event. The conclusion he drew from this was, that the same thing said in this House by different people was taken differently, for the embarkation of 50,000 men was considered as impossible, when the impossibility was asserted by the Sec. at War. He did experience the most heartfelt satisfaction at this bill having been brought in; if carried into execution with promptitude, it would, with some other arrangements, which, no doubt, government would have recourse to, place us in a state of perfect security. It struck him, that instructing the people who should be enrolled merely for the present,

would, if the measure was not extended to an effective armament, fall short of what was necessary. He did not think that government, having recourse to private arms, would be productive of any good. Those who came into the field with private arms would come with a small stock of ammunition, which might be fired away in a day; besides, their arms would be without that weapon, in the use of which the English particularly excelled—it would be unprovided with a bayonet. He observed, that it was proposed to exercise only the first class. Perhaps it would contain as great a number as might be required; but there were some parts of the country where it might be necessary to arm more than the first class. He was of opinion, that if ten thousand Frenchmen landed at any place, and they were opposed by five thousand regulars, assisted by the whole mass of the people, they would be driven in the sea again. There was a species of arms to the use of which the peasants were peculiarly adapted; he had seen them used with great vigour upon an unfortunate occasion in a neighbouring country, where he never again should see them so used—the arms he meant were pikes. Those who felt themselves the boldest young men would be in the pike corps; it would give a pledge that they would charge the enemy; they would know they could not be of use till they met the enemy. He was present at a charge of the Irish peasants, armed with pikes at Newross, and he had occasion to admire their courage. They came close to their opponents, and their attack was of a very formidable nature. He was sure the English peasants would make the same sort of attack when fighting for their country, their families, and independence. He should be happy to see the arming extended to the whole population. With all the advantages we might possess by carrying the present measure into effect, yet, if an invasion should take place, we should not be safe unless we had recourse to other measures, which military art pointed out. If 60 or 70,000 French troops should land, we should be in danger of having the fate of the capital decided by a battle. What would be the extent of the mischief, should a French army take London? There were those in the House who might calculate the mischief—he thought it unnecessary—it was too obvious. But even the very disgrace of an event taking place, against which the odds are three hundred to one, ought to operate as a reason for urging us to defend ourselves to that point when we could say—man can do no more under God than to prevent the greatest city in the world from falling into the hands of the enemy. It would be such a disgrace to a great nation like this to have it said, there was even a chance of taking the capital, that we ought to go on till we could say the military art can do no more; we must trust to God and our own exertions. He thought we were far short of this point. He had a very great respect for the opinion of a noble baronet opposite to him, (Sir W Erskine) who certainly had spoken like an Englishman and a soldier; but he was of opinion that an army of 60,000 landing at different points, might push on so near the capital, that a single battle might decide the fate of it. The most certain means of preventing this would be to increase the regulars, and to have recourse to the fortifying art. The first measure necessary was to increase the regular troops. He did not wish to say any thing to the prejudice of the militia in favour of the regular troops; but he would ask the hon. baronet he had already referred to, whether, if he was going to attack fifty thousand French troops, he would prefer regulars or militia regiments? It was a long time before new regiments could be formed. When a new regiment was made, it was a long while before it became a good regiment. It might consist of brave and good irregulars. For these reasons, he regretted that measures were not adopted for reducing the militia force to the proportion which it ought to bear to the regular army, for the defence of the country. The militia ought not to be more than one-third of the force of the regular army. If the militia colonels were to give their assistance, the regiments of the line might all be completed. There were some regiments that had not above 150, others 6 or 700 men. He would carry every one of those regiments to its full complement. The regiments of the line contained that which constituted the excellence of the army, the very soul of the army, if he might so express it. He had been misunderstood when he was supposed to have been talking of the Austrian regiments as machines. He felt that it was a measure of necessity to have recourse to the militia to fill up the regiments of the line, and he was convinced we had the means of doing it. If the militia colonels were disposed to co-operate with government, we might have 20,000 trained men of the militia in the course of a month. The present, however, he considered an energetic measure. He thought the army of reserve was not made use of in the best way it might have been. If the regiments of the line were carried to 1200, we might

in a few weeks have an army of old regiments. In fact, we should have an army that would be able to contend with any enemy that should land in the vicinity of the capital. Without having recourse to the measures he had alluded to, he thought we were in the most imminent danger of London falling into the hands of the enemy. If 50,000 landed and pushed forward, and a battle took place, in which the French were victorious, it would be impossible to collect another army time enough to prevent their taking possession of the capital. He had never said that England would be conquered by London's being taken, but he believed it would place the country in the most disastrous situation any country ever was placed in, without being conquered. These were his opinions; he had expressed them only to induce the House to make every possible exertion for increasing the army by the most prompt and military measures. Even when this was done, he should not be satisfied. If this bill was carried into effect, and something further was done for increasing the regular army, he should still think we had not done enough, while the military art afforded resources for doing more, till we had done all that was possible in order to prevent a defeat, from throwing the capital into the hands of an enemy. While any thing was left undone, we ought to proceed—it was impious to fall short. He had risen to blame no man, but to give his opinion. If he was asked why he had not brought these observations forward in former stages of the bill, all he had to answer was, that he had no reason to suppose his opinion would have influenced his Majesty's government, or that they would have been induced to have adopted what he recommended; he should not even have expressed his opinion of the army of reserve, had he not found that it was proposed to raise 40,000 by ballot. He knew, he said, that it was not customary to occupy much of the attention of that House upon the details of such professional subjects, as he was desirous to treat of: but at a time when the country was called upon to fight for its existence, he thought some small portion of time might as well be employed upon military topics, as whole days frequently upon commercial and other subjects. The first thing he would advert to was, that since the alarm of invasion became so general, he observed that every thing had been done in the way of fortifications. This he considered to be a very material branch of defence; nothing could be done in it in the usual way of contractors, or by any other mode than as a great national work, in which his Majesty should be empowered to compel as many persons to work as may be sufficient, provided that it did not take away so many hands from agriculture, as to be likely to produce a famine, and that it did not materially interfere with the other military services. With regard to the manufactures, he said, that on such an occasion he made little account of them; for when the country was in danger of invasion, it was a very subordinate consideration that the manufactures should be suspended; and in such an extremity he thought agriculture itself was little more than a secondary consideration. He did not know whether his Majesty did or did not already possess the power alluded to, but if he did not, it should be immediately given to him, at least all the workmen about London and its vicinity should be immediately set to work. He knew that in this country there existed a strong prejudice against fortifications, as the people were more disposed to look for security from that frontier which God had given them. Viewing the state of the nation, however, as a military man, he saw four objects upon fortifications should be erected without further delay. First, for the security of our naval and military depôts. He perceived in some gentlemen, he said, a kind of apprehension, as if he was about to proceed indiscriminately, but he assured them that he should not utter a syllable which could tend to give the enemy any kind of information. Perhaps it may not be in his power to give them any, for there was less secrecy in these things than people imagined. It had been said by a very competent authority, that it was not right to have a secret which the enemy may not know, and he confessed that he could scarcely imagine any other secrecy than what was required on the day or night before a battle, such as where the attack was to commence, or the great effort was to be employed in something connected with the arrangement for the action. All the nations of Europe were long since perfectly well acquainted with the topography of each others country, and what were the most advantageous points both of offensive and defensive operations. As a proof that all the points of this country were very accurately known, he stated, that when he was Resident Commissary with the Austrian army, in the year 1799, the Archduke Charles sent him a plan, taken from the pocket of a French officer, for a descent upon England. On examining that plan, he observed it contained a projet for a march from the coast in four columns to unite in the me-

tropolis, which it proposed to gain possession of; and in it all the points and lines were so distinctly and accurately laid down, that on riding over the same places since, he was thoroughly convinced that it could never have been so exactly traced by any man who had not gone over, and carefully examined the ground in a military manner. Another plan, at the same time, was drawn up, and as it should seem, also, upon the spot, by a brother of Marshal Broglio. In fact, the plans and memoirs, on the best mode of invading England, were undouhtedly innumerable, and there was no part of the island which had not been explored and examined by the enemy from time to time with the utmost degree of minuteness. General Custine, who made a great figure in one part of the French revolution, employed himself in the same manner. He had some knowledge of that man, a stupid fellow he thought him too; and having, in the early part of his military education, met with him at one of the Prussian reviews, Custine had the impudence to tell him that he had been in England, and when an accurate surveyor had drawn up a plan for the invasion of the country, the business, in fact, was very easily accomplished. For instance, he made no doubt but the works at Dover were as well attended to as at any other place, and yet when he happened to be there some time ago, and had the curiosity to inspect them, though they did not know him, they asked no other question, than whether he was an Englishman; and on his answering in the affirmative, suffered him to go on with his observations without further notice. Some time since also he passed over to Calais, to observe how they were going on there, and on riding a little way from the town, he observed something like a block-house, which he was not allowed to visit. It could not but strike him as a singularity at the time, that so much vigilance should be observed in France, which never was in less danger of invasion, and so little in England, which was daily threatened with it. In addition to this, he observed additional fortifications erecting all along his ride from Calais to Boulogne. He then reverted to his objects of fortification —1st. To secure the depôts naval and military;—2d. To prevent the enemy from landing;—3d. To obstruct their progress when landed:—and, 4th. Fortifications for the defence of the metropolis. He was as well aware as any man, that it would be impossible to fortify the whole line of the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland, in any length of time, or at any expense however enormous. He pledged himself, that the whole coast, from Yarmouth Roads to the Downs, might be sufficiently fortified by a national exertion, as quickly as the other mode of national defence, and in time could be rendered effectal; that is, within one or two months at the farthest. This he acknowleged to be a strong assertion, but it was one that he would abide by; nor would he yield up his own opinion to any authority whatever. He spoke from some knowledge of a profession which he had assiduously studied for four-and-twenty years. He hoped he had not studied it altogether to no purpose, nor was it frompersonal vanity he now mentioned that a man of the highest military reputation, the Marquis Cornwallis, offered to make him Quarter-master general in Ireland, when he was but a very young lieutenant, which he would not have thought of were he ignorant of his profession. If therefore he was wrong, let those who thought so censure him; but let him not be answered by any one's saying, he was talking about what he did not understand. The position was, that in two months the coast from Yarmouth Roads to the South Foreland may be securely fortified; and if any naval gent. thought his assertion too extravagant, he would first confess to him, that he could not calculate tides, winds and eddies, and in his turn would take the liberty of asking that naval gent. whether he would say, "make yourself easy on that head, we will protect you?" He was sure none of them would undertake so much, but would content themselves with admitting, why such a thing as invasion may happen, notwithstanding all our exertion. Under these circumstances we should take the same measures of combating the enemy by land, as if we were sure of their landing; and if the fortifications he spoke of were completed, all the preparations going on in the ports of Holland would be good for nothing. If the fleet they were getting ready should attempt to get round they must be dispersed, and this fortification would oblige them either to attempt going round, or else stay at home; they could not attempt or expect to get into the Streights of Dover, and would therefore be useless. It was further to be observed, that all the harbours west of Calais were only one-tide harbours, which no large ships could come out of. If they came into the outside port one tide, and waited for another to take them out, they must be destroyed, as by that time our fleet would be upon them; and in fact the effect of this fortifying operation would be, that the fate of London would not depend

upon the event of a single battle. In addition to all this, he added, that by the same great national effort, it would not require a great deal more time to fortify the coast from the Downs to Portsmouth. The fortification he proposed from the Downs to Yarmouth was not, in one case, the same thing as arming one side of a fortress; for, by securing ourselves in that impregnable quarter, we should have an opportunity of turning our whole force to the defence of every other. The point we had to consider was, that of impeding the enemy's march to the metropolis. The enemy would take several lines, by which they might advance to London as a centre. Against this he would propose to interfere a principal semicircular line, and behind that draw lines of communication, which would enable us to manœuvre with more rapidity behind our principal line, and to cross that of the enemy. All the principal points in these lines should be immediately fortified, which would cause the enemy the trouble and delay of assaulting and taking them before they could proceed. Accurate plans should be drawn and preserved of all these positions for a variety of reasons. He was far from saying, that the military affairs of this country were misconducted, but in that House he must speak very freely as a member of Parliament. He would have the plan so minute as to point out every hedge which might be cut down for the purpose of giving scope to the expeditions of our cavalry. To obviate any objection to his plan, he said, that if it came too late, he had only to observe, that the other plan would be too late also. If the enemy should come before the plan should be carried into effect, we should lose nothing but some money, by making the attempt; should it be adopted, he should have the hopes of doing much good; should it be rejected, he had the consolation to reflect that he had done his duty. Should he be asked why he did not propose it before, he should answer that he was too insignificant, and did not suppose government would pay any attention to his suggestions; but had he observed such a measure proposed in that House, he should then very readily have given his opinion on it. He thought it would be of the highest consequence to this country that in the present crisis a military council should be established for the direction of the most important operations at this arduous crisis. He paid many compliments to the illustrious Commander in Chief, and the excellent officers by whom he was surrounded; but they were too much occupied in their official situations to examine every plan that should be laid before them; and, if they did not approve it altogether, take such ideas as were good, and out of a number of plans, make out one which might approach perfection. In justification of such a measure, he represented the great advantage which the French had in the Military Council, consisting of Carnot, and other scientific men, who directed most of the successful operations in the course of the last war, He had himself, he said, prepared a military memoir, which he should be very glad to submit to such a council as he described, and he knew that many other officers were in a similar situation. But were he to deliver it now, none of the present officers, though excellent judges, he confessed, could possibly spare sufficient time to examine it. A right hon. gent. (the Secretary at War) had said, on a former occasion, that any military changes should be deferred to more quiet times; but he on the contrary maintained, that if they were good for any thing this was the very time to adopt them. The only military objection he ever heard against fortifications was, that they absorbed a greater number of troops than could be spared for them; but if there was any thing in that objection, it must be removed by the measure lately resorted to; for every one acquainted with fortifications must know, that if there were men enough, they require but very few regular troops to defend them, as the greatest part of the works could be as well performed by peasants, as far as merely regarded the defence of them.

The *Secretary at War* replied, that he was neither able nor willing to follow the right hon. gent. through the whole range of his military description; but though he was no military man, he should think himself highly blameable if he had not, at least, made some iuquiries into the subject. He was glad to hear the hon. officer speak in such high commendation of the character of the Commander in Chief, and the officers by whom he was surrounded, which was the more necessary, as his speech betrayed so much want of confidence, and seemed to accuse them before Parliament of a neglect of their duty. He perfectly agreed with him, he said, in most, but not all of his observations, and lamented that so little attention was paid in this country to the art of fortification; though, since the year 1796 or 1797, great improvements had been made upon that system, and he hoped would be continued. What had been done had satisfied many persons, but it did not sa-

tisfy the hon. gent. nor was he surprised at it. He had the honour of knowing him a long time, and was well enough acquainted with his character to be satisfied that what one great officer said of another, may be well applied to him,—*Magnum refert non quod vult, sed ut quod vult valeat.* He then proceeded to describe the constitution of the quarter-master general's office, which he said was so distributed as to embrace every thing connected with the military service. If the hon. officer went to that office he would find that there were departments in it where all plans of the nature he alluded to were minutely drawn out, and accurately considered, and that inquiries would, perhaps, have saved the hon. officer the trouble of giving the House such an able military lecture. He agreed with him, that the French were very well acquainted with this country; but by no means so well as with other countries of Europe, and very little, as it appeared, with the character of the people. The hon. gent. advised to fortify London; he, on the contrary would say, "*You ought not to fortify London.*" When we had a fleet, containing 80,000 men, and such an army as never before was heard of in this country, *it would be a libel and disgrace to the people to think of fortifying their metropolis. Before they talked of fortifying London, they ought to wait till some of the enemy's boats actually made their appearance in our roads,* though he did not absolutely deny the possibility, or practicability, of their coming over in considerable force. But as to the effect of such an attempt, though he sincerely esteemed the high professional abilities of the hon. officer, he did not know that, in the English service, he had ever been engaged in any combined operations of the army and navy, so as to give him any superior means of judging of the dangers of debarkations. There were three reasons why he should not attempt to follow the arguments of the hon. gent.: 1st, Because, not being a military man, he was not able to do it; 2d. Because the hon. officer did not disapprove of the bill; and 3d. Because he approved of many of his observations. Though discussions of this kind were not very usual in Parliament, he would make some allowances for them at a time when men's minds were so much occupied by such subjects; but he must remind the hon. gent. that there had been many other great military officers, who abstained always from such discussions, as thinking them better subjects for representation to the Executive Government, than for parliamentary lectures; and the more so, as in that House they could have no practical effect whatever. He then contended that several parts of the former speech went upon misconceptions that there was a *dépôt* in the quarter-master general's office for the preserving and examining of memoirs and military plans, &c. He still insisted that quiet times were the fittest for making changes—*in pace para bellum*, and not when the hostile armies were, as it were, drawn up in the face of each other.

Mr. *Pitt.*—It is not my intention, Mr. Speaker, to trouble the House at any considerable length, but I cannot avoid submitting a few observations upon what fell from the hon. officer (Col. Craufurd), and from my right hon. friend (the Sec. at War). Much, Sir, of what has fallen from the gallant officer is entitled to great attention, and entirely meets my approbation; but I must observe, that these considerations are not now for the first time introduced. With regard to the best means of national defence, such as a selection of the great leading posts, an examination of the most effectual means of operation to resist the progress of an enemy if he had landed; upon all these points, though perhaps much may remain to be done, yet certainly government is not without ample foundation of information upon this subject, which has been long since obtained, and which I hope is every day increasing. It is impossible but that considerations of this kind must have occurred to government formerly: for though the danger of invasion was never so imminent or so pressing in the last war as it is at present; though the enemy had not then so long an opportunity of fixing his attention to this one object, that is to say, the destruction of this country, without being disturbed by the danger of continental attack; though the scale of action, which was found necessary at that period, can be no criterion of the degree of preparation which is now necessary; yet even then it could not be supposed that his Majesty's ministers, in their general superintendence of the defensive means of the country, which was all that belonged to the civil servants of the crown, or that the illustrious personage who fortunately for the country then presided and now presides over the military department, that the variety of very able generals who had commands in the different districts of the kingdom, did not turn their most serious attention to a subject of such infinite importance as that of securing the kingdom against the possibility of foreign invasion, and to adopt such means as, with the force the country then possessed, would secure the defeat of any enterprise

which might be attempted. There is hardly one military district in the kingdom of which the government have not at this moment in its possession ample memorials, prepared a considerable time before the termination of the late war, under the auspices of the illustrious commander in chief of his Majesty's land-forces, containing a minute statement of the various points of resistance which are to be found on the coasts, and also all the intermediate points of military defence between the different coasts and the capital. Ministers, I know, have now in their possession similar reports with regard to those counties which contain the great naval arsenal of the kingdom. They have also memorials upon the very subject alluded to by the hon. gent. [Colonel Craufurd), that of protecting the mouths of our harbours, and particularly that of the mouth of the *Humber*; and, what I think of more importance still, though more remote, I mean the defence of *Newcastle*, which, from its connexion with the wants of the capital, is obviously of such importance, that it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon it. It is hardly necessary, Sir, to recal to the recollection of the House, the names of the gallant officers who had the commands of the different districts in the last war; but if I do state them, it must be immediately seen that in such hands it was utterly impossible that the best means of providing for the national security should not have been maturely discussed and arranged. It will be recollected, that in the course of the last war we had the advantage of the talents of Sir Charles Grey, who commanded in the North. In the southern districts we had the advantage, at one period of the war at least, of all the suggestions of the Duke of Richmond; of whom, whatever differences of opinion may be entertained on some points, yet, with respect to the accuracy of his researches, the length of his experience, and to the extensiveness of his knowledge, there can be no difference of opinion. Besides these officers, we had General Dundas, who, from his situation, had the means of extending his views over all the districts. During a period of the war also, the Marquis Cornwallis had the command, besides many other very able officers, whom it is not now necessary to enumerate. Having the benefit of such assistance and distinguished military talents, it is impossible to suppose that we had not at that time a great mass of military information, and which must furnish ample and abundant foundation for the officers now employed to work upon; when we have all these means of information, I cannot suppose but that we must have also the means of bringing forward whatever may be considered as necessary to improve the defence of the country. I have already admitted, that although much has been done, still much material improvement may be ingrafted upon these plans which have been already procured. I hope and trust they will experience new improvements from day to day; that they will receive new forms and consistency; that ministers will not stop short until they have arranged a scheme of national safety, that shall for ever set to rest the vaunts and threats of a foe, whose ambition knows no limits, and whose spirit of insolence and aggression knows no end. There are many changes that may be made, there are many improvements that may be adopted at a proper period, but there are many of them such as I should not think it prudent to attempt in the course of this contest, and at a time so pregnant with danger. I cannot here, Sir, avoid, for my own satisfaction, making a few observations upon some of the advantages which the army has reeeived from the indefatigable attention of the illustrious Person now at its head, combined with the measures which have been adopted by Parliament: I think we may be said to have laid the foundation of means to obtain intelligent officers. We have laid the foundation of military education, and instruction, not only for young men who may enter into that profession, but even for communicating information to men of long standing and high rank in the army, who, much to their honour, have eagerly availed themselves of this opportunity of perfecting their military education. The advantages arising from the military academies do not now rest on calculation or prediction; they have been felt and experienced; the study of a few months has made many officers almost proficients in the details of war: many officers who in Egypt gave the most splendid proof, not only of their courage, but also of their military skill, had the advantage only of a few months' instruction in that military academy. —We have, besides, laid the foundation of a great and regular army: we have provided another most extensive force to support that army. I am ready to admit to the hon. officer (Col. Craufurd), that our regular army is not quite so great as we could wish in this country, but we have provided means for augmenting it to a degree much greater than was ever known in this country; and in addition to all this, we are now providing an immense irregular force, the advantages to be derived from which, are admitted and

confirmed by the honourable officer himself, and which are indeed too obvious to be disputed by any one. As far, therefore, as relates to the description and to the extent of our force, parliament has provided means, which to the honourable officer himself (cautious, honourably cautious, and anxious as he is for the safety of his country (appears sufficient to place this country in a state of absolute safety. All this is undoubtedly matter of great consolation; but at the same time it will not justify us in diminishing our anxiety, or in relaxing our efforts, for its completion, because there must remain some interval before all these plans are completely arranged and organised, and brought to that state of perfection at which I hope they will, however, soon arrive; but even supposing that all the measures which I have stated were brought to perfection, still it would not dispense us from the necessity of adopting other means of defence, particularly in two points of view. Suppose all the objects attained at this moment, yet the foundation of our security would not be these objects, however completely attained; against the arduous and most desperate struggle in which we may be engaged, all these kinds of strength can only give us this kind of security, that if we are not wanting to ourselves, that if we have not forgotten our national character, but remember who we are, and what we are contending for, the contest will be glorious to us, and must terminate in the complete discomfiture of the enemy, and ultimate security to this kingdom: but if there remain any measure, by the adoption of which our safety be yet rendered, not only more certain, perhaps, but more easy, by which our defence can be secured with less effusion of blood, less anxiety of mind, less interruption of the industry of the nation, less (I will not say of alarm, but) of the evils, the inconveniences, the agitation that necessarily belongs to a great struggle of this kind, however short, or however certain its issue may be; in a contest of such a nature it certainly would be most unwise to run any hazard of protracting it, or to neglect any means of shortening it still more if possible; if, upon these grounds, I say, it can be pointed out to me that there are any means by which our regular army could be immediately increased, and all our regiments completed, I should say that, although we are safe with it, yet our interest, our prosperity, and every object that can influence us, would require that it should be adopted. Much, however, as I should rejoice in seeing that object attained, and much as I am inclined to attend to the knowledge and experience of the hon. officer (Col. Craufurd, whose plan it was to take the militia at once into the regulars), I cannot bring my mind to concur in the plan which he has proposed for the attainment of that object; I cannot think of so deranging our immediate system of defence, if there were no other objections to it: I cannot think of breaking in upon the spirit of the militia as it now stands, for the purpose of transferring them into the regular army. I know that the privates in the militia feel, in common with the rest of their countrymen, the value of the sacred object for which they are to contend; that they are anxious to have an opportunity of shewing that they would not give place to any other troops in his Majesty's service in the ardour of their devotion to their country; but I know, at the same time, it is impossible to divest men of feelings and motives by which they have been long actuated, and I know that if a measure of this kind was adopted, from the partiality and affection which the officers bear towards the men whom they have trained, and have long had under their command, they would suffer mutual regret in being separated. I should be sorry if there was one militia officer who did not feel proud in having his troops complete, and making his corps vie with the best disciplined troops in his Majesty's service. As such then are their feelings, in the same proportion must be their reluctance to see these men transferred from their officers into other regiments. I think I may venture to assert, that if you take a number of Englishmen under the command of proper officers, and with a proper degree of discipline, they must and will, especially when under the superintendance of regular generals, and mixed with regular troops, furnish for the present occasion a force so great, so respectable, and so useful, that it would be very unwise to hazard the making it less so, either by reducing their number, or by wounding their feelings; by making them think worse of themselves by your shewing that you thought worse of them; by making an invidious comparison between different kinds of troops; and by creating that worst of all feelings, a rivalship tinctured with animosity. The hon. officer, however, not only wishes for this strong measure with regard to the militia, but calls upon the militia officers to do that which must naturally be highly repugnant to their feelings, viz. to give their aid in transferring over to regiments of the line, those men on whose discipline they had bestowed so much pains: this is a sacrifice

that can hardly be expected; but even if it could, there are other arguments against the adoption of this plan, the weight of which I am sure the hon. officer will, upon reflection, admit. In the first place, the danger is immediate, and the measure now proposed is one that must take up some time in its operation, and during that time the discipline of the corps must be necessarily loosened; and therefore I very much doubt whether, in such a pressing danger, the remedy suggested by the hon. gent could be with safety adopted. I confess that the measures which have lately been adopted by Parliament, have in my mind taken off very much of the weight of the arguments which have been drawn from the necessity of augmenting the army of the line, by transferring the militia into it. Because, means have already been taken for increasing the army of the line very considerably, by means less violent and less grating to the feelings of individuals than that now proposed. By placing a large proportion of the 40,000 men that are to be raised as the army of reserve in Great Britain, with regiments of the line; by permitting such of them as think proper, to enter into the regulars for general service; parliament certainly has done much to increase the regular army, and to preclude them from the necessity of adopting the rough and hazardous experiment which the hon. gent. recommends. Undoubtedly much will depend on the fullest use being made of the power which has been given to fill up regiments of the line, by means of the army of reserve. I certainly feel, as I ought to do, great distrust of my own opinion upon military subjects and I always state those opinions with great deference; but I believe that it is universally admitted by all officers, that new recruits poured into an old corps which has a number of experienced officers, will much sooner acquire a knowledge of discipline and become good soldiers, than they will if they are left in a corps by themselves, whatever pains may be taken in their instruction. Taking that as an established point, I was therefore surprised and dispappointed when I heard my right hon. friend, the Sec. at War, instead of proposing to diffuse the 40,000 men of the army of reserve over the 39 or 40 battalions that are in England, in which case they would have all the advantage of all the officers of those old corps: instead of this he talks of dividing them among thirteen battalions, by which means all the advantage which they would derive from the instruction of a great number of old and experienced officers would be very much diminished. I know it may be said that the commissions in the army of reserve will in a great degree be filled up from the half-pay list, which certainly contains a great number of officers perfectly well qualified to instruct and discipline any men placed under their command. But, in the first place, it must be recollected, that the half-pay list would not furnish any non-commissioned officers, who are certainly the most essential in training raw recruits; but there is another consideration which strikes my mind, and which I believe has not yet been suggested to the House. Our situation in point of security will certainly be improved by the adoption of the measure which is now before us; but it must be recollected, that while it improves, it alters our situation: if we had voted only the army of reserve, undoubtedly it might be filled with able and experienced officers from the half-pay list; but we must recollect, that in addition to the army of reserve, we have voted an army of between three and four hundred thousand men. That we shall have no difficulty in procuring the men who are to compose this force, I am perfectly satisfied, because the spirit of the country is now raised in the capital, and will from thence rapidly pervade all the extremities of the empire. That spirit was first kindled in the north, from thence it has extended to the metropolis, and is now catching from town to town, from village to village, and very shortly the whole kingdom will, I am convinced, manifest one scene of activity, of animation, and of energy, displaying in its native lustre, the character of Englishmen. That the men, therefore, will be procured with the greatest facility, I have not the smallest doubt; but we shall then want the means of preparing and drilling them, with all the accuracy that the shortness of the time will admit. Does it not then occur to the House that we shall have infinitely more use for the services of officers not attached to regiments? Does it not occur to gentlemen, that, in addition to the noblemen, the gentry, and the yeomanry of the country, many of whom will serve as officers, it would be advisable to every three or four officers of this description, to add one or two from the half-pay list? Would not the adoption of this plan greatly accelerate the training and perfecting this new force? It therefore does appear most clearly to me, that by allowing a greater number of battalions of the line to receive the army of reserve, you would have a greater number of officers on the half pay to discipline the irregular force. I ought, Sir, to apologise for taking up so much of the time

of the House upon this subject, but I conceive it to be the duty of every member, to state to the House every idea which occurs to him, by which he thinks the general means of the defence of the country can be improved. I therefore certainly do applaud the hon. officer for having given us this night the general outlines of what he conceives to be the best plan that can at the present crisis be adopted for national defence. The opinions of an officer of so much experience are certainly entitled to great weight. There was not, I confess, Sir, any opinions delivered by the hon. officer which I heard with more pleasure than those which related to the propriety and practicability of having recourse to *field* fortification on the present occasion, of taking the necessary measures to secure our naval arsenals, not from capture, for that I apprehend has already been done, but to secure them from a bombardment, even from the greatest possible distance. Upon these points we have, as I before stated, the opinions of many able and experienced officers; and I trust that we should not for a moment be so far influenced by any feelings of *false pride* as to neglect or despise any means of this sort, that would so obviously add to our security; much less can I suppose that these means may be rejected from any mistaken ideas of economy, or rather of penury, for penury it would be indeed to run the hazard of a great waste of blood for the purpose of saving a few pounds and shillings. I therefore confidently hope that no feelings of this kind will interfere to prevent a great national object of this sort from being pursued and adopted. There was another point advanced by the hon. officer, in which I am not sure that he was not misunderstood by my right hon. friend the Sec. at War, I mean that part of the hon. gent.'s speech in which he argued upon the propriety of erecting fortifications upon some parts of our coasts. I know very well, Sir, the common and general prejudice which prevails upon this subject; I know very well that when such a proposition is made, the answer will be, What, fortify the whole coast of England! will you build a wall round the whole island? No, Sir, that was not the proposition made by the hon. officer; no man in his senses could make such a proposition. He spoke only of the propriety of fortifying *particular* places which are peculiarly accessible, or the mouths of great rivers, such as the Humber: if I am right in my construction of what fell from the hon. officer, then I perfectly concur with him. I see the propriety, and even the necessity, of *partial* fortifications of this kind; and I believe he will agree with me in the suggestion I threw out of the propriety of erecting some additional works for the security of *Newcastle*. When the hon. officer talks of making certain points secure, he does not mean that they are to be placed in such an absolute state of security as to defy all kinds of attack, nor does he mean that there ought to be erected on the coasts one regular connected series of fortifications; he means, as I imagine, a judicious selection of given situations, the best calculated to prevent the landing of the enemy, or to prevent them from penetrating into the country after they had landed. It is an absurdity to suppose that fifty miles of coast require fifty miles of fortification. But if in that extent of coast there are but few points on which the enemy could land with security, those points ought to be fortified; while those points which were difficult of access, and in some degree fortified by nature, might be left untouched. The consequence of this would be, either that the landing of the enemy would be obstructed, or else he would be compelled to land at an inconvenient and disadvantageous place. This certainly would be obtaining a great deal: and, though I pretend to very little knowledge upon the subject, I believe that in many instances it would not be necesary to erect great fortifications; it would be sufficient to profit by the natural advantages of the situation. There are in many parts of England, vallies with large rivulets flowing through them; these, I apprehend, might be inundated so as to separate two corps of an enemy's army, or to prevent communication between them. I really beg pardon, Sir, for talking upon a subject upon which I know so little, but I think that for a very small expense a great extent of the coast might be put into such a situation of defence as I have described; and then, instead of being obliged to look to such an immense extent of coast, your attention would be narrowed and your force concentrated. If you are obliged at once to look to the whole extent of your coast, the consequence must either be, that your army must be collected in some central position, equally distant from all parts of the coast, and in that case some time must elapse after our enemy land, before you can bring your army to meet him; or else you must fritter away your army in small divisions along the whole line of coast. But by the adoption of the plan of the hon. officer, at least as I understand it, you would be able, in the first instance, to oppose the landing of the enemy, and if he should effect a landing, to be able to meet him immediately.

This system of fortification is one that is not liable to that foolish, though common objection, that it would be building a wall round the island. It would diminish much of the danger with which we are threatened; for while, on the one hand, the people of England are desirous not to be spared in a necessary contest, we, on the other hand, ought to shew every desire not to make an unnecessary use of that courage which we applaud and admire, but which we should manage and spare by every precaution that human foresight can inspire. The third object to which the hon. officer alluded, was that of employing fortification on the lines of internal defence. This rests upon a principle so plain, that though it requires military knowledge to state it distinctly, yet it only requires the plainest common sense to see the advantage that must result from it; it is as clear as any demonstration in mathematics. If then this plan does promise such advantages, I am sure I shall not hear any objections started on the ground of expense. I would not enlarge any more upon this subject, if it were not for something that fell from my right hon. friend, the Sec. at War, upon the fourth point suggested by the hon. officer. I know very well that the manly feelings, and, if I may say so, the obstinate courage of my right hon. friend, will not let him believe that the French would offer us such an insult as to come over here to fight us for our capital. I am sure I shall not be suspected of depreciating, or of not placing due confidence in the army, in the navy, or in the courage of the people of England; on the contrary, I am firmly convinced, that the enemy will find us to be invincible. But it must be admitted, that in war there are accidents depending sometimes upon a day or an hour, in which, with the bravest and most numerous army, the enemy, by hazarding an operation, for which in any other service a general would be broke or shot, but which a French general would attempt, because he knows he would be broke or shot if he did not, might obtain an advantage, the consequences of which might be most serious, if some measure, as that recommended by the hon. officer, was not adopted. We unfortunately know, that attempts of this kind may be made, however rash or desperate, for those who will make them know, that they will not appear so to Buonaparté. The proud despot of France will, however, have reason to tremble on his usurped throne, when the people of France find that they have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of men to gratify his ambition and his revenge. With respect to that despot himself, he would, I am sure, feel as little hesitation in sacrificing 100,000 Frenchmen, as he would millions of Englishmen, if he had them within his grasp. In arranging, therefore, the plan of national defence, we ought not to estimate upon probabilities merely. It is not enough for us to say, that if he is eccentric and mad, he will pay the price of his madness and folly; we must take care that we do not pay for it first; we must not now disdain to adopt precautions which were formerly thought unnecessary. I cannot therefore agree with the short and decisive opinion of my right hon friend, who, when the hon. officer recommended it to government to fortify London, replied, 'I say, do not fortify it.' I must enter my protest against such language. He says, he would not affront the people of England by supposing, that while they have 80,000 seamen on board their fleet, and they have such an army as is now on foot, that it could be necessary to fortify the capital. Why, Sir, in the first place, as to the navy, we must remember, that although we have 80,000 seamen, a great part of them are detached on service to different quarters of the world, and consequently could not in any degree prevent an invasion at home. I am certainly not denying that the enemy would find great difficulty and danger in transporting his army to this country, but it is by running desperate risks that he can alone hope for success. We may have a proud navy of ships of the line and frigates. I will not now stop to enquire, whether that navy might not have been in readiness sooner; but I can conceive a case in which ships of that kind would not be sufficient to meet an innumerable flotilla of boats issuing from all the ports, harbours, and creeks, on the opposite coast of France, and covering the Channel for several miles in length. Whether, in order to meet a force of this kind, it would not be wise to multiply the smaller sort of our naval force, and to mount them with guns of heavy metal and with carronades, I do not know; I hope something of this kind has been done already. It is admitted, indeed, that our navy, great and powerful as it is, cannot be relied on with absolute certainty to prevent an invasion; because, if it could, there would be no occasion for all the precautions which we are adopting. But it is said, we ought not to fortify London, because our ancestors did not fortify it. Why, Sir, that is no argument, unless you can shew me that our ancestors were in the same situation that we are. Look back to the days when the genius, the wisdom, and the fortitude of Elizabeth, de-

feated the proud and invincible armada, fitted out by Spain to conquer us; and, I trust, that the invincible battalion from France will meet with the same fate;—we must admit, that not only the situation of this country, but of all Europe, is changed; and, it is absurd to say, that when the circumstances are changed, the means of defence should be precisely the same. We might as well be told that, because our ancestors fought with arrows and with lances, that we ought to use them now, and that we ought to consider shields and corslets as affording a secure defence against musketry and artillery. It is, however, a great historical mistake to say that our ancestors in England, and particularly in Ireland, had not fortifications much more numerous than any it is now proposed to erect. If then the fortification of the capital can add to the reasonable security of the country, I think it ought to be done; but here again I do not understand the honourable officer to mean that London should be encompassed with a regular fortification, but only that proper use should be made of the natural advantages of defence, which it posseses in a greater degree than any capital in Europe The only difference of opinion that can exist upon this subject, must proceed from gentlemen imagining that we are recommending the erection of great regular fortifications; there is a great difference between regular fortifications and field-works, such as now recommended; we do not want regular fortresses capable of standing a regular siege, like Lisle or Tournay. But if, by the erection of works, such as I am recommending, you can delay the progress of the enemy for three days, it may make the difference between the safety and the destruction of the capital. It will not, I admit, make a difference between the conquest and the independence of the country, for that will not depend upon one nor upon ten battles; but it may make the difference between the loss of thousands of lives, with misery, havoc, and desolation, spread over the country on the one hand; or, on the other, of frustrating the efforts, of confounding the exertions, and of chastising the insolence, of the enemy. If then I am right in my general view of this subject, the expense and the time of constructing these works are so diminished, that, late as it is, there is nothing that ought to prevent us from now making the attempt. I do not, on such a subject as this, rely upon my own opinion alone, but upon the opinions of officers high in the confidence of the present government. It is well known, that in the course of last war this system was minutely contemplated, that a detailed plan was prepared, resembling, in many particulars, the plan recommended by the honourable officer. A plan was, I say, completely digested, a survey taken, and the works actually traced by that great and able officer Gen. Dundas. This plan is not therefore new to military men, it is not new to the king's councils, it is not founded upon any want of confidence in our army, our navy, or ourselves; it does not arise from any apprehensions of the enemy, but it is founded upon this principle—that while we set no limits to the exertions of the people, we ought to omit no opportunity of diminishing their danger and shortening the contest, of making its continuance less perilous; and of preventing that havoc, devastation, and misery, which must attend a lengthened contest, even though it may end most successfully for this country. Englishmen must look to this as a species of contest from which by the extraordinary favour of divine Providence, we have been for a long series of years exempted. If we are now at length called upon to take our share in it, we must meet it with just gratitude for the exemptions we have hitherto enjoyed, and with a firm determination to support it with courage and resolution; we must shew ourselves worthy, by our conduct on this occasion, of the happiness which we have hitherto enjoyed, and which, by the blessing of God, I hope we shall continue to enjoy. We ought to have a due sense of the magnitude of the danger with which we are threatened, we ought to meet it in that temper of mind which produces just confidence, which neither despises nor dreads the enemy; and while on the one hand we accurately estimate the danger with which we are threatened at this awful crisis, we must recollect on the other hand what it is we have at stake, what it is we have to contend for. It is for our property, it is for our liberty, it is for our independence, nay, for our existence as a nation; it is for our character, it is for our very name as Englishmen, it is for every thing dear and valuable to men on this side of the grave. Parliament has now provided ample means for our defence; it remains for the executive government to employ them to the best advantage. The regular army must be augmented to that point to which the means are now given to raise it; the militia must be kept high in numbers, and unbroken in spirit; the auxiliary force must be as promptly raised and disciplined as the nature of things will admit; nothing must be omitted that military skill can suggest to render the contest certain as to its succes,

and short in its duration. If government shew the same determination to apply all those means that Parliament has shewn in providing them; if the people follow up the example which the legislature has set them; we are safe. Then I may say, without being too sanguine, that the result of this great contest will ensure the permanent security, the eternal glory of this country; that it will terminate in the confusion, the dismay, and the shame, of our vaunting enemy; that it will afford the means of animating the spirits, of rousing the courage, of breaking the lethargy, of the surrounding nations of Europe; and I trust, that if a fugitive French army should reach its own shores after having being driven from our coasts, that it will find the people of Europe reviving in spirits, and anxious to retaliate upon France all the wrongs, all the oppressions, they have suffered from her; and that we shall at length see that wicked fabric destroyed which was raised upon the prostitution of liberty, and which has caused more miseries, more horrors to France and to the surrounding nations, than are to be paralleled in any part of the annals of mankind.

The *Secretary at War* bestowed some compliments on Mr. Pitt for the brilliancy of his speech; but expressed some difference of opinion with respect to fortifications.

Mr. *Courtenay* said, it appeared that the principles now advanced had been long ago in contemplation, but that nothing had been done in pursuance of them. A general of great talents had approved of fortifications, but the right hon. gent. (the Sec. at War) had ridiculed the idea, at least so far as respected London. He did not mean that we should have fortifications like the walls of Troy, but that they should be confined to particular positions. When the duke of Brunswick was marching to Paris, the people of that city were employed for ten days in throwing up redoubts. It had been admitted that field redoubts had been resorted to, when the danger was not so pressing. If so, that was the reason why we should now use them. He wished to know whether the skeleton regiments were to be filled up immediately from the army of Reserve (Mr. Addington answered across the table, "Clearly"). "If so then," continued Mr. Courtenay, "Parliament has done its duty. It has raised the machinery; I wish now to see it possessed of animation; I wish to see it in that state in which I could say,

"*Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus,*
"*Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.*"

Mr. Courtenay concluded with recommending a council of war, to be composed of Marquis Cornwallis, and other officers of great experience.

Captain *Harvey* said, that every officer with whom he was acquainted, was of opinion, that considering the different ports from which it would be necessary for the enemy to send their armament, it was impossible that such concert could exist, as that 50,000 men could be embarked, come over and be disembarked in twelve hours, as the hon gent. (Col. Craufurd) seemed to think might be done.

Colonel *Wood* said, he was lately at a meeting of the county of Surrey, at which a very able plan for the defence of the city of London was submitted. After expressing his approbation of the army of reserve, he recommended the example of Queen Elizabeth, one of whose first acts was, when threatened with invasion, to appoint a council of war. Such an establishment must be particularly useful now, when we have such officers as Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Howe, Earl Suffolk, Earl Moira, and several other eminent characters, to compose it. With respect to fortifications it would be foolish, he thought, to commence them now, unless we were certain of being able to finish them within a given time.

Mr. *Windham* said, he had but little to add upon general topics in addition to the military details of the hon. gent. (Colonel Craufurd), enforced as they had been by the very able and luminous commentary of his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt). The eloquence of his right hon. friend would, he hoped, have the effect of producing in the country that proper temper, which without alarm or trepidation on one hand, or foolish confideuce on the other, would fit it for the circumstances in which it was to act, and the character which it had to maintain. He was rather surprised to find that gentlemen, on the ministerial bench, were disposed to receive the opinions of the hon. gent. who spoke first, with feelings of impatience and dissatisfaction; but of those opinions, disagreeable as they were, he was willing fully to share the odium. They had produced the most salutary effects, both in the House, and upon the country, in rousing the people to a sense of danger, and the government to the necessity of exertion. He still was of opinion that a military council ought to be formed, nor did he think that such an opinion imply any reflection upon any one. But even if it did imply any reflection, yet if he thought the thing necessary for the public safety, he

hoped he should not be deterred from pressing ministers to adopt it. But in fact it did imply no reflection on any one, far less on the illustrious person who had been alluded to. It surely was no reflection on any one to say, that he could not embrace the whole official details of the army, and all the objects of deliberation, which might fall under the consideration of a commander in chief in the field. There was ample room, therefore, as there was, in the circumstances of our situation, a strong call for the establishment of a military council. It was not sufficient to say, that there was an officer in the quarter master general's department to whom the consideration of plans of defence, and of warlike operations, &c. was particularly entrusted. The examination of these was not the work of one man. He knew something of the officer in that department from personal acquaintance, and much more from reputation, and he was convinced that no man would discharge more ably or zealously the duties of his station.. He was glad that officer was so employed, among other things, because it was a triumph over that vulgar jealousy of foreigners which this nation was but too apt to indulge. He hoped that we should carry our triumph over that feeling still further, and avail ourselves not only of the services of able foreign officers, who were already in this country or might easily be brought hither, but of others whose authority would do more even than their talents, and who wold show their appearance in our ranks, that we felt the war to be, as in truth it was, a war in which their interest was identified with our own. To return from this digression, he must repeat, that the consideration of operations in field, and official details, was more than one man could properly undertake. We had many officers of distinguished merit, some of them perhaps too old for active service, but not the less able, on that account, to suggest measures themselves, or to consider the suggestions of others. We had Lord Grey, Lord Howe, Lord Cornwallis, and others, whose services now were not employed. Were such a council established, men of active minds would be more willing to lay their views before them, than before any one man, let his reputation for candor or judgment be what it might. With respect to fortifications, he should not detain the House with any remarks, as his general views had been so ably enforced by others. He could not help expressing a hope, however, that the hints of the gallant officer who had spoken, would have the effect of turning the attention of ministers to that object, and not leave them in the situation in which they had so often been seen, of finally confessing their own errors by adopting plans which they had before treated with neglect. There was a story of two French colonels, between whom there was thought, by their regiment, to be a great difference, inasmuch as, in urging their men to an attack, one of them used to speak in the the first person, *allons*; and the other in the second, *allez*. There was something of a similar remark to be made as to the use which the hon. gentlemen made of their tenses. When speaking of measures for the defence of the country, their language never was, it was *done* or *doing*, but that it *should*, or *was now about to*, be done. Their tense was always future. But since, by their conduct, they had admitted that the measures of defence now adopted were necessary, why did they not adopt them sooner? Was the danger in which they were founded newly discovered? How many months is it since ministers saw that the country was menaced with threats of invasion? Yet after all, the measures resorted to are such as cannot be brought to perfection for a long period, though the danger is admitted to have long existed. Can there be a stronger censure of their conduct? When a worthy magistrate of London was this evening descanting on the rising spirit of the people, now impressed with the danger with which they were threatened, the sentiments were loudly cheered by ministers. But do they forget that it is not long since they heard, with marked disapprobation, sentiments calculated to rouse that very spirit? Why did not ministers endeavour to awaken the country sooner to those feelings in which they now exult? If there were any fortifications necessary to be erected, why did it happen that every thing was yet to be done in this way? It was admitted, by the preparations carried on for defence, that it was possible a landing might be effected, and where the magnitude of the evil if the enemy should succeed was so great, no chance which wisdom and prudence might cut off ought to be left open. He concluded with expressing a hope that in superintending the execution of this bill, ministers would take care that in the mode of training, attention should be given chiefly to what is useful. If it was attempted to begin the training under this bill, with all the minutiæ of drilling, much vexatious pains would be employed in

teaching what, after all, would be of little utility.

General *Tarleton* said, the army which the country had, aided by the irregular force which might be called forth, would be in a condition to repel any invasion that could be made. We should soon possess a military force most adapted to the war which it would be necessary to carry on in case the enemy should land. Speaking of cavalry, he said, that it was proper to consider how it could act in case of invasion. In Suffolk, cavalry could act with the utmost effect; and, though not to the same extent, yet in Essex, in Kent, and in Sussex, it could act in particular situations, but not with the same effect. With respect to increasing the army by drafting the militia, he thought, independent of other difficulties, that it would be inexpedient to change the system of the army at such a critical moment by such an operation. Unless the French were to attempt to invade us now, he conceived it impossible, when the equinox arrived, that, with the vessels and boats they must employ, they could embark and sail with any degree of concert. He then proceeded to consider the question of fortifications. He showed that fortifications in the proper sense required long time to plan and execute, so that it could not be objected to ministers that they were not carrying on fortifications; he thought they could be of little use, though such prodigious lines could be found as would extend from Yarmouth to the Downs, and from the Downs to Portsmouth. He did not think, that in such a war as we should have to carry on here, lines would be the way to oppose the enemy. We must go out and attack them, not wait to defend lines. From his military reading he found that lines rarely were defended with success. We ought to have what military men called a manœuvring army; such an army as the French would find ready to attack them on every point—an army that soon would make them repent of their rash attempt.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, he never dreamt of any such thing as fortifying only one point from Yarmouth to Portsmouth, or throwing up such lines as the hon. general had spoken of.

Mr. *Pitt* equally complained of being misunderstood. He had spoke of stations capable of retarding the enemy, not of lines in which our army was to allow itself to be besieged.

General *Maitland* said, that had he caught the Speaker's eye sooner, he might have troubled the House at some length, but most of what he intended to observe was anticipated. There were a few remarks, however, which he wished to make. With respect to fortifications, he was of opinion that their field works might, in some circumstances, be of great utility; and he wished that it should be known how the fact stood as to this point. He thought this the more necessary, as there were misunderstandings on similar points both in and out of doors. For instance, it was said that some important provisions in the army of reserve bill had never been thought of till a speech of the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham) was delivered; whereas the provisions in question had actually been prepared before that speech was uttered. He wished the country to know too, that whereever the officers commanding districts reported to government that field works were necessary, as government had directed an inspection to be made, then such works were either made or making. He thought it very improper that it should go out to the world that ministers were so inert, so incapable, so negligent, that they never took any steps for the defence of the country, till stimulated by speeches in Parliament, when they had in every instance anticipated the recommendation of such speeches. Respecting the army of reserve, he said, that the original battalions of regiments would be filled with the best men, the second battalions with the second best, and the reserve battalions with the worst.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that there was no novelty to him in the speech of the hon. gent. who opened this debate (Col. Craufurd), as most of his views were contained in that body of information which was before ministers on this subject, and which it had been their duty to consult. As to field works, it was a fact that measures had actually been taken for the execution of every thing judged necessary on that head, and money had been issued from the treasury, weeks ago, to defray that expense; so that it was not necessary that either the officers commanding districts, or government, should be reminded of their duty by any speeches in that House.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he did not rise for the purpose of entering at any length into the general discussion, but merely of submitting some few observation on particular points, which had been advanced from the other side of the House. At the same time he was anxious to have it clearly understood, that he would never surrender one tittle of his right to deliberate and pronounce, as a

member of Parliament, on every subject connected with the public interests of the realm; and what could undeniably challenge that description, especially in the moment when invasion is threatened, than the system of our military defence? In his opinion, Parliament and the Country had the highest obligations to the honourable and gallant officer who had begun the debate of that night. Attempts, however, had been repeatedly made to stifle and suppress his sentiments. But having failed in this their first object, having by their conduct only rouzed and stimulated him to a more determined and more zealous discharge of his duty in that House, having found him to be distinguished no less by eloquence and civic talents, than by valour and all the qualifications of an accomplished soldier, ministers and their supporters now affected to treat with levity and disregard what they were pleased to call his "military lectures." It was slightingly said, there was no sort of novelty in them; nothing, according to Mr. Bayes's receipt, "to elevate and surprize." Possibly: yet might they, notwithstanding, be not the less judicious, less useful, less necessary. An honourable general indeed (Gen. Maitland), who avowed not only much professional deference, but a strong personal friendship, for the honourable and gallant member, had even gone back to the history of the late act for raising an army of reserve, with the kind intention of relieving his friend from a load of unmerited praise, which, it seems, had been cast upon him by mistake on that occasion. Many, it was said, believed that he had suggested the provision, which by empowering his Majesty to complete and augment the old regiments from the men to be raised by the new ballot, altered the whole character of the measure. But no; the honourable general says, that provision made a part of the printed bill, before ever the gallant colonel opened his lips on the subject. What then was the fact? The very reverse. The bill was read a first and second time; committed for the express purpose of filling up the blanks agreeably to the views of ministers; reported, printed, and recommitted. In that state it still exists. Let the honourable general examine it; let him torture it as he pleases, clause by clause, and line by line; in what corner does there lurk a trace of any such provision? There is not a single casual and ambiguous word, which glances that way. On the recommitment it was, that the honourable and gallant officer having spoken for the first time, was immediately told by the Secretary at War, that an amendment to the effect which he had advised, should be proposed in the proper place. This, Dr. Laurence contended, was the correct fact. For this he appealed to the records of the House; to the Secretary at War himself; to the recollection of all who had not memories like that of the honourable general, or of another honourable general (Tarleton), if indeed his faculty of remembering might be judged from the specimen which he had that night afforded. What, however, did it really signify to a just estimate of the ability which directs the councils of our executive government (and that was the great concern of the country), whether so essential a change was effected by the exertions of the honourable and gallant colonel, or by those of his right honourable friend near him (Mr. Windham), and others, who in the earlier stages of the bill had urged similar objections? The matured plan of ministerial wisdom stands recorded in the first printed copy. There it is to be found pure, entire, and perfect, as its authors wished it to come before the House and the public. And had that passed into a law unresisted, his Majesty could only have formed the new levies into new battalions of raw men, without a veteran soldier amongst them, while the ranks of the old regiments, deficient to a degree which he did not chuse too minutely to state, and utterly unable to struggle with the competition of such bounties as now were set up against them, must have remained for ever unrecruited and unsupplied. Happily it was resisted; and thanks to the few that steadily persevered in their duty notwithstanding the most studied misrepresentations of their conduct, if all that might be desired had not been obtained, yet thus much at least had been extorted; that now there is some chance of our soon having an army, almost as large as when ministers in their short-sighted love of economy, began to reduce it on the signature of their insidious, humiliating, and insecure peace.—The learned member next adverted to the speech of General Tarleton; who, he said, had in his answer strangely forgot—for to misrepresentation, to ignorance, to any thing but the treachery of his memory it was impossible to attribute that he had so totally misstated—some important opinions of the honourable and gallant officer, often advanced by him with sufficient distinctness before, more fully developed by him that night, and afterwards enforced by a right hon. gent. under the opposite gallery (Mr. Pitt), in a majestic stream of rich, but perspicuous language, peculiarly his own, too clear not to have been understood, and too powerful not

to have made a deep impression on all but the honourable general. The fortifications which had been recommended, for the defence of our coasts were merely of the kind, which some theoretical writers distinguished by the term of marine fortifications; batteries erected in chosen spots, to sweep the surface of the water where the beach may be peculiarly accessible to boats; to play from higher ground on the places, where a hostile fleet may anchor; and to command the vallies and passes which lead into the heart of the country; batteries open on the land-side, so as if taken to afford no shelter to the invaders, and mounted with iron ordnance, which would be unserviceable for the field. These on the coast, and in the approach to the metropolis, entrenchments, redoubts, and other similar works marked out and prepared on the same principle, to strengthen two or three well-selected positions, where we might most advantageously compel the enemy to fight us. Constituted, as he himself understood, all that was meant by those, who in that House had been the advocates of fortifications, and as far as he was able to judge with them, Dr. Laurence added, he most heartily concurred, where then did the hon. general discover his lines of circumvallation, his ditches, with their scarps and counterscarps, his ramparts, ravelins, and bastions, with which he surrounded our shores, from Portsmouth to the mouth of the Thames? They were the works of his own imagination, and it seemed a little niggardly, when he was about it, that he did not extend them to our other great naval arsenal, on the one side, and to Lieth Roads on the other. This omission, however, was of little importance, since the celerity, with which he constructed them, was at least equalled by the facility with which he took or destroyed them all. Flushed with this cheap victory, in which he was himself at once the conqueror and the conquered, the triumphant commander marched on, overturned and trampled under foot the pride of that military science, which ignorant laymen regard with most reverence and admiration. In a moment he assaulted, carried, and levelled, with the earth, all the mighty work, which so long were the glory of Coehorn and Vauban. If we believe him, armies should seem to have been entrenched, and cities fortified, with no other view, than that they might more surely fall according to the rules of art. The hon general, it was true, was deservedly renowned for his skill, in one sort of partisan-war; yet possibly in the campaigns of that House, he might find it safer after all not to despise, the protection of his own lines and ramparts; otherwise in that field of battle, if he trusted too much to his courage alone, arms might sometimes yield to the gown. The learned member observed, that he had himself occasionally read a little of military, as well as civil, history, unequal as he was on such subjects to the honourable general, yet he would venture to defend the lines of Arras at least against the attack of that night; lines, which by the way had only been once taken, and not twice, as the hon. general had represented, unless indeed he meant to pay himself the compliment of having then taken them the second time. The forcing of them was one of the most memorable exploits of the great Turenne, the first perhaps, as he was the most virtuous, of modern heroes. He could not even approach to reconnoitre, without exposing himself, his staff, and nearly the whole strength of his cavalry, to be cut in pieces; but having served in the Spanish armies he knew the embarrassment of their councils, and the tardiness of their operations. "Did Condé command in this quarter," said he, to the Duke of York, who accompanied him, "I should have no business here." The veteran officers of his train, for the first time, murmured against him. The generals, next in authority to him, protested against his design; they endeavovred to dissuade him from it; they publicly used artifices to intimidate him. His troops began to lose their confidence in him, whom they were wont to call their protector, friend, and faher. Yet he persevered. He went through the camp, entreating, exhorting, instructing, explaining the advantages, the dangers, and the peculiar duties of the attack, which he had resolved to make in the night. They marched. The surprise of the enemy was complete; and the lines were entered almost without resistance. Yet when he was in possession of them; when the Spanish generals had been discomfited; after the Arch-Duke had withdrawn himself; if Condé, who alone made a last effort to oppose him, could have succeeded in his endeavours to bring up some regiments of infantry; the victor himself, with a noble candour confessed, that he must have sought shelter with his whole army behind the walls of Arras. What then was there in this signal achievement to shake our faith in the proposed mode of defence. Nothing. But there was much indeed for the serious contemplation and perpetual study of military men. For no where could be found a more illustrious example of the superiority and dominion by which the most formidable

difficulties are subjected to a truly great mind, bold without rashness in planning, steady to the purpose which it has once deliberately chosen, patient of contradiction, and even of affront for the public service, judicious in applying all the ordinary means within its power, fertile of new resources, working in every direction to its end, not despising and braving the obstructions, which art and science may throw in its way, but eluding or surmounting all, through the aid of that best and surest guide of all practical wisdom, an enlarged knowledge of human nature, and the quick foresight, that anticipates all the councils of an adversary, descends as it were into his bosom, and views the master-springs of his very thoughts, through an enlightened acquaintance with the peculiar habits and character by which he is distinguished.

Dr. *Laurence* then requested permission of the House to notice shortly, what had fallen from an honourable and gallant member in the naval service, captain Hervey. It had been remarked, that no considerable armament could leave any harbour of France in less than two successive tides; that half of it would consequently be exposed to the separate attack of our squadrons, and the operations of the whole must be materially retarded: and it was true. With regard to the harbours of France, it was so; they were tide-harbours. But the harbours of Holland were of a different description. Behind the islands which stretch along the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, and those which are thickly scattered in the mouth of the Maese and the Scheldt, fleets of such vessels as the enemy is preparing for this invasion, might lie secure from the attempts, and in a great measure concealed even from the observation of our cruizers, ready to put to sea at a moment's warning. This it was, the possession of Holland by France, and of Holland contiguous to her own extended frontiers, which made the menaces of invasion so much more formidable now, than in any former period of our history. His principal view, however, in adverting to this topic at all was to mark its total inapplicability. He was himself as little disposed as any man to undervalue our chance of safety from the vigilance, activity and bravery of our fleets alone; but the question now did not relate to our naval, but to our military defence. It necessarily supposed a landing to have been effected. If that were not possible, if that were not an event, which we should be prepared to meet, too much had been already done; the measures, which had been already passed, were worse than superfluous and nugatory, they were vexatious, they were burthensome; and the bill then under consideration, in the general principle of which even they cordially agreed who had abstained from any participation in all that preceded, was violent, harsh and oppressive. Indeed the zeal of the hon. and gallant members who had spoken that night, had in more instances than one driven them wide of their mark. By mistake they had poured in a whole volley upon their own leaders; or rather (he said) his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had put himself in the way of receiving their fire. For he had in fact, on the part of the King's servants, approved the very mode of defence so forcibly pressed upon them by the gallant colonel, who opened the debate. His military lecture, it was asserted, had nothing of novelty in it;—Why? Truly, because all the officers, who had been consulted, had concurred in recommending some plan or other of the kind; and money had actually been issued from the Exchequer preparatory to the erecting of new fortifications. There was, therefore, no dispute on the expediency of resorting to these means of defence, except between ministers and their own over-eager supporters: between them and their opponents the question is narrowed to the single point;—whether that which is distinctly admitted to have been thought highly important to the safety of the country, has not been too long delayed by a negligence which is without excuse, and for which no common degree of inattention and supineness can account. They did not sign their own boasted peace without having this subject before their eyes: without acknowledging the necessity, without holding forth a promise of doing without loss of time, what after three months of adverse negotiation and three months more of actual war, is not yet begun. In discussing the preliminary treaty, he had himself especially urged the situation of danger in which we should for the future be placed, by recognizing and confirming, as we then virtually did, the federal union of Holland with France, offensive as well as defensive, against Great-Britain, and Great-Britain alone; and he had declared, that nothing less than the solemn decision of Parliament after the fullest and most uninfluenced discussion, should ever have induced him, to have signed any peace, without some effectual provision for the real independence of Holland. Against that league he would have taken his stand, as having no other assignable object than the intimidation, annoyance and destruction of this

country. What then was the answer to this? He was told by the Secretary at War, that he and his colleagues were not insensible to the danger; but the best military authorities were of opinion, that our eastern coast might be essentially strengthened and put into a condition to bid defiance to the enemy, by a judicious system of fortification. The hon. and learned member said, he believed, that he had since taken more than one opportunity of treating the substitution of this poor and pitiful refuge for the old barrier of our fathers, with something of scorn and derision; but would not any man have imagined at least, that ministers who thought in this manner, would instantly have set about the execution of some such system, during the interval of a peace, which the same right hon. gent. in the very same breath described as a hollow armed truce. Possibly, however, they doubted the opinions of their own best authorities. For during the next summer they sent to those coasts a number of ingenious young officers, to re-examine every spot, and take drawings of the whole with a professed view to the choice of defensive positions. Well; they must now have obtained all the information, which they could have wanted: and the first Consul, not long after, gave them a pretty intelligible intimation, that it was time to act upon it: for letters were intercepted directing his spies, called commercial agents, to procure soundings of all the harbours and roadsteads along our coasts. Were they then roused to vigilance? No; they slumbered on in as tranquil security, as if they had believed, what they were perpetually talking about, "profound "peace." Next came his Majesty's message, calling upon his people to arm, as in expectation of an invasion. Still not a single stone was laid, not a turf displaced. At last hostilities followed. And now, it might be supposed, that to recover their lost time, ministers would be doubly alert in carrying all their long-treasured plans into instant operation and effect. But what did they really do? As if they had been taken by surprize; as if the subject had never once occurred to their imaginations; as if, truly, it was not in a time of war, and under the menace of an invasion, though indeed with ample means of success prepared to their hands, that only two years before they had received the government of the country; they began to solicit every military man who approached them, and, with the rest, the gallant colonel himself, for projects and memorials, to instruct them in the first rudiments of their duty. At the same time, they hunted through the Statute Book for the measures of their predecessors; revived the laws that authorized the services of volunteers; drew out that part of the old supplementary militia, which they had chosen to retain; and converted the remainder, with no great variation in the original scheme of their bill, into an army of reserve. Now, whatever they may ultimately make of it in practice, they have, after much importunity of others, brought forward an act to enforce a general training of our whole military population. Yet, all this while, what is become of that judicious system of fortification, which was to counterbalance the weight of Holland, as a maritime province, in the scale of France? Where are the batteries and strong posts, which it would be a principal use of our sea fencibles, and the train-bands of the coasts, to man against the enemy? The only intelligence which we had heard concerning them, was, that a week or two since, money (how much or how little we knew not) had been at last issued for the purpose of taking measures to set about some preparations or other for beginning new works; but when, where, and to what extent these works would be erected, which were not even now in a state of *incipiency*, the House and the public were still left to conjecture. They had merely, what metaphysicians, in their subtleties, called a *potential* or possible existence; they had the means of existing; for money, the first mover of every thing, had been granted; but that they would *actually* exist, was still as uncertain as ever: and he must remind the sages of the Treasury-bench, that men, as wise as themselves, had mooted the point, whether an actually existing fly is not of more value than a possibly existing angel. His right hon. friend near him (Mr. Windham) had observed, that ministers, in speaking of their own measures, never used the *present*, but always the *future* tense; nothing is doing, every thing is to be done. But even in the expression of the future, they seemed to select the more distant future. In the accuracy of the first and most perfect of languages, with all the beauties and delicacies of which his right hon. friend near him was known to be eminently conversant; there was a peculiar form of the future tense, which marked, that the thing should be certainly, speedily, and effectually accomplished; a form, which in its very inflexion, shewed a combination of the future with the past. He feared, however, if the noble lord (Lord Grosvenor) who formerly entertained that House with the attic eloquence of Demosthenes in its native purity, and who

now, in another House, took a conspicuous lead on the side of the present ministers, should attempt to translate their orations into choice Greek, for the benefit of classical posterity, not a single passage would he find, which would admit of that emphatic tense. All was in the loose, indefinite future. They do intend to begin on their system of fortifying our most vulnerable coasts; but it may, probably, be not till after the enemy has landed, or been defeated at a distance from our shores; perhaps, what they held forth to tranquillize us under the perils of the last peace, may even be deferred to the security of the next. It was difficult to fix upon them any decisive language on the subject of their favourite child, the late treaty of Amiens: but did they believe it to be a solid pacification, or a hollow truce? They sometimes had called it the one, and sometimes the other; to which would they adhere? If they did flatter themselves that it was likely to be permanent, where was their political foresight and sagacity? If they did occasionally feel a misgiving, that it could not last, why did they not occupy all the short interval in providing those means of defence, which they had approved, which they knew and had declared to be necessary, which could not have afforded the slightest pretext for umbrage to the most jealous rival; and which, when they are wanted, cannot be produced like enchanted castles in fairy tales, at the waving of a white wand? Why did they not entrench cliffs, raise batteries, cast iron cannon to mount upon them, and stock our arsenals with arms, in readiness to give every effect to the patriotism and courage of a whole people, who, if hostilities should be renewed, it was plain to foresee, must be called forth to combat to the last drop of their blood, for all that can be dear and interesting to men? To him ministers seemed to have abdicated the functions of their offices. It devolved then upon Parliament to supply their deficiencies. He wished, therefore, that some member of high authority in that house, either his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Windham), the right hon. gent. who had spoken under the gallery (Mr. Pitt), or the hon. gent. who on a former day had so powerfully supported this measure (Mr. Fox), would come forward before Parliament should separate, and perform a duty, which ministers were unwilling or unable to discharge, by animating the spirit of the nation to the pitch of the present exigency, and directing their energy, when excited, in a train of well concerted measures, vast, mighty, efficacious, every way adequate to the demands of this momentous crisis.

Sir *W. Erskine* could not agree in some opinions that had been advanced. If we were to have a field-work from Yarmouth to Portsmouth, what effect could it produce, but to fritter away the main energies of our strength? In his opinion, the only system that could safely be adopted, was to assemble the whole of our force upon one point. That point, a military knowledge of the country might easily select—it should be such as would maintain a compleat communication through the Thames; and without adopting such a scale of action, the whole provisions of the bill must prove nugatory. The fortification of the coasts would be of no avail—it would only tend to scatter our forces, while such situations might be adequately filled by light detachments of our cavalry, that may be properly stationed to announce the approach of the enemy.

Col. *Craufurd* complained that in most of his observations he had been misunderstood.

Mr. *Archdale* warmly supported the bill. He was only afraid that the people of England relied too much on their wooden walls, and on the local opportunities of their situation. They should be alarmed—but the alarm should be a judicious one; an alarm that created confidence, instead of dismay:—it should be recollected, that the English character had displayed itself in conquering abroad, while it professed but a small degree of military spirit and reputation at home.

Sir *J. Pulteney* contended, that all history justified the system of fortified posts, which position he illustrated by a variety of references to ancient and modern history.

Capt. *Markham* complained that gentlemen had entered into a number of military details to which, in his opinion, it was not necessary or prudent to allude. As to the danger of invasion, it gave him no great alarm; if the enemy had a fair wind, and came in the force in which they threatened to come, the difficulty of their landing would be materially increased by the surf which their approach must occasion.

Mr. *Hutchinson* gave his most cordial support to the bill, as far as it went; but, in his opinion, it did not go far enough. There was one part of the united empire to which the bill did not extend, and perhaps prudence might have dictated that reservation. This was a circumstance which he could not but lament; because when distrust was

once betrayed, instead of affection, you must expect hatred. This, however, was a delicate topic to touch upon; he should therefore refrain from any observations upon it, and content himself with saying, that the present measure, as far as it went, met with his most cordial support.

Col. *Porter* could not see what advantage could be drawn from adverting to the vulnerable part of the country. Such military discussions might as well be omitted in that House.—The question was then called for, and agreed to *nem. con.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, July 23.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The General Defence Bill, was brought up from the Commons by the Secretary at War, and others, presented, and read a first time.

Lord *Hobart* then moved, that the order for taking into consideration the standing orders, No. 26 and 155, be read. These orders were read accordingly by the reading clerk, and are resolutions that no question should be put from the woolsack a second time, on the same day, on any bill.—Lord Hobart moved, that the said orders be suspended during the progress of the General Defence Bill through its several stages. Ordered.—His Lordship then moved, that the bill be now read a second time.—It was then read a second time.

Lord *Hobart* said, it was of the utmost importance to the country, that the bill should pass with every possible expedition. He meant, therefore, to move, that it be referred to a Committee of the whole House on Monday, as he thought the prints would be upon the table early on that day; but as some noble lords might have objections to the detail of the bill, they would have an opportunity of urging those objections on the question, "that the House resolve itself into a Committee on the bill." He hoped, however, the objections, if any were offered, would not be persisted in, as not a moment was to be lost in giving the bill the authority of a statute. His lordship concluded with moving, "that the bill be printed."

The Duke of *Cumberland* said, he certainly did not rise to oppose the motion; he rose merely to throw it out to the candour of the House, whether, if the prints were not to be upon the table before Monday, it would be possible for noble lords sufficiently to examine the clauses of it, to prepare themselves for going immediately into a Committee upon them. He did not mean to obstruct the quick progress of the bill, but he thought it right to offer this suggestion to their consideration.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said, he conceived the sole question before the House to be, "that the bill be printed." With regard to going into the Committee, there might be noble lords who had objections to offer to particular clauses, in order to facilitate the general operation and effect of the bill. For his own part, it would not be convenient for him to attend on Monday, and therefore he took that opportunity of saying, that all of those in the country, of every rank and description, whom he had lately seen and conversed with, appeared to be animated with the same patriotic spirit, and were eager to carry the measure pointed out by the present bill into immediate execution, or to effect any still stronger measure, that government might think it expedient to suggest—being one and all duly impressed with the great urgency and importance of their services in the common defence of their country.—The bill was committed for Monday, and the lords ordered to be summoned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 25.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel was heard in the Scotch appeal, Rutherford and Stormonth, after which the decision of the Court of Session in favour of the respondent was affirmed, with 60l. costs.—The London Quota Bill, and Clergy Residence Mistake Bill, were read a third time and passed.—The Chatham Chest and Longitude Bills were read a second time, and ordered to be committed the next day.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—Lord *Hobart* rose, and moved the order of the day for the suspension of some standing orders of the House, for the purpose of giving facility and dispatch to the progress of the General Defence Bill. Agreed to.—He then moved the order of the day for the commitment of the Defence Bill. The object and nature of the bill was, he apprehended, so clearly displayed upon the face of it, that it required but little explanation. Their lordships were completely aware of its tendency. An act had been formerly passed to enable his Majesty to avail himself of the voluntary services of his subjects. But this did not go far enough. Any person might, according to his pleasure, even

in case of invasion, have withdrawn himself from the service. It was his Majesty's ancient and undoubted prerogative, to call out his subjects upon the invasion of a foreign enemy; and therefore this might have been done without any application to Parliament. That it was his ancient and undoubted prerogative, it would be quite unnecessary for him to enter upon any proof in that House. The circumstances of the times, and the changes that had taken place during the revolution of two centuries, had rendered the exertion of his Majesty's prerogative in some measure useless. Something more therefore was necessary. His Majesty had a right to call out all his subjects; but the intervention of Parliament was now necessary to enable him to call them out with effect. The object of the bill then was, to authorise his Majesty to prepare his subjects to act with effect, in case the appearance of the enemy should render an exertion of his prerogative in calling them out indispensable. Such then being the nature and tendency of the bill, he thought that it would experience no opposition, but would be allowed to pass with that celerity which its importance demanded. If any person had objections to the principle, this was the time to propose them. If none were made, then the bill would go into the Committee, when their lordships might suggest any amendments which they should think proper.

The Duke of *Cumberland* rose and said, that to the object of the bill, which upon its face purported to be the "Defence of the Country", it was impossible any objection could be urged. What he had formerly thrown out went merely thus far, that he apprehended, in a measure of this importance, too short an interval was allowed between the printing of the bill and the discussion of it. We were now called upon to defend not only our lives, but what to Britons must be of far greater importance than life itself, our liberties and our honour. We were now to defend ourselves against an overbearing usurper, who insolently had threatened to put to death all whom he found in arms against him. That he would meet with the most disgraceful defeat, he had no doubt, but it became us to be prepared. There was no concealing the magnitude of the danger. To avert would require diligence and activity, but with diligence and activity it might be averted. He did not wish to see the country plunged into a security—the result of apathy and ignorance; but he wished that its security should be derived from a full apprehension of the danger being more than counterbalanced by the magnitude of the spirit and preparation which would be employed to meet that danger. His advice to his countrymen, to those who had the happiness to be born British subjects, would be, to be prepared for the worst, and not to be led away by the sentiment, which he was sorry to find had obtained currency, that invasion was impossible. The vigilance and activity of the usurper required an equal vigilance on our part. Every effort was to be called forth, but if the country were not wanting to itself, the result would be disgrace and defeat to our enemies, and eternal glory to the British empire.

Lord *Mulgrave* rose, and at some length expressed his satisfaction with the bill. It held for its object the defence of the country, and to that none could urge any objection. No person could doubt that it was his Majesty's undoubted prerogative to call upon the services of all his subjects in case of invasion. The change produced by the lapse of a long period in the habits and military duties of mankind, had rendered it necessary for Parliament to interfere, in order to give effect to that prerogative. A preparation was now necessary, which some centuries ago there was no occasion for. The King might call out his subjects, but it was necessary that they should previously be disciplined, in order to meet the discipline which should be opposed to them. The principle of the bill, which went to produce this state of discipline, he, with all his heart, approved. It was the period at which it was introduced that he lamented. Why was it not brought forward before? Considering the time that must necessarily elapse before the provisions of the bill could be carried into execution, he feared that, by the neglect of having it put off so long, it could hardly be productive of any benefit for the present year. Considering that we were at war since the 8th of March, and the menacing tone of our enemy ever since the treaty of Amiens, what could we think of the foresight and wisdom of ministry, that only at this time of day thought proper to rouse the energy of the country? To the treaty of Amiens he had many objections, and had always been against the surrender of Malta. But he voted in favour of that treaty for this purpose, that all might be convinced of the impossibility of remaining at peace with the existing government of France. This conviction was produced. But when we perceived that the most adverse to conviction were convinced—that the nation were almost unanimously of opi-

nion that the aggressions and insults of our foe were hardly to be endured, and that ever since the month of October last, *what could we think of the wisdom and foresight of those ministers who only now were making preparations against the danger?* He expressed his respect and esteem for the ministers collectively, with many he was particularly connected; but if his dearest friend were to be guilty of what appeared to him neglect and indifference, he could not at the present moment be silent. This was not a time to give way to the feelings of partiality. When the country had been so ready to go along with them, *he was astonished at the apathy of ministers, who seemed to be afraid of expressing their sense of our danger and alarming the country.* The country ought to be alarmed. He did not mean the alarm of fear or timidity, but that sense of danger that would naturally lead to the adoption of measures to avert it. He had been told, and indeed he himself had observed, that *there was too great an apathy in the country.* Why was this the case? Because the people expected the alarm from Government. They had been accustomed to a government whose vigilance, promptitude, and foresight, had averted dangers unequalled, both by their magnitude, and in the rapidity with which they succeeded each other. Now when the alarm was spread, such was the spirit of the people, such were their readiness to second the exertions of government, that even this measure, with all the compulsion which it went to exercise, was the most popular that ever had been introduced into Parliament. He highly approved of the measure, because he saw infinite advantage in it for future periods. Now that the spirit of the country was effectually roused, he expressed his confidence that every attempt of our foe against us would be attended with disgrace on his part, and glory and success on ours.

Lord *Westmorland* said, there could be no doubt entertained of the extent of his Majesty's prerogative, in calling for the personal service of all classes of his subjects; the peculiar effect of this bill was, by previous discipline and organization, to make them more serviceable than they would otherwise be, when the occasion of exerting that prerogative might occur. Notwithstanding the general conduct of ministry was represented by the noble lord who spoke last as weak and tardy, his lordship contended, that the present measure, when taken in connexion with the other preparations, and the efficient system by which it was preceded, shewed a vigour and exertion that had never been surpassed. The peace of Amiens he considered as an experiment, that had convinced the country no peace could be expected where one of the parties only was inclined to that state. The consequence he must regret, with respect to that peace, was the necessary reduction of the army which it occasioned: to this he wholly attributed the deficiency of the militia on the breaking out of the present war, and not to any negligence on the part of the respective lords lieutenants. As to the charge of tardiness, he doubted whether the bill, if it had been brought forward sooner, would have had the same support throughout the country. We were now in a situation when, "he that hath a sword let him gird himself therewith, and he that hath not, let him sell his garment to buy one." The preparations now so generally made, his lordship thought the most likely means of preventing, the attempt of the menaced invasion; but if, contrary to that expectation, it should, in fact, take place, he trusted that neither the country at large, nor London in particular, would feel any alarm, but be ready, as they were amply provided with the means, to retrieve the character they lost on the invasion of the Roman Cæsar.

Lord *Hobart* expressed himself much surprised at the object and tendency of the speech delivered by the noble lord (Mulgrave) who spoke last but one, particularly as he had reason to believe his lord hip was a friend to the principle of the bill. His speech appeared to be made for no other purpose but to depreciate the government in the eyes of the country; but was it possible, his lordship asked, for the bill to have been so well received in the country, if the conduct of government had been so weak and tardy as had been represented?—In the present situation of affairs, his lordship could not conceive what advantage his noble friend proposed to the country, by this studied animadversion on the past conduct of government. He had said that the people took their tone from the tone of government; and seemed to condemn the latter, for not sooner rousing the country from a state of listless indifference and inactive apathy. For what purpose was all this? Why, at the present moment, should his noble friend assert that government had fallen short of their duty? The point, however, had in no degree been established. His noble friend had upheld, as he himself would uphold, the conduct of the late administration, in times of trying exigencies. Was it meant, however, by thus timing this panegyric, to insinuate that if they had now been en-

trusted with the conduct of public affairs, the present measures would not have been so long delayed? If so, why, it may be asked, in a period of scarcely less danger, the year 1798, did not this same administration bring forward a similar measure? The arguments now advanced would lead to the inference, that they were culpable in not doing so. In fact, however, as had been said by the noble lord who spoke last, the propriety of a measure must depend on the peculiar circumstances of the moment in which it was brought forward. Government, however, were not strictly chargeable with weakness and inattention, because they exercised their judgment in selecting the time in which a particular measure should be brought forward. Let the House recollect what had, previously to this measure, been done. The militia were called out, the supplementary militia added, the regular force increased, and an army of reserve established. Now all these plans of operation were necessarily carried on by the same persons. What we foresaw, therefore, would have arisen, if they had all been undertaken at once. He could not speak accurately of the state of preparation in which France might at this moment be, but it was much greater than he conceived, if the forces of the country would be ready to act with any possible effect before the winter preparations, now suggested by the present bill, would be ready to oppose them. He was aware that the preparations on the other side of the water were great; they were great also here, and adequate to repel them. Approving, as the country was acknowledged to do, of the present measure, it was too much to take that opportunity of charging government with criminal delay, and doing nothing in its preparations. He professed the greatest respect and friendship for the noble lord who brought forward this charge, but he would not have the conduct of government arraigned on grounds so untenable, without rising to speak in its defence.

Lord *Winchelsea* spoke in favour of ministers as to not bringing forward all their plans of preparation at once. Such a conduct must necessarily, he thought, have been productive of great confusion.—The question was then put and carried.—The bill then went through the Committee, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 25.

[MINUTES.]—A message was received from the lords, intimating that their lordships had agreed to the Irish Treasury Bills Bill; the English Militia Completion Bill; the Chapel Endowment Bill; the Highland Canal Bill; and the Woollen Manufacturers' Penalty Suspension Bill. The Prize Captors' Relief Bill; the Irish Justices' Bill; and the Irish Militia Family Bill, were severally reported, and ordered to be read a third time the next day.—A Bill for Rectifying some Mistakes in the Scotch Army of Reserve Bill, as to the Regulation of Substitutes, was read a first time.—The Courts Martial Witnesses Bill, and the Volunteer Corps' Bill, were severally reported.

[EAST-INDIA SHIPPING.]—Lord *Castlereagh* moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the East-India Shipping Bill.

Mr. *Johnstone* rose, and repeated his former arguments against the granting of compensations to the contractors for India freights, beyond what they had agreed to receive during the period of peace. He contended, that having not only made their bargain in the first instance, but made it at a rate of 21l. per ton, at the very same moment that there were offers from the ship-owners at Hull, at Newcastle, and various other ports beside London, to take the freights at 18l. 15s. nay, some had offered to take the contract at 14l. the ton; and five ships had actually been taken up, and contracted with by the Directors at 18l. 5s.; those ship-owners had now no right whatever to come forward with new claims for additional compensation, under pretence of war breaking out, and to demand compensation which they never dreamt of at the moment of entering into their contract. The Directors, he contended, had no right whatever to break up those contracts, and to lay the proprietors open to new claims; and he concluded by observing, that so far did he conceive the contractors from being likely to sustain any loss, he was convinced they must be considerable gainers by their original bargain, by having a rate so much superior to that which other ship-owners had agreed to accept. The circumstances of contracts in this way differed most materially from those of former years. The navigation to India was so much better understood, and the arrangements in India so much better calculated for procuring freights with promptitude than heretofore, that the voyage out and home was completed of late in fifteen months, which formerly used to

occupy two whole years. However, if the House would agree to suspend the present bill, and the claim should be again brought forward early in the next session, if any one of the whole twenty-one ship-owners who were claimants in the present case, would then prove that he sustained any loss by the performance of his contract, he (Mr. Johnstone) would cheerfully consent even to a much greater compensation than that now proposed.

Lord *Castlereagh* defended the measure, upon the ground that it was perfectly consistent with the original spirit of the contract. The bidding, he said, was to be at a peace rate, but it was agreed and understood, that in case war should be declared, the performance should be at a war rate, and that both were to stand as distinct considerations.

Mr. *Peter Moore* defended the terms of the amended contract, which, he said, were as jealously opposed, and as warmly discussed at the India-House, as they could be in that assembly.—The House then resolved into a Committee, agreed to the resolutions, and the Chairman was ordered to bring up the report the next day.

[BONDING AND WAREHOUSE SYSTEM.]—General *Tarleton*, adverting to the bill pending before the House, respecting the bonding and warehousing goods, for the accommodation of the mercantile interests, observed, that as it was the notice of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this subject should again be taken into consideration on Friday night, he had to say, that the bill not having yet been printed according to the orders of the House, he of course had not had an opportunity of forwarding a copy thereof, for the consideration of his constituents, who were very materially interested in its operation, in order to receive their instructions on the subject so soon as Friday. He, therefore, hoped the right hon. gent. would have no objection to defer the Committee till Monday.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* cheerfully acquiesced, and moved that the order for Friday be discharged, and the Committee appointed for Monday.

Mr. *Corry* rose, and adverted to some observations made during his absence on a former night, respecting the extension of the bonding and warehousing system to Ireland. He perfectly agreed, that consistently with the principles laid down by his right hon friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), this, as well as every other principle for the advantage and improvement of commerce, ought to be extended to Ireland in common with this country. He then explained the reasons which, in his mind, rendered it unnecessary for him to bring forward a bill of this nature in respect to Ireland, during the present session of Parliament.—Motion agreed to.

[PRINCE OF ORANGE.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* moved the order of the day for the House to resolve into a Committee of Supply.

Lord *Leveson Gower* said, he certainly should not oppose the motion of the noble lord, for going into a Committee of Supply that day. But as notice had been given that a motion would be that day made for granting certain compensations or allowances to the Prince of Orange, agreeably to his Majesty's message referred to the Committee of Supply, he wished to be informed of the grounds upon which it was the noble lord's intention to move for such allowance; whether it was upon the grounds of any deficiency in the compensation stipulated for him by the 15th article of the treaty of Amiens, or as an additional compensation to the terms stipulated under that treaty. From what had fallen from a right hon. gent. some time before last Christmas, an intention seemed to have been then entertained by his Majesty's ministers, of bringing forward some measure in favour of the Prince of Orange; and he wished to know why an intention so long since entertained should have been so long kept back by those ministers, and now brought forward at the latter end of July, when nearly four-fifths of the members of parliament were retired to the country, and consequently could have no opportunity of considering the question.

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, that the object for the House resolving into a Committee of Supply at this moment, was not exclusively the consideration of his Majesty's message respecting the Prince of Orange. This, however, was one of the objects; and so soon as the House should resolve into a Committee, he should explain his motives on that ground.—The House then resolved into a Committee.

Lord *Hawkesbury* rose and said, that though he felt as strongly as any man, decided reluctance to bringing forward any measure tending to impose unnecessary burthens upon the country, and more especially at a crisis such as the present, yet he trusted that when the Committee should have heard his explanation of the measure he had to propose that night, they would not only acquit him of the charge of bringing forward an unjust or unnecessary proposition, but that they would admit the proposal he was

about to have the honour of submitting for their consideration, was one which had not only the strongest claims upon the generosity, the liberality, and wise policy of this country, but founded in a principle of that justice; one which he would not, though he might with propriety, rest upon the recommendation expressed in his Majesty's message, but which he would explain more at large, to shew the justice of the claim he was about to urge. The obligations this country owed to the House of Orange, he said, were greater than ever were due by any country to any great family at the head of a national government. To prove this, he would call to the recollection of the House, the uniform conduct of the House of Orange, on all occasions, to this country, from the period we owed to an illustrious prince of that house the preservation of our constitution and our liberties, to the present moment. Upon every occasion the steady attachment of that illustrious House was strongly and uniformly marked towards this country, and increased in proportion to the preponderance it obtained in the country of its sovereignty; the connexion of which with Great Britain it had uniformly laboured to fortify. These were considerations which he was sure could not fail of having great weight with the House. But with respect to the foreign transactions on which that House had been committed in common with this country, and in which it had sacrificed its dearest interests, its power and possession, to British attachment, its claims upon the generosity of this country must undoubtedly be felt with still greater force. He would not say, merely on a ground of compassion, however forcible might be the appeal to British generosity on that score, but upon much higher claims, those of justice and liberality. It was a fact too well known to require recapitulation now, that the illustrious prince at the head of the House of Orange had, in the strength of his attachment to Great Britain, lost every thing which belonged to him, whether as sovereignty, rank, power, or private property, in the late contest. In the negotiation of the treaty of Amiens, it was stipulated that some compensation should be made him, in consideration of which he had agreed to surrender all claims to the sovereignty and other rights in the United Provinces. How far these compensations were adequate to the surrenders he consented to make, was not now to be considered; nor was it a matter easy to calculate. But whatever was the compensation stipulated, it had not been fulfilled according to that stipulation; and the only part of the agreement which had been performed, was now again violated by the recent aggression of France; and having thus lost every thing for its attachment to England, it became the just right of the House of Orange to claim, and the duty of his Majesty's ministers to propose some plan of compensation, by which to alleviate the distresses to which that illustrious House had been reduced, until events should give some turn to its fortunes. His Majesty, impressed by these considerations, certainly felt it both his duty and earnest desire to recommend the subject to the consideration of his Parliament, in the hope that some compensation would be thought just for the House of Orange; and upon this ground it was, that his Majesty sent his royal message to the House. The House must recollect, that in the course of the war, very eminent services were rendered to this country by the Prince of Orange, and that a very considerable Dutch fleet was surrendered to England in his name. In the subsequent negotiation with the Batavian government, for compensation to the Prince of Orange, it was stipulated on their part, that if the Dutch fleet, surrendered to England in his name, was given back, they would make ample provision for him. His Majesty's ministers, however, could not deem it politic to enter into any stipulation of this sort, but as it stood in the way of compensation to the House of Orange for the losses they had sustained, their claims were the stronger upon the justice and generosity of this country. Considering, therefore, all these points, and the power and possessions the family were compelled to abandon for their services and attachment to this country, he trusted the House would feel the force of its claims upon the justice and generosity of the British nation. The modes which he should, with the leave of the Committee, propose, were two—namely, either to vote a given sum as a complete and final indemnity in consideration of all their losses, or else a small sum promptly, and another by way of annuity. He should himself prefer the latter, as the more eligible mode; and therefore propose it first, namely, a sum of 60,000 l. in money, and an annuity of 16,000 l. per annum. By this latter sum he wished it to be understood that all the pensions to minor branches of the family for their services and attachment to this country, were to be covered; and he concluded by a motion to that effect.

Mr. *Canning* rose, not, he said, to resist the claims of the illustrious House alluded to, upon the justice and generosity of the

British nation, for he fully admitted them; but merely to make some observations upon the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, as with respect to the compensations stipulated for the Stadtholder by the treaty of Amiens, and which they neglected to enforce while they had the means in their hands; and to ask, why those ministers had so long held back this proposition, which, as had been truly observed by his noble friend, (Lord L. Gower) a right hon. gent. had intimated his intention to bring forward so long ago as last Dec., but which they never again mentioned until this advanced period, when the House was almost deserted on the eve of a prorogation. Their conduct on this occasion he thought rather whimsical. Looking to the treaty of Amiens, he there found a stipulation for ample indemnities to the Stadtholder fully agreed to by the contracting parties: but no sooner was it settled on the part of this country with France and Holland, that the Stadtholder should be fully indemnified, than a new agreement is made between Holland and France, that the former shall not be called on for any part of the compensation; and thus the Batavian government shifts the burden off its own shoulders, and throws it upon France, who totally refuses to comply. A manœuvre so barefaced and fraudulent was, he believed, unparalleled in the history of civilized nations: But he desired to know, why his Majesty's ministers did not insist on the stipulation being fully performed before they had surrendered the means in their own hands—namely, the Cape of Good Hope, not then given up, and the islands belonging to France; since France was to be looked to for the performance of the stipulation. Such a conduct on the part of France and Holland was adding insult to injury: and though, had his Majesty's ministers been capable of selling the fleet of the country to procure an alternative of compensation for the Stadtholder, they would have deserved to be branded with the foulest criminality, yet he could not acquit them of the grossest negligence, and most reprehensible omission, in not enforcing compensation in the first instance, by the means in their possession, agreeable to the objects of the treaty of Amiens, which was equally binding on both, and by which ministers would have been justified in making that compensation to the House of Orange, which the Batavian and the French governments chose to elude or refuse. The opportunity, however, was now lost; we are again at war with the Batavian government, and there remained at present no other mode of setting matters to rights than by an effort of national generosity to relieve the embarrassments in which that illustrious family had been involved; but he never could excuse ministers for not having secured indemnity from the means in their hands. How much more grateful would such indemnity have been to the feelings of that illustrious House, rather than being reduced to the necessity of depending on the eleemosynary stipend of parliamentary generosity; which, though it reflected honour upon his Majesty, with whom the idea originated, as well as upon the nation which conferred it, yet it could not fail of making unpleasant impressions upon the feelings of the illustrious prince, whose embarrassments forced him to accept it, though he had every claim that national justice and liberality could sanction.

Lord *Hawkesbury* acknowledged, that the secret convention between the French and Batavian plenipotentiaries, which had been alluded to, was a circumstance of a very extraordinary nature; but yet there was nothing in the thing itself to preclude one of the parties from taking the burthen of compensation off the shoulders of the other, but the bad character and general ill conduct of the power which had done so. What he dwelt on, he said, was, that by a convention made in the month of June, the Prince of Orange had agreed to renounce all his claims to the Stadtholderate and his hereditary states, for an indemnity to be given him in Germany, and having done so, he had no claim of right to with-hold the cession of any of our stipulated conquests to secure to him possessions which he had already given up. The present proposal was not professed to be brought forward as a positive claim, but rather as an appeal to the justice and generosity of this country.

Mr. *Canning* explained, that he did not impute it as bad faith in the Dutch to have thrown the indemnity from themselves upon France, but thought it rather extraordinary we should have applied to them who had been released, rather than to the party which had undertaken the indemnity. Either the Prince of Orange was sufficiently compensated, or he was not. If not, he had a right to complain of our government, even though he did sign the treaty or convention alluded to; for when a great state undertook to guarantee a small one, it was bound not to suffer an inadequate indemnity to be forced upon it, and thrust down its throat, otherwise the guarantee would be of very little service.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, that he thought the proposed provision was one of the most ex-

traordinary measures, under the present circumstances of the country, that ever was submitted to the consideration of the House; and, in his opinion, the noble lord had felt a considerable difficulty in proposing a claim upon the people of England in such times, and for such a purpose. The noble lord had rested that claim of the Prince of Orange upon the justice and generosity of the country. As for justice, wherever it could be established, it was a matter absolutely necessary to be attended to by all nations and people; and as for generosity, it was, in his opinion, a most excellent quality; but he thought it would not be amiss, on the present occasion, for Ministers to attend a little to the justice which they owed the people of this country, in preference to listening to imaginary claims arising from other quarters. He thought, that so far from the House of Orange having claims against this country, Parliament and the people of England might have claims against it, having been called in as auxiliaries only in order to assist the Dutch; for the Prince of Orange was the original cause of involving this country in the late war. In that point of view, as an advocate for the people of England, he should declare himself hostile to any claim of the nature of that which was now proposed. The Prince of Orange must have either sacrificed the interest of his country, or he could have no claim upon this. We were just now entered into a war, the real objects of which have become just as indefinite as those of the last one, and no man could tell how unable we might be to resist our enemies, or how this country was to be defended; and we were even at this time considering how this capital was to be defended against a siege; and he would appeal to any man, if, when we were involved in such a situation, such an unfounded and unjust claim as this ought to be listened to! It was not long ago since the House were engaged in discussing a claim brought from a different quarter, he meant the claim of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. That claim was, at the time it was brought forward, thought by many to be proper and just, and such a one as was connected with the public welfare; though he must confess that he himself did not think so. It was, however, voluntarily given up by the Prince of Wales himself, and abandoned by all who supported it, on account of the advantages which would result to the country, when in a state of war, by its being quashed. He could not imagine it possible, that Parliament, after having abandoned the claim of a Prince of this country, could entertain, for a moment, such a one as the present. He was astonished how any man could have thought of it, when the people of the country were called upon to contribute towards the present war, on very strong grounds of necessity, which create very great uneasiness and difficulty to every individual in the realm. Once encourage such claims, and he did not know what would be the end of them. Was it with a view to try the extent of the generosity of which the people of England were possessed? For any thing he knew, we might perhaps be called on by and by to indemnify the Elector of Hanover. In short, he thought it was impossible for him or any man to tell whom we might be called on to indemnify. Under circumstances like the present, when the good-will of the people was so necessary to be secured, he might say that such a conduct displayed a want of common prudence or decency to the country. He considered that ministers did not seem to have done every thing with an intent to shew to the country their economy of the public finances, which they were every day increasing, by making additional exactions upon the people. They had done away or expunged no sinecures from the list of pensioners, and until he could read the pension list, without exciting displeasure or disgust, he never could imagine that any symptoms of economy were displayed by government. He wished only to see in that list the names of the individuals who had performed meritorious services to the state, under which conditions, it is to be presumed that all pensions were created. So far from this being the case, however, he saw government overlooking meritorious services, while they were appealing to the generosity of the country at a time when the people were exhausted with taxes which were laid upon them, and when all that industry and ingenuity can produce, seem not adequate to satisfy the numerous demands of government. When we see such loans of money, and sometimes even two budgets brought forward in one year, with rules of taxes and contributions, he should under such circumstances, conceive that he was betraying the interest of his constituents, were he to consent to give away any money out of the pockets of the public towards such an indemnification. He should wish to know what indemnity the Prince of Orange had already had, for he imagined that no claim could attach to the ships that were taken in

Holland. He concluded by making this singular observation; that unless he could bring himself to be of opinion, that bran was the best substitute which the people of England could make use of for corn, and a workhouse the fittest place for people to reside in (which he alleged the minister had once said) he could never think of agreeing to such a donation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed his astonishment at hearing the hon. baronet make such an allegation. Whether or not he had ever made such an observation as that imputed to him, he only need appeal to the members of that House. He expressed his astonishment that the claims of the Prince of Orange should be disallowed by any person whatever. Surprised he was to find that an unfortunate family, who were the victims of the gigantic military and unjust power of France, did not draw from the hon. gent. some sentiments of pity, of generosity, or even of justice, feeling as he must, and knowing as he must know, that to that illustrious House this country was indebted for a considerable share of the liberties which it now enjoys. He trusted there could not be another individual in the House who was not inclined more justly to reflect upon the lamentable vicissitudes of fortune. In spite of the machinations of the French we had preserved, unimpaired, all the blessings originating from King W. III. greatly by means of the assistance derived from our faithful ally. He should have thought that the deplorable situation of the family in question would have excited the compassion, would have awakened the just and generous feelings of every person within this House. It was, no doubt, a melancholy circumstance, that the House was under the necessity of voting the sum of 60,000l. towards the wants and necessities of the Prince of Orange, at a time like the present, when our own exigencies were so great; but the propriety and even the justice of the claim he hoped would be listened to by the House. The money which we had received, and the liberties which we were in possession of by means of that illustrious family, were considerations which he trusted, would have their due weight. The hon. member had stated, that no argument had been brought forward in support of the claim. He thought his noble friend said sufficient, when in his appeal to the House he stated the arrangement which was to take place, provided this country surrendered the ships which were taken in Holland. After these ships had been so retained, they were to operate as a claim of 220,000l. which was to be advanced by this country. The occupation of Holland by the French, however, soon prevented any indemnification being made at that time, by a sense of honour and other considerations; but we should at least see, that the Prince of Orange should not be a sufferer by such a conduct. His noble friend made an appeal to the generosity of the people of this country, and stated that we had stood in the way of an arrangement, which would have opened, to the advantage of the noble personage whose case we were considering.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, that there was certainly a very powerful, and perhaps irresistible appeal made in this case, and he should not be the first to refuse any grant claimed upon the ground of the compassion or the gratitude of this country to that illustrious family. Upon these grounds he admitted their claims in the fullest extent, but when gentlemen spoke of justice, they admitted a sort of confusion, or at least mixture of ideas. His plain and simple objection was of a different nature. The Parliament was now sitting later than usual, on the 26th of July, and this measure was deferred till a period when a very thin attendance must necessarily be expected. The sum of 60,000l. and 16,000l. a year was not a trifle in itself, and was of still greater importance as a precedent. Yet, though the French should be even at our doors, he would not object, were it absolutely a claim of generosity and justice. But he would ask, why pass a vote in the end of July, which would answer the same purpose in November next? It did not appear that there was any regular or pressing necessity for the grant now, and there could be no doubt of the House being fully as responsible and well able to pay the money in November, after having had sufficient time to examine into all the circumstances.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he could see no objection to such a measure as this on account of a thin attendance, when there was business of such extreme importance before Parliament, as the Defence and the Property Bill. The reason why it was not brought forward before, was only because his Majesty's ministers were hitherto so very much occupied with other business. With regard to the postponement, he said, he had reason to think that the vote now proposed would

be more acceptable to that illustrious family at present, than a much larger sum if delayed for another year.

Mr. *Smith* replied, that he did not propose it to be delayed for another year, but till November next, which would be no more than the space of three months.—The resolution for the grant of 60,000 l. was agreed to, *nem. con.*

Lord *Hawkesbury* then said, that he was under a misapprehension when he stated, that the annuity must require a separate Committee; and finding that it might be passed with equal regularity now, he would lose no time, but move, that there be granted to his Majesty, out of the consolidated fund, the annual sum of 16,000 l. as an indemnity to the illustrious house of Orange.

Mr. *Wm. Smith* proposed to get rid of this motion, by moving, that the Chairman do leave the chair; which was immediately negatived, and the resolution carried.—On the motion for the sum of 2,000,000 l. to be granted as a vote of credit,

Mr. *Johnstone* said, the minister on a former day, according to a report which he then held in his hand, had given a pledge that 26 millions would be sufficient for the service of the ensuing year. To shew that this pledge could not be redeemed, he stated, that in the year 1800, the expense was 32,000,000 l. and in the year ensuing 38,000,000 l. for Great-Britain only, which, with the 5,000,000 l. from Ireland, amounted to the sum of 43,000,000 l. and he could not see how it was possible that we could go on at a cheaper rate now, when we were to have an infinitely greater establishment.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that the newspaper report alluded to, must have been grossly inaccurate, if it stated him to say, that the expenses of the year would be no more than 26,000,000 l.; for though he might reasonably be supposed to know, at the time, what were the intentions of government in regard to the augmentation of our force, he could not have anticipated what might have been the decision of Parliament. What he really stated the expenses of the year he estimated at, was about 30,000,000 l. or 26,000,000 l. exclusive of Ireland. This arose from the estimate of 10,000,000 l. from the previous produce of the consolidated fund, 10,000,000 l. from the customs, and 10,000,000 l. more, which he proposed to raise in this country as a war tax.—The resolutions were agreed to, the report ordered to be received the next day, and the Committee of Supply ordered to sit again on Wednesday.

[WAYS AND MEANS.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* prefaced the resolutions he had to propose, by observing that at an early period of the year, it was proposed to raise 3,000,000 l. for the payment of a like sum advanced by the Bank, of which, 1,500,000 l. had been actually paid; but, in consequence of the renewal of the war, an application was made to induce them to take the remainder in Exchequer bills, which was agreed to for the public convenience. He then proceeded to make his several statements to the Committee.

Estimate of the surplus of the consolidated fund to 5th January, 1804:			
Total sum proposed to be voted to the 5th of Jan. 1804			£6,500,000
Received on Jan. 5, 1803, after completing the grant for the service of 1802		309,329	
Received on April 5, 1803		1,037,332	
——— on July 5, 1803 (nearly)		1,186,000	
			2,622,661
Remains to make good			3,877,339
Income for two quarters to Jan. 5, 1804, together, supposed double the July quarter, 1803, (adding 200,000 l. for the expected produce of duties, 1803)		17,650,000	
Deduct charge on Oct. 10, 1803, supposed equal to April 5, 1803, after deducting 198,500l. paid in that quarter, for the half yearly dividend, to Oct. 1802, to those who had not completed their payments before the 7th of Oct. 1804	5,560,500		
Ditto, 5th Jan. supposed equal to July, 1803, with the addition of 320,000 l. for the charge of a new loan	7,858,000		
			13,418,500
Expected surplus in two quarters, ending 5th Jan. 1804		4,231,500	
Deduct the sum remaining to be made good		3,877,339	
Estimated surplus above the proposed grant			354,161
N. B. The only articles of extraordinary receipt in the quarter, ending 5th July, were arrears of convoy duty and income duty, amounting together to			341,700

The produce of permanent taxes, in the quarter ending the 5th of July, compared with their produce in the two succeeding quarters, for the four last years, omitting the duties imposed on each year respectively, as appears by the following table:

1799.		*Increase.*	*Diminution.*
Quarter ended 5th July	5,488,802		
	2		
	10,977,604		
10th Oct. ..	6,865,440		
5thJan.1800	6,329,507		
	13,194,947	2,217,343	
1800.			
5th July,..	5,695,619		
	2		
	11,391,238		
10th Oct. ..	5,838,793		
5thJan.1801	5,810,471		
	11,649,264	258,026	
1801.			
5th July,	5,628,000		
	2		
1802.	11,256,000		
10th Oct. and 5th Jan.	12,518,000		
		1,262,000	
5th July.....	7,093,000		
	2		
	14,186,000		
Oct. 10 & Jan. 5, 1803	14,016,000		
			170,000
Increase in 3 years....		3,737,369	
Deduct diminution....		170,000	
		3,567,369	
Average Increase..		891,842	

The following resolutions were moved and agreed to:—"1. That towards raising the sum of two millions, voted in the Committee of Supply, the sum of 1,500,000 l. be raised out of the consolidated fund, and be supplied by Exchequer bills.—2. That towards payment of money advanced by the Bank, the sum of two millions be also raised by loans of Exchequer bills, to be made good next year.—3. That it appears that the sum of 1,500,000 l. stands as the surplus of the consolidated fund."—The House resumed, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 26.

[MINUTES.]—The London Coal Market Bill was read a third time, and passed.—Dr. Fisher, the new Bishop of Exeter, took the oaths and his seat.

GENERAL DEFENCE.]—The general Defence Bill was reported, and the amendments agreed to.

Lord *Hobart* moved, that the bill should be read a third time, which was done. He then proposed several new amendments, which were agreed to; and, as some apprehensions were entertained, that persons serving in volunteer corps were liable to be drafted into the army of reserve, he proposed a clause to remove these apprehensions. Agreed to.—The bill was then passed, and sent to the Commons.—In a few minutes after, Mr. Alexander brought up the bill, stating that the Commons had agreed to their Lordships' amendments.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 26.

[MINUTES.]—The Irish Justices' Bill, the Irish Militia Families' Bill, the Prize Goods' Bill and Court Martial Witnesses' Bill, were read a third time and passed.—The Scotch Army of Reserve Amendment Bill was read a second time.

[ALIENS.]—The *Attorney General* rose to submit to the House the propriety of making some alterations in the laws respecting aliens. It appeared necessary that persons offending under the alien act should be liable to be punished in a more summary manner than was at present provided for. Under the act they could be punished by indictment only for disobeying the King's proclamation, and other offences. This mode of proceeding was, however, frequently very inconvenient; and it would be proposed to alter it. Another change which he intended to suggest related to the power of sending aliens out of the country; that power was at present possessed by the magistrates; but in his opinion it ought to be lodged in the hands of the crown only. Several other regulations, which were not necessary in the time of peace when the last act was passed, would be introduced into the bill he was to bring in. Regulations would also be made respecting the ports at which aliens should be permitted to land. It was very desirable that no necessity should arise for suspending the habeas corpus act; and in order that the people of this country might not be subjected to that inconvenience, it was proper to be more vigilant with respect to aliens. Under the present circumstances of the country, it was indispensably requisite that foreigners should be placed under restrictions, which he should be very sorry to see extended to the people of this country. He therefore moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the alien act, and to substitute other regulations in lieu thereof.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

[SUGARS.]—Mr. *Chapman* said, he should not propose the motion he intended to submit, at so late a period of the session, if the

duties now payable upon West-India produce, were not so exorbitant as must prove ruinous to individuals, and ultimately injurious to the revenue. He did not doubt the minister's disposition to levy taxes equally, but when he said, that the colonial articles could not only bear the new tax act, but could also do it if carried to a greater extent, he did not hesitate to say that his information was unfounded, and grossly and glaringly false. He was ready to prove his assertion, and make it evident when an opportunity should be given him, that the colonial produce was over-taxed; that all the profit went into the hands of the Exchequer; that the different taxes left very little to the planter for his capital, and nothing for his rent; and that the planter paid full 20s. in the pound on his rent, and at least 15s. in the pound out of his capital. Upon this system, therefore, the moderation of Buonaparté himself could not leave the colonists less than the moderation of the present minister. This was not to be answered by cases of individual opulence, any more than in other concerns; and were he asked, why, if it was a losing trade, they did not withdraw their capital, his answer would be, because the thing was impossible, without renouncing two-thirds of their property, and leaving the remainder in a state of the utmost insecurity. He wished that the tax, particularly on sugar, should be levied *ad valorem*; for as it stood at present, the commonest brown or black sugars paid as high a tax as the finest sort, by which the poor man, who bought his common sugar by the pound or half pound, paid a tax of a penny, whereas the gentleman, who bought his sugar by the loaf, paid no more than a half-penny. He then moved that the House do, on Thursday next, resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of the duties upon sugar.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, if he understood the hon. gent. right, he meant to represent the trading interest of this country to be at variance with that of the colonies; whereas a reference to the records of Parliament would shew that of the West-India colonies to be a very favoured trade. In proof of this he quoted the bonding and warehousing acts, passed principally for the accommodation of the West-India merchants. Neither did the indulgence stop there; for in the last session a bounty was granted on the importation of refined sugars, and afterwards on the exportation of sugars in a raw and unmanufactured state. If the case was really as stated, it would be impossible to account for the rise of 15s. in the price of sugar under all this mighty pressure, for the price was lately no more than 33s. whereas he understood that that very day it was as high as 48s. In the course of the last war sugar had risen sometimes so high as 80s. at the time that the necessaries of life were at a most exorbitant and distressing price, and yet neither the export trade nor the home consumption of sugar had in any degree diminished. With regard to the *ad valorem* duty, he assured the House, that several of the most intelligent people had been consulted on it, and that, on the most mature deliberation, it was found to be impracticable. The poor man, no doubt, paid as high a duty as he who bought sugar of the first quality, but then he did not pay so high a price for it. This buying in small quantities always subjected a person of limited means to pay more than he who purchased considerably, on account of the number of hands receiving profit in a retail way before it came to the consumer, but this applied to every other article as well as that of sugar, except in articles of the first necessity, which the poor could buy as cheap as the rich at market. As to the planters not being allowed sufficiently for their capitals, he could not well reconcile that with so much British capital laid out in plantations in Martinique and other islands, and the numerous applications for other grants of lands in the island of Trinidada. He concluded with moving, that the other orders of the day be now read.

Sir *W. Pulteney* saw no difficulty in levying an *ad valorem* duty on sugar. When the right hon. gent. (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) collected his information from persons of opposite interests in trade, he might expect to hear very contradictory representations.

Mr. *Manning* declared, that if the hon. baronet's observations referred to him, they were unfounded. He never had used any influence with the right hon. gent. in any conversations with him. He was convinced that it was impossible to adopt an *ad valorem* duty, without occasioning great vexations to trade.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought it due to his hon. friend (Mr. Manning) to state, that though he was certainly apprised of his opinion with respect to the tax under consideration, yet he had never pressed that opinion with violence or per-

tinacity; but had always stated it with that moderation which was peculiar to his character.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, they could not send the sugars to America, without being liable to penalties and confiscations.

Mr. *Giles* thought it would be conferring a considerable benefit upon the planter or manufacturer of fine sugar, were the duty to be laid on according to the quality. He thought the present mode of laying on the duty according to the quantity, whether fine or coarse, was doing an injustice to the manufacturer of coarse sugar.—After a conversation of some length, Mr. Chapman agreed to withdraw his motion.

[CURATES.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the House should go into a Committee, to consider the expediency of relieving, out of the public money, such temporary curates as might be deprived of their cures by the operation of the late bill for the residence of the clergy. The House accordingly went into a Committee. —The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should have apologized to the Committee, for what he was about to propose, did he not believe that it was a measure which would meet with the general concurrence of the House, from every hint which he had yet occasion to receive upon the subject. It had long been a part of the established policy of the country to encourage the residence of the clergy; but the stipendiary curate bill could not be said to include every description of curates, or to entitle them to the bounty of Parliament. He was sure that Parliament, in its justice and compassion, would not admit of hardships being felt by the description of men he alluded to, when the sum of 8,000l. would be sufficient, in a great measure, to prevent their distress. It ought not only to proceed from a sense of justice, but it ought to be the established policy of the country to prevent the clerical character from being lowered and degraded, and he thought that it ought not to be a part of that policy, to admit the expediency of persons entering into holy orders, who have no other means of subsistence than their clerical profession. There was hardly a church living for curates, which, considering the present value of money, could be sufficient to procure a livelihood for themselves and their families. It was not therefore too much for Parliament to expect that they should be persons who had other means of subsistence than what they derived from their clerical functions. He thought that upon the principles of Queen Anne's bounty, something ought to be done for the poorer class of clergymen, called temporary curates. He should therefore submit the expediency of a small sum being lent out on interest for their benefit; and he only mentioned this, in the hope, that during next session of Parliament, some more effectual means should be adopted for their relief. He therefore humbly moved, that the Committee should consider the expediency of 8,000l. being granted to his Majesty, for the relief of such curates as have been disappointed by the late bill. He should also propose that the money should be applied by the Governors of Q. Anne's bounty, and that there should be a limitation in the mode of application, either by three-fourths or two-thirds of what the curate had so been deprived of.

Mr. *H. Brown* concurred in the measure. —On the question being put, the motion was carried. The House resumed, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 27.

[MINUTES.] — The royal assent was given, by commission, to the Irish Treasury Bills Bill, the Caledonian Canal Bill, the General Defence Bill, the Ship-burning Bill, the Thames Police Bill, the Grenada Loan, and Clergy Residence Mistake Bills, the Guernsey Corn Bill, the Irish Revenue and Malt Duty Bills, and a great many others.—Mr. Alexander brought up the Irish Justice Bill, the Court Martial Habeas Corpus Bill, the Irish Militia Substitute Families Bill, and the Yeomanry and Militia Serjeants Bill, which were read a first time.—The Chatham Chest Bill was read a third time and passed.—Judgment was given in the appeal, Anderson and Caddel, by which the decision of the Court of Session was affirmed without costs. —Judgment was also given in the appeal, Irving and Houston, by which the decision of the Court of Session was reversed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 27.

[MINUTES.]—An account was presented at the bar, of the different public securities and funds in the hands of the commissioners appointed to manage the sinking fund of the East-India Company. — The Scotch Cotton Weavers' Bill was read a third

time and passed.—Mr. Addington moved, that the House do resolve itself the next day into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the salaries to be allowed to the Judges of the Vice Admiralty Courts of Malta, Bermuda, and the Bahamas.—Ordered.

[WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES.]—The order of the day having been read for considering the Lord's amendments on the Woollen Manufacturers' Bill,

The *Speaker* informed the House, that this bill appeared to him to be in some degree connected with that class of bills which it was the peculiar privilege of that House to originate, and in which they never consented to any amendments, inasmuch as by its enacting punishments by fine in certain cases, it so far went to the levying of money from the subjects of this realm; it was the custom of the House, on those occasions, to postpone the consideration of the amendments for a long time, and bring in a new bill altered accordingly, if the House approved of the amendments in themselves.

Mr. *Vansittart* moved the postponing the consideration of those amendments for three months, which was accordingly agreed to. He then obtained leave to bring in a bill agreeable to their Lordships' amendments; which having obtained, he brought in the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

[JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE.] — Lord *Glenbervie* stated to the House, that no more copies of its journals were now printed, than when the House was composed of fewer members; that the number actually printed was too small to supply the demand, and that many very valuable reports, which had been presented by different Committees to the House, had been in a manner lost, from want of the means to obtain printed copies of them: he was of opinion, that there ought to be printed not less than 1200 copies of the journals and indexes, and 1500 of the reports of the different Committees; he concluded by moving, that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the subject of the printing of the journals and reports of the House. This motion was adopted, and a Committee accordingly appointed, consisting of Lord Glenbervie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Hawkesbury, and the law officers.—Lord Glenbervie then moved several instructions to this Committee, which were agreed to; namely, that they should present an estimate of the expense of printing the number of copies he had mentioned, and of procuring a fit place to deposit them, and also that they should superintend the arrangement of the reports and journals so to be published.

[ALIENS.]—The *Attorney General* brought in a bill for repealing the act passed in the last session, respecting aliens; the bill which he presented, and in which there were several additional clauses, was to be substituted in the place of it.—The preamble of the bill stated, that, "Whereas in the present circumstances; great danger and mischief might arise from the residence and resort of foreigners in this country," and the provisions of the bill, besides empowering his Majesty's Secretary of State to remove such of them from the country as he should judge proper, laid additional restraints on their landing, restricting them to land only at certain ports, which should be assigned for them. There were several other additional clauses in this bill.—The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

[PROPERTY BILL.] — The order of the day was moved for taking into consideration the report of the bill for granting contributions for certain descriptions of property.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he rose to move the recommitment of the bill, and, as a greater part of the clauses had undergone a minute discussion in the Committee, he should presume it would not be the wish of the House to resume the discussion on those points. But it would be recollected, that just before the breaking up of the Committee, some additional clauses were proposed, which the House ought to have an opportunity of stating their opinion upon. It was upon that ground he should move the recommitment. The principal points in the clauses related to exemptions from abatements on account of fines and repairs, and also the proposed exemptions with regard to foreigners lending money in this country, which might be subject to the operation of the tax. On the subject of the fines, it was necessary the House should be perfectly apprized before the recommitment of the bill. The mode of charging landlords and tenants in cases of fines, was a subject of much difficulty; but the mode he submitted was liable to as few objections as possible, though it was not wholly destitute of them. What was proposed was this, that where a fine for a lease for seven or fourteen years was paid, the tenant should be entitled to deduction for the fine paid, divided by the number of years upon which it had been paid. Suppose 700l. had been paid as

a fine for seven years, then the division of 700l. would be seven years, and the quotient would be the sum of 100l. for which the tenant would be entitled to be discharged. The sum for which he would be discharged was to be laid on the landlord. Suppose (what was impossible, but for argument's sake) that 700l. was to purchase an annuity of 250l. the effect of exonerating the tenant would be to subject him to the tax for 150l. and then the landlord would be liable to be charged for 100l. In cases of leases for years the mode would be similar. In what was called the legacy bill, there was a shedule, with calculations for two lives. It was proposed by the present bill to apply that schedule to three lives, and the number of years on which the calculation was to be founded was to be equal to the number of years for which the lease was granted, and that was to be the divisor. This was the principle resorted to under the income act, with this difference only, that the landlord would never be charged, unless he had actually received the fine.—The next point to which the amendments applied was that of repairs. It was a subject on which there was a great difference of opinion, and sure he was the House would perceive that it was impossible to apply the principle of an average in such a way as to reach all cases; at the same time, he was so convinced of the impossibility of the investigation of each particular case, that if it should be the pleasure of the Committee to grant any allowance, it must be on the principle of an average. The present bill was only to continue during the war, and this condition applied forcibly to the exemptions claimed for repairs. The object of the House would be, to afford compensation for necessary repairs, but to avoid encouraging landlords to extend their repairs, with a view to diminish the sum on which the tax was to operate. It must be the wish of the House to afford relief for necessary repairs, but to avoid extending it to those which were unnecessary. To reach this object on any regular principle would be impossible, therefore the only thing that could be done was, to make the allowance moderate. The allowance under the income tax had been 8 per cent. He should propose, that under the present bill, it should be 2 per cent. Under the income bill, the allowance for capital messuages with farms was 8 per cent. and for houses to which no land was annexed, 10 per cent. From the best information he had been able to obtain, it would not be necessary to adopt this medium, for it would be recollected, that under the income tax, every year of war had a tendency to increase the period of its duration after the restoration of peace. This being a bill which was understood to continue only during the war, he did not think the allowance for repairs ought to be any thing near so great. What he should propose would be, that in cases of lands and messuages there should be no charge; that an allowance of 2 per cent. for farms, provided the farm houses were not the object of assessment; under this bill, and on capital messuages without land, an allowance of 5 per cent. With regard to foreigners, and how far it might be desirable to subject them to the tax, for money lent to the subjects of this country, he thought the country would act with its usual good faith in exempting foreigners. He had bestowed the best attention in his power to the subject, and he acted upon the best information. Doubts were entertained by the highest authority, and among many members of the House, and therefore upon the principle *quod dubitas nefas est*, he should not adopt the tax with regard to foreigners lending money to British subjects in this country; but he proposed guarding, as far as possible, against those frauds which to a certain extent it would be fruitless to expect could be obviated, in consequence of the exemption in favour of foreigners. To the subject of exemptions in favour of persons having numerous families, he had also paid attention. He owned it would be desirable these exemptions should be in another bill, now before the House, for simplifying and modifying the assessed taxes, making them the object to which the House ought to look. The assessments had been made for the present year, and it would be impossible to extend the exemptions in the bill he had alluded to, during the present year, without a new assessment. He should recommend to the Committee to grant the exemptions in this bill for the present year, reserving always the power of changing them. This was not the stage for entering into minute discussion, but he wished to state the reasons why he proposed the recommitment of the bill, and having stated them, it was only his intention to comprise in his observations the nature and extent of those exemptions. He proposed there should be charged upon income from 60l. to 400l. for each child above two or for three or more children—4 per cent.—Upon income from 400l. to 1,000l. for ditto—3 per cent.—Upon income from 1,000l. to 5,000l. for ditto—2 per cent.—And upon income from 5,000l. and upwards—1 per cent.—It was his wish to carry the intention of the House into effect, by

granting exemptions to all under 60l. a year, and to grant abatements in favour of those above 60l. and under 150l. It was to be observed, that the principal difficulty arose with respect to persons who were not assessed. In cases of mortgagees, and persons lending money, it was found difficult to apply a principle without risk to the revenue; a mode, however, had been adopted by means of certificates, by which all persons who claimed exemptions from the commissioners should, on producing them, be entitled to have them considered as money, *pro tanto*, by those by whom they might be received. It would be found the most simple and effectual mode that could be resorted to. Having thus stated the points which had not yet been discussed, and to which the new clauses referred, he should not trespass further upon the time of the House, but merely move that the bill should be recommitted. —The bill was then recommitted, Mr. Alexander in the chair.

Mr. *Pitt* proposed, that for the greater accommodation and facility of discussion, it would be most convenient to canvass the amendments to be proposed in the different clauses as they went on, and confine themselves to do so, reserving till afterwards any new clauses or very serious amendments in the body of the bill.

The Committee then proceeded to debate upon several trifling and verbal alterations and suggestions offered by different members, very few of which were agreed to.—— When they came to the clause which put the enforcement of the tax in the city of Norwich out of the hands of the magistrates, a member, whose name we could not learn, objected to this, as containing an insinuation rather injurious and of an illiberal nature against the magistrates of the place. He had been himself, he said, a magistrate of that part of the country, and a commissioner under the late income tax, and could assert, from personal knowledge, that nothing could have been conducted with greater fairness and impartiality. All he wished for was to have Norwich upon the same footing as all the other cities. He saw the two Members for Norwich then in their places. The one of them was scarcely known in the place, whereas there was scarcely an inhabitant of the place who was not well known to the other. He would therefore appeal to his personal knowledge, with respect to the character and conduct of the magistrates, and it would depend upon the answer given, whether he should find himself or not under the necessity of troubling the Committee again respecting the demeanour of the magistrates of Norfolk.

Mr. *Fellowes* expressed the greatest respect for the magistrates as well as the people of Norwich in general, whose representative he had the honour to be. But as it was supposed by a great many persons, that a considerable degree of party prevailed in that city, he was not averse to the clause standing as it did.—To this it was replied, that, whatever may be the political principles of some of the magistrates, the gent. who spoke last was not without obligations to them, as at the last election six of them voted in his favour, though candour, at the same time, induced him to acknowledge that eighteen of them voted against him.—After some further conversation, the clause was suffered to remain as it was.

A long discussion took place upon the clause for allowing certain abatements for repairs, in which many amendments were proposed and rejected, and the clause passed, with a few verbal alterations.

The *Attorney General* proposed an amendment to make a deduction in favour of the tenant for the fines which he should have paid to the landlord for his lease, and to charge the landlord for these fines. This, after a discussion of considerable length between Mr. Pitt, the Attorney General, Mr. Giles, Mr. Bragge, and others, was adopted as part of the bill.

Mr. *Western* proposed an amendment, to allow additional deductions on the incomes arising from dwelling-houses and farms, on account of repairs and improvements, which, after a short discussion, was rejected.—The Committee then went through the remaining clauses, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 28.

[REBELLION IN IRELAND.]—Lord *Hobart* presented a message from his Majesty relative to the treasonable and rebellious practices lately carried on in Ireland. It was the same as that brought down to the House of Commons.—The message being read by the Lord Chancellor,

Lord *Hobart* rose and said, it was with feelings of the deepest regret, he had to call their lordships' attention to the subject now brought before them. It was with deep and heartfelt sorrow he reflected on the violent and disgraceful outrages lately committed in Ireland; and if there was in those proceedings any one act of atrocity more horrible

than another, it was that of the barbarous murder of a most distinguished and meritorious character, who, one would suppose, should have been the last person to fall a sacrifice to the brutal and ferocious spirit with which those miscreants who destroyed him had been actuated. If ever there was a man whose conduct was more blameless than that of another, it was the noble person to whom he alluded. Never was there any man who merited less the resentments of others. In private life he was peculiarly distinguished for his virtues; and, in public, he was eminently useful. He knew the excellent qualities of that noble person: he knew him as a private and public character.——As Lord Hobart was proceeding, he was so overcome with grief, that for some moments he could not utter a word; he at length apologised to the House, and trusted their lordships would excuse him for an irregularity which was occasioned by his feelings on a melancholy subject, in which he was so personally interested.—(A general cry of hear! hear!) His lordship then observed, that besides the address which he should move to his Majesty, the House would probably on that day have occasion to adopt some measures of very great importance. He expected that certain bills would be passed in the Commons, and sent to that House. One of these would be a bill for enabling the government in Ireland to try persons, charged with rebellious practices, by courts martial. In consequence of what had already passed in Ireland, his Majesty had the power to proclaim martial law there; but if that was done it would extend universally over the country; but by the measure now intended to be brought forward, the operation of martial law would extend only to persons actually concerned in the rebellion. The next measure would be a suspension of the habeas corpus act, by which the Lord Lieut. of Ireland would be enabled to detain all persons suspected of treason. These measures it would be necessary to carry into effect without delay. With respect to the nature and extent of the insurrection which had broken out in Ireland, he was not able at present to give so much information as he could wish; but from the accounts government had received, it appeared, that, except in the city of Dublin, the rebellion had not broken out to any great extent in Ireland. He understood, that besides the outrages committed in Dublin, there had been an insurrection in the county of Kildare. Every noble lord who heard him must agree, that the most prompt, effectual, and expeditious steps must be taken to put a stop to those disgraceful and horrible proceedings. For the present he should content himself with moving an humble address to his Majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication; and assuring his Majesty, that the House would cheerfully concur in any measures which could tend to restore general tranquillity in Ireland.

The Earl of *Limerick* said, that as one of the representative peers of Ireland, and the only one of them who now attended in that House, he felt it his duty to deliver his sentiments on this occasion, and to assign his reasons for the vote he should give. He lamented as much as any man could do, the fate of that truly virtuous and useful character, who had been most barbarously murdered. The act was one of the most atrocious that had been perpetrated for many years; and he fully agreed in the sentiments expressed by the noble Secretary of State, as to the excellent qualities of that noble lord. The horrible assassination of such a person was a proof that there existed in Ireland a spirit of that diabolical and dangerous nature, as to require such measures for its suppression as those intended to be brought forward, and such as perfectly justified all the measures that had hitherto been adopted for the suppression of rebellion there. He had already had occasion in that House to defend the measures adopted for Ireland. He was again ready to defend them; he was ready to take his share of the reproaches that had been thrown out against those who had supported the strong measures put in practice there, for the suppression of insurrection and rebellion, and he would never alter the opinion he had formed on the subject. He highly approved of the bill for extending the operations of martial law to certain descriptions of persons in Ireland, because the difference between that and the proclamation of martial law by his Majesty would be, that this would reach only the guilty; whereas the other would include, within its operation, all descriptions of people, whether they were disaffected or loyal: he therefore considered it as a proof of the tender regard which the government paid to his loyal countryman, that the means taken to suppress rebellion came in such a shape. There would not now be any interruption to the civil tribunals of the country, which must be all suspended if martial law was proclaimed. The loyal inhabitants of Ireland would now derive the full benefit of the courts of justice; whereas none but rebels would be subjected to military tribunals. He equally approved of the plan for the suspension of the

habeas corpus act. The astonishment and indignation which he felt on learning these fresh instances of atrocity were greater than he could describe. But he had the fullest reliance on the firmness, the patriotism, and courage, of a large portion of the people of Ireland; and he entertained no doubt, but that those atrocious wretches who disturbed the public tranquillity would be defeated in all their schemes: would meet with ruin and disgrace. Before he sat down, there was one point on which he would take the liberty of throwing out a suggestion to his Majesty's ministers. On a former occasion he had observed, that there should be no distinction between the militia of England and the militia of Ireland, and that a small sea should not prevent the militia of one country from passing into another country. If it was proper at that time to adopt his recommendation, how much more so must it be now, for reasons which he would explain to the House. There were about 18,000 militia soldiers in Ireland at this time. With regard to the courage and the loyalty of those men, he entertained no kind of doubt whatever. But he must assure their lordships, and he spoke from positive knowledge and experience, that every art would be used, as had been used hitherto, to withdraw them from their duty and allegiance; and from the close connexion that existed between them and those people who might be in a state of rebellion —from the superstitious attachment they generally had for each other, and the influence which their priests had over them, it was impossible to say how far their loyalty might be shaken. He must, therefore, again strongly recommend it to his Majesty's ministers, to remove the militia regiments from Ireland to Great Britain, not by any compulsory law, not by giving them an opportunity of volunteering their services, and when they came to this country they would be found as powerful and efficacious troops as any in his Majesty's service. He hoped he should be excused for throwing out this hint, but he did it from a real conviction that it would be highly beneficial in the present state of the country.—The address to his Majesty was then moved, and carried *nemine contradicente*.

[PRINCE OF ORANGE.]—Lord *Hobart* moved, that his Majesty's message, relative to granting a provision to the Prince of Orange, be read. His lordship then moved an address to his Majesty, assuring his Majesty that the House would cheerfully concur in any measure that would promote the object of the message.

Lord *Harrowby* expressed his surprise that the nobe lord had not explained the grounds of his motion.

Lord *Hobart* replied, that explanation was unnecessary, until the House should have before it the measure itself for granting a provision to the illustrious prince in question.—The address was then agreed to.

[MARTIAL LAW.]—Between nine and ten o'clock, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by several members of the Commons, brought up two bills, one for trying rebels by martial law in Ireland, and the other for suspending the habeas corpus act in Ireland. They were both read a first time.

On the motion of Lord Hobart, the proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, on the 24th, was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Lord *Hobart* then said, that as it would be necessary to pass the two bills on that night, there must be a suspension of the standing orders of the House, which prevented the reading of any bill more than once on the same day. He moved, "That as it was necessary for the public safety these bills should be passed with the utmost dispatch, the House forthwith proceed to read them in their several stages, notwithstanding any standing orders of the House."

The Lord *Chancellor* said, the House had sometimes, in cases of great emergency, broken through their standing orders. They had done so at the time of the mutiny at the Nore, when a bill of the utmost necessity was read through all its stages in one day. But although this had sometimes been done, the House ought to come to some regulation with regard to its standing orders, and endeavour to avoid the inconvenience of breaking through those rules by which its proceedings had been regulated. As Speaker of that House he was bound to adhere to its orders: and if he should now, in opposition to an express order on their journals, put the question for reading a bill more than once, he hoped the house would relieve him from the responsibility he must incur by doing so; particularly when he did it by the order of the House. He trusted their Lordships would on some future occasion come to a determination relative to the standing orders. His lordship then entered into the merits of the bill before the House; and fully concurred in the sentiments of the noble lord who was representative for Ireland, as to the propriety of extending martial law only to those who were properly the objects of it; and with regard to suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, he

considered it an act of mercy, instead of an act of severity, towards those persons who might fall under the operation of that law. For, by removing them at once, and detaining them in custody, they might be prevented from committing acts for which their lives would become forfeited. His lordship then lamented the unhappy state of Ireland, and congratulated the House and the country on the extirpation from Great-Britain of those pernicious principles, with which a great portion of the people were once in danger of being infected, and on the spirit of patriotism with which the whole nation now seemed to be roused; a spirit that he was confident would carry us safely through the great struggle we were engaged in: and if unfortunately we should fail in that struggle, we should perish with the consolatory reflection, that we had done our duty to ourselves, our King, and our country.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* made some observations on the standing orders, which he did not consider to be of a nature so obligatory as to preclude the House from breaking through them on such an occasion as the present: nor could he conceive that any responsibility attached to the Speaker of that House, for acting in conformity to the orders of the House, if he should put the question contrary to those orders.—The two bills were then read through all their stages, and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 28.

[MINUTES.]—The Two Millions Exchequer Bills' Vote of Credit Bill; the 1,500,000 Exchequer Bills' Bill; the Quassia Additional Duty Bill, and the bill for regulating the exportation of tobacco, were read a second time, and ordered to be committed the next day.—The House, in a Committee, went through the renewed Woollen Manufacturers' Bill. The amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time the next day.—Leave was given to bring in a bill for enclosing certain lands in the parish of Roxborough, in the county of Oxford.—Lord Hawkesbury brought up the bill for enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of 16,000l. on the House of Orange; which was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time next day.—Lord Castlereagh obtained leave to bring in a bill for exempting such persons as shall have found substitutes for the army of reserve from serving in the militia of the country. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.—Mr. Vansittart brought up a report relating to the exportation of copper and other articles from Great Britain, in neutral ships. Ordered to be taken into consideration next day.—The House, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, resolved itself into a Committee, to consider of the bounties and drawbacks on sugar exported from Great Britain and Ireland.—Report to be received next day.—Mr. Vansttart brought up a bill for rectifying the mistakes of a former act, passed in the 42d year of his present Majesty, and for the better collecting the duties on auctions. Read a first time.—The bill for regulating the exportation of tea to Ireland was read a first time.—Lord Hawkesbury moved, that the consideration of the contested election petitions which stand for August, be further postponed, and taken into consideration in September.—The East-India Shipping Bill was read a third time, and passed.—The Lord Mayor of London brought up a petition from certain persons, relative to the Bell Dock Light House Bill, and praying that counsel might be heard against the said bill.—The Dover Pilots' Bill, and the Alien Bill, were read a second time.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report on the Property Bill.

[REBELLION IN IRELAND.]—The Chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the House the following message from his Majesty: "George R. His Majesty feels the "deepest regret in acquainting the House "of Commons, that a treasonable and re-"bellious spirit of insurrection has mani-"fested itself in Ireland, which has been "marked by circumstances of peculiar "atrocity in the city of Dublin.—His Ma-"jesty relies with perfect confidence on the "wisdom of his Parliament, that such mea-"sures will be forthwith adopted as are best "calculated to afford protection and security "to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part "of the united kingdom, and to restore "and preserve general tranquillity. G. R."

After the message was read from the chair,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose and addressed the House to the following effect: there must exist in this House a general anticipation of those feelings and sentiments which his Majesty has entertained in making the communication which has just been read from the chair. There is also, I am persuaded, in this House, a disposition and fixed determination, to justify and repay that confidence which has been reposed in it by our beloved Sovereign, in adopting such

measures as may be best suited to the circumstances of the present conjuncture. Government had every reason to suppose, that the contamination of principles which had produced in former years the calamities of rebellion in Ireland had been completely done away; that the experience of the blessings which have been already enjoyed in that country since the period to which I allude, under the wise measures which were then adopted for the purpose of quelling the spirit of insurrection which was then testified; and further, that the experience which the world has already had of all those views of revolution and French principles of military despotism, would have operated upon those who were base enough to join in rebellion against the constitution of the country. These flattering hopes, I am exceedingly sorry to say, have been disappointed to a great degree. It was said by a great and eminent character, that he pitied that man who would endeavour to aggravate the crime of treason. That crime, however, must be felt to be highly aggravated by the circumstances of the present moment, when the whole body of the people of this country appear to be united, and co-operating with government in the support of our glorious constitution. Notwithstanding all that has yet happened, I am convinced that the great majority of the people in Ireland are equally unanimous in respect to the defence of their country, are equally loyal to their King, and equally anxious to support the present happy constitution with those inhabiting this part of the united kingdom. The crimes of high treason must, I say, be peculiarly aggravated, when, notwithstanding all the measures which have been adopted by government, a spirit of disaffection and disloyalty should have been manifested in any quarter of his Majesty's dominions; and that, too, at the very moment when we are employed in planning measures, and adopting the most prudent precautions, for the express purpose of supporting our most excellent constitution. Lamentable, indeed, it was, at this critical conjuncture of affairs, that any portion of his Majesty's subjects should have been laying plans which were detrimental to the very existence of that glorious constitution under which they have lived and enjoyed so many blessings. I must view it as a circumstance deeply to be deplored, that in one part of the united kingdom, any set of men should be endeavouring even to encourage that enemy against whom we, in this part of the kingdom, are so firmly uniting, to repel from our shores, in case he should dare to approach our country. I am persuaded, however, that the number of those who are so rebelliously disposed, even in that part of the united kingdom, is but small, and that there is still a strong and prevalent disposition existing to oppose our mutual enemy. I shall have the honour of laying before the House, after this question is disposed of, information concerning the particular instances of insurrection contained in the proclamation issued by the Lord Lieut. of Ireland; but I cannot conceive that any information can be reckoned necessary to persuade the House to agree to the address which I am about to propose. I am convinced that the mind of that man who is ardently interested for the welfare and prosperity of his country must sicken with indignation and shame, on the very mention of schemes tending to the subversion of its constitution. Parliament, I think, has a right to expect the admiration, the thanks, and the gratitude of the whole body of the virtuous and loyal inhabitants of the united kingdom, for their activity and exertion on all such critical occasions, in order to restore tranquillity. In the full persuasion, therefore, that there will be no difference of opinion, I beg leave to propose, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message; to assure his Majesty, that we learn with the strongest feelings of regret and indignation, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin; that his Majesty may be assured of the readiness and determination of his faithful Commons, to adopt forthwith such measures as may appear to them to be best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity."—After this question has been disposed of, I shall then submit to the House the proclamation which has been issued in Ireland by the Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. *Windham* said, Sir, having heard the motion which has just now been proposed by the right hon. gent. I cannot forbear expressing my sentiments on the subject. The proposing of an address to the throne upon the very same day on which his Majesty's message has been delivered, is a thing which is exceedingly unusual in parliamentary proceedings. I think it may be reckoned respectful to the crown, to make a small interval of time betwixt his Majesty's message and the address which is now proposed; be-

cause it testifies more strongly that degree of attention which we, his Parliament, have paid to it. It is exceedingly desirable for the House that such delay should be interposed, that they may know what answer in their wisdom seems to be most proper. The objects comprehended by this message, however, are not at present fit for mature consideration. In the present instance, I entertain no doubt of the propriety of the House assenting to the purpose of his Majesty's message, but there might be a question, whether or not that message really contained all that was conformable to our feelings on the occasion? The assent which must be given to any message from the crown, must not only express our general concurrence in the matters therein comprehended, but it ought also to signify our real sentiments and ideas upon the subject. Were not this the case, I have no doubt that an immediate answer might on the present occasion be returned, but it has not been the practice of this House to do so. The right. hon. gent. has given us to understand, that he would not think it prudent to detain the House with the particulars of this important intelligence, previous to his motion being adopted; so that we are just left in a state of sufficient information to make such an answer as he has now proposed. If this conduct be adopted, and reckoned prudent, I should wish to know, why the other practice has ever prevailed? If the bare statement of measures be enough, then it would be thought unbecoming in Parliament ever to enter into any minute consideration of a message, previous to its adopting an answer to be returned to his Majesty. Now, upon this particular subject, I can really conceive, that there is a great deal of information and mature deliberation wanted, before we can frame an address which could be reckoned proper for the occasion. When we have something more than this general communication of a rebellion having broken out in Ireland, many different reflections may arise out of the particulars in regard to what this House ought either to say or do. Is it an easy matter to say, that Ireland has been surprised by an open rebellion or insurrection having broken out, that government have been so ignorant of their dangers, that even the capital of that part of the united kingdom has been almost wrested from them by means of that rebellion? Are not these points on which the House would wish to be informed, before they think of adopting any final answer to such a communication? If it were said that such information could not be now submitted, but that the earliest opportunity of doing so should be embraced for that purpose, I would willingly allow my objections to fall to the ground, and should be of the same opinion with the right hon. gent. that, without knowing more, we should testify our desire and inclination to assist his Majesty. Such, however, not being the case, and this being all the information we are to procure upon the subject, previous to our voting an address, I say that the House is thereby precluded from all opportunity of entering into the consideration of the subject. The right hon. gent. has expressed his flattering hopes and expectations as to this rebellion only affecting a very small part of that country, and of its being prevalent only amongst a very small portion of its inhabitants; but even as to that circumstance, in our present situation, we are not able to say yes or no. Soon after the existence of the last violent insurrection in that kingdom, we had heard reports very different indeed from those which are testified by the present message. We were given to understand by our government, that every thing was perfectly tranquil in that part of the kingdom. An hon. officer, (Col. Archdale) who has often distinguished himself in this House, not long ago observed, when conversing upon this very topic, that, without a knowledge of the local facts, it was impossible to procure accurate information as to the real situation of a country; but that it consisted with his knowledge, that all was perfectly quiet in that part of his Majesty's dominions. For my part, however, I must confess that I cannot conceive it possible, except by the interference of some miracle, that the peasants of that country, whose minds were lately so agitated, and whose hands were employed in forging pikes for the destruction of all the loyal inhabitants within their reach, should, all of a sudden, be converted into the very contrary description of men, and become perfectly loyal and peaceable subjects. In addition to these conciliatory accounts, I may observe, by way of question, how came government not to have been better prepared for emergencies, such as the present? How comes it to pass, that the capital of that part of the united kingdom was within an ace of being taken, and the government overturned? It appears, from all these circumstances, that the government of the country may be snatched away, without the least notice being previously given to the House, as to the real existing dangers. This being the state of things, it required the greatest consideration of Parliament to know, what ought to be done. The delay of even twenty-four hours has been objected

to in the present instance. Nor can I determine, whether the urgency of the case can be so great as to preclude the urgency of consideration. I really think it is a little curious, that the fortifying of London, which has been a subject lately under discussion in this House, and which has been stated by ministers to have been in contemplation for a series of years past, especially during rumours of invasion, has to this day been delayed, but has now, at this present moment, become a matter of such extreme urgency, as not to admit of the smallest delay; within these few days indeed, of so great importance was expedition and promptitude reckoned as to fortifying London, that ministers could not even allow themselves time deliberately to discuss the subject in this House, so as to determine whether the top of a hill or the bottom of a valley were the most proper places for the erection of fortifications. Such a conduct, on the part of ministry, is perfectly inconsistent. I may conclude by saying, that if this address is at present to be agreed to, it should, in my opinion, be done only *pro forma*, and then the matter taken into consideration and deliberate discussion; it being a practice not countenanced by the general rules of the House, to vote an immediate address to any message from his Majesty.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, I do not rise for the purpose either of voting for the present address, merely *pro forma*, nor do I rise to reply to the observations which have fallen from the right hon. member who has just sat down; I know that no answer becomes necessary, in the present instance, to any thing that gentleman has said. No reply is requisite, in order to do away any argument used against the proposed measure; for, sure I am, that a cordial agreement already prevails in the House as to the motion now under discussion. As for argument, I may say, that the right hon. member has urged none, and therefore I rise, principally to express my astonishment, that there should be a man in this House, who could think of stating the least objection, or hesitate a moment as to the propriety of adopting the proposed measure on such a pressing emergency. He has stated the usual practice of the House; but, Sir, I would ask, are not even forms to give way to such an important matter as that now under discussion? I like the scheme the better, because we are obliged to proceed in an unusual manner. He has said, that even twenty-four hours are not of great consequence in such a case as this. I beg leave to differ most decidedly from the right hon. gent. as to that particular. I would wish him to reflect, what effect such a delay would have in Ireland. When thousands in that country would be trembling and looking with anxiety to our present deliberations, and others perhaps at this moment sharing the same fate as that of the unfortunate chief justice in that country, who has already fallen a sacrifice to a most rebellious and audacious mob, what would the people of Ireland think, if they understood that we had adjourned for the space of twenty-four hours? No; let us not make the smallest delay in returning that answer, which the emergency of the case requires. The right hon. gent. wishes to reproach ministers for having discouraged the loyal part of the inhabitants of Ireland. His allegations seemed to be totally unfounded. I hope and trust, that no insurrection of the kind he has alluded to, has existed on this occasion. Is it to go forth to the people of Ireland, upon his simple authority, that the insurgents were in such union as to be able to take the very capital? That would be calling forth insurrection and rebellion over all the united kingdom. Whenever the right hon. gent., who has moved this address, chooses to bring forward the matter for more deliberate discussion, I shall most cordially and attentively enter into it; but, at present, I am strongly of opinion, that no delay ought to take place in regard to the adoption of the proposed motion.

Mr. *Hutchinson* said, that after hearing such accounts of his countrymen in Ireland, he looked to that part of the united kingdom with horror and disgust; and was almost afraid to own himself of that country; but, he trusted, that he could venture to match himself with any man in point of loyalty. At a time like the present, when the screams of the widow, and the tears of the orphan were reaching our ears, he thought that no delay ought to intervene, so as to obstruct the adoption of some speedy measures for their relief. As he knew the blessings of the constitution of his country, he was determined to die in support of it; and as he loved his country, this address had his most cordial concurrence. He hoped and trusted, that the loyal part of that country might not be confounded with the murderers and traitorous part of it. He thought that we should mark our zeal and determination to suppress rebellion, and at the same time manifest ourselves to be wise, prudent, and humane in our measures. Whatever might be his feelings as to his country, he trusted that strong measures would be adopted in its behalf on the present occasion; and whatever errors in his humble judgment there might

be, in regard to what ought or ought not to have been done by ministers, he should not wish to draw the attention of the House from the particular point at present under discussion. He should think that he was violating his own feelings as to his country, were he to urge his opinions on these matters at this moment, because he thought that the rebellion ought in the first place to to be suppressed. "Let the rebel be pulled down, and let the tyrant tremble." Any attempt to reform grievances, at the point of the bayonet, ought to be met in a similar way.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, Sir, I am almost ashamed, in rising on such an occasion as the present, so as to take up the time of the House with any observations on such a subject, or to be the means of delaying for a single minute our acquiescence in the proposed address; but I do confess, that the speech of the right hon. gent. opposite to me (Mr. Windham) has made such an impression upon my mind, that even what has already been said in answer to his observations by two hon. members, so conformable to my own opinion, cannot prevent me from stating what at present occurs to me. I must say, Sir, that if ever there was an occasion for the members of this House to unite in one opinion, it is upon this present address. The right hon. gent. has accused his Majesty's government of having acted with precipitancy, and otherwise not as it ought to have done. Always attacking every measure of government, the right hon. gentleman has been pleased to say, that this present step is conformable to the conduct of his Majesty's ministers. I call on him, I challenge him, I dare him to prove, that ever there existed any government more ready to give information, more disposed to meet enquiry, and to act in every way according to the true constitutional principles of the country, than the present administration. It is these constitutional principles which ought to actuate every government. The attack may have been levelled against myself and my right hon. colleagues alone; but when I can tell the right hon. member, that on former occasions, when such measures occurred as seemed to preclude the necessity of all other considerations than the object before us, that right hon. gent. himself has often united with Parliament in voting for addresses upon the same day on which his Majesty's message has been delivered. I deny that there is any existing form or regulation, which, on great emergencies, can prevent such a plan from being followed. The right hon. gent. himself had formerly none of those delicate feelings, none of those qualms of conscience, which he now affects. It is now, for the first time, that he breaks out, under circumstances of rebellion, which peculiarly call forth every active and prompt exertion. A rebellion has broke out in Ireland, *more enormous than ever occurred before*; and yet the right hon. gent. has said, "do not pro-" nounce your sentiments at once, but en-" courage the loyal." Though the present rebellion has been yet of short duration, already has a most respectable character, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, fallen a sacrifice to the savage ferocity of an armed mob, having been murdered in a most shocking manner, and under circumstances which are far from exciting in us such sentiments as the right hon. gent. expresses upon the occasion. Must we, according to his opinion, stop till this armed banditti has had time to commit a few more murders? Are no precautions to be taken to prevent such fatal and such melancholy consequences? The proposition of delay is perfectly absurd in such a critical emergency as the present. I could not resist the impulse I felt, and I am convinced that every man in the House must feel a desire to express sentiments directly the reverse of what the right hon. gent. has ventured to throw out. The House is by no means precluded from voting for this address at present; but grant that it was precluded by forms, which must on other occasions be rigorously attended to, I would ask, is not this an occasion where a natural and fair line of distinction ought to be drawn? It is not now for us to enquire into the causes which have conduced to this rebellion, or whether it has originated from any degree of neglect; but to say that we shall adopt precautionary measures. The only tendency of the right hon. gentleman's objection has been to prevent the good effect which would undoubtedly have arisen from our shewing to the country that we are all of one spirit, one feeling, and one voice, as to the propriety of adopting some speedy and effectual measures for quelling the rebellious insurrection which has unhappily testified itself in that part of the united kingdom.

Mr. *Windham* complained, that he only expressed a doubt of the propriety of voting this address immediately, unless some opportunity should be afforded of going into a further enquiry, but contended that he had said nothing which could at all interfere with the desired unanimity.

Dr. *Laurence* defended his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), whom he did not understand to have opposed the voting of a

general address, even on that night, and under that want of information, of which he had justly complained. His right hon. friend had indeed observed, that it was more usual to appoint some other day for taking a message from his Majesty into consideration; but he had avowed himself ready to concur in any general expression of the resolution of the House, to assist his Majesty to the utmost in putting down rebellion: he only desired, that before they were called upon to pass measures such as had been intimated, they should have some sufficient ground of parliamentary proceeding. And when the state of a country, which fate had connected with this country, was brought forward in that House, it was natural for those best affected to the interests of the empire, to require some information. There was also an objection to putting off enquiry to a future day, if his Majesty's ministers threw on others the burthen of proposing that enquiry. It was a very unfair, and a very dangerous precedent, that those who were the most zealous and most loyal in the cause of their country, should be charged with disaffection, merely because they required information, or because they proposed inquiry. The passions and feelings of the House had been appealed to on the present occasion; but it was the character of the House of Commons, as a deliberative assembly, to consult less their passions than their reason, their feelings than their judgement. He would advert a little to what his hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan), if he would allow him to call him so, had observed, on the observations of his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Windham). His hon. friend had said, that his right hon. friend's speech contained no argument; and then, with some inconsistency, but with much truth, in the latter part of his speech, he said he proposed to answer all the arguments of his right hon. friend. If the hon. gent. had attended the House constantly for some time back, he would have been aware of the general declarations of the tranquillity of Ireland, which were so lamentably contradicted by the present fact; though, at the time when these declarations were made, his Majesty's ministers greeted them with loud acclamations, and seemed to consider those who intimated a doubt of their truth, or who expressed a dread of any disturbance, guilty of every crime, and deserving of every punishment. A noble lord, (Lord de Blaquiere) he believed, had lost much of their favour for venturing only to give the House a hint of "some little pranks which had lately been "played, of just shooting a few people as they "passed, and burning down a few houses." He was himself, he said, an enemy to every species of delusion: he could not countenance the system which would aggravate public calamity, at a time, when it was wished to carry a particular measure; and which, at other times, for opposite purposes, described the country to be in a state of happiness, which nothing but a combination of circumstances more than human could produce. The noble lord had challenged his right hon. friend to shew, where his Majesty's ministers had ever with-held information. It was easy to answer, in every instance, from the Treaty of Amiens, down to the first measure adopted for the defence of the country, on the eve of the present contest; and from that, through the whole chain of events that led to the present desirable state of things. Never was Parliament in such complete darkness, as during the whole of that period.—How often had the noble lord and his associates admitted to him and his right hon. friend, that no ministers had ever such a weight of responsibility upon them, because no ministers had ever obtained so much confidence on so little information. When, therefore, the noble lord struck such forcible blows on the table, and challenged his right hon. friend to point out the ministers who had given more information; he wished him to look back a little, and to recollect those instances. He trusted the address would pass, and perhaps the measures too which were to follow, but not without deliberation. He was sure, when the House was in possession of the whole of the circumstances of the transaction which rendered such proceedings necessary, there would be no essential difference of opinion.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, I own it appears to me, Sir, that the hon. gent., who has been so kind as to afford us the explanation of the speech of another, has only succeeded in rendering the proposition still more unintelligible than it was before. They want, it seems, to have the functions of the House suspended till the ministers give a pledge for subsequent inquiry, in such a manner as to make confession of their own delinquency. Ministers will not do so; they will not be their own accusers: but they pledge themselves to meet any charge of criminality that may be brought against them, though a charge so doubly absurd, would only appreciate the folly and impolicy of those who may bring it forward. I really thought it impossible that such a comment as that I heard should come from any member of this House, but, least of all, from the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham).

The motion now before you admits of no other deliberation, but in the measures to be provided in consequence of it. It is not at variance with the usual practice of the House, even in the administration to which that right hon. gent. belonged. On all extraordinary occasions, it has been customary for the House to acknowledge his Majesty's communication, and to assure him, that it would lose no time in taking it into consideration; nor is there more demanded of it by the present motion. He further tells us, that the capital was within an ace of being taken. I declare I do not know, nor can I comprehend where he found this fact; but I assure him that I have received no information of that kind. A most foul and horrible transaction has occurred; but the danger to the metropolis, with government, was far from being of that magnitude that has been represented. The government was apprised some days before of mischief being meditated: it was proposed to repel it, but it could not prevent, for it did not anticipate or contemplate the late catastrophe which has unfortunately taken place. The right hon. gent. charged ministers with having suffered representations to be made in that House of the temper and loyal spirit of the people of Ireland; but this description was given by themselves, though it was exhibited by others who were laden, as people often are, by their feelings and the ardor of patriotism. This often happens when a vent of spirit breaks out in a particular place, and ardent patriotism is apt to represent that as belonging to the whole, which is in fact no more than a picture of a part. The ministers, or any other set of men of moderate comprehension, could not coolly decide in their closets, that so soon after a raging rebellion, all agitations had been done away. Such a conclusion could not be made even in this country when no rebellion had existed. But though forced from open rebellion, we lately mistrusted a plan meditated as treasonable in its views and as bloody in its objects as any which took place in Ireland. Such a wicked knot perhaps existed in England now, though the great majority of the people were roused to a sense of the most ardent loyalty. Upon the state of Ireland we ought not to deceive ourselves; though there was at this moment an appearance of rebellion, yet the strong mass of the people which saved the country once, has even, by the suppression of the former troubles, received an accession of accumulated strength, which would render her more powerful than ever. I am, therefore, quite astonished, that the right hon gent, whose loyal feelings, attachment to his country and its government, and ardent spirit of patriotism, nobody ever doubted, should attempt to found a proposition of delay upon that which admits of no debate whatever. The public safety imperiously demands that we should not now wait for criminating the ministers; let him do that if he thinks proper afterwards, and he may rest assured that ministers will not avoid it.

Dr. *Laurence* in explanation said, that the information which he demanded, was for more general purposes, than the accusation of ministers. The safety of Ireland was of more consquence, in his estimation, than the fate of any ministers, be they who they might.

Mr. *Alexander* argued for the necessity, in the present instance, of avoiding any thing like debate, which might imply a difference of opinion upon the necessity of adopting prompt and vigorous measures on the present occasion. He recommended the example of the Irish Parliament, who, when the late rebellion broke out in that country, immediately upon the communication being made to the House from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, without a single word of debate, instantly and unanimously voted a loyal address to his Majesty, expressing their determination to support their King and Constitution; and the whole House in a body, preceded by their Speaker, went bareheaded up to the Castle, and presented the address to his Excellency. The effect in the City of Dublin was forcible and instantaneous, and inspired every loyal man with the determination to unite and put down rebellion.

Mr. *Chapman* said, he never heard any thing more perverse than the remarks made upon the speech of Mr. Windham, who had only declared that there might be no difficulty as to what was proposed to be said now, if it was not probable that a great deal more ought to be said; and yet the noble Lord (Hawkesbury) worked himself into as great a fury as if he had been listening to the most horrid sentiments. If the address could put down the rebellion, they had already debated too long; but, if the unanimous sense of the House was all that was required, there was no occasion for dispatch, for dispatch was only necessary when action depended, and which was not the case in the present instance.

Mr. *Archdall* said, that in his opinion, the best answer that could be given to the observations of Mr. Windham was, that this was not a case which admitted of any

hesitation. For his own part he must disclaim having ever said in the ardour of patriotism, or from any other impulse, that Ireland was perfectly secure; but having observed that the temper of the times was much better than before, that property was secure, and commerce protected and flourished, especially since the union, it was reasonable for him to conclude that the country was not discontented. If that conclusion was contradicted by the event, and that rebellion and murder had succeeded, he had only to say that he was sorry for it, and lamented to find that he was so woefully deceived. With regard to Mr. Windham he must observe, that if he did not recollect the tenor of his speech, the most grateful office that could be done him would be not to put him in mind of it. He paid Mr Sheridan the highest compliments on the consistent patriotism of his conduct, who, laying aside all views of prejudice and attachment to party, had, on all occasions, from the mutiny at the Nore down to the present moment inclusively, shewn himself to be actuated by nothing so much as duty and attachment to his King, and a pure and disinterested love of his country and its constitution. For himself he must say that he had no interest in defending the present ministers. An object of more importance than any culpability of theirs presented itself in the present state of Ireland, which, he thought, might be in part produced, by finding day after day, and in newspaper after newspaper, nothing but remarks on the incompetency and inability of their own government, while Buonaparté was represented as the greatest man in the world, and humbling all the powers of Europe by the force of his all-powerful and irresistible genius. If people were disposed to add these unfavourable and unjust contrasts to a spirit of revolt, they would make Ireland worse, and of course, would be very far from making England any better.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought up a copy of the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, which was read (See Vol. IV. P. 148).

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, Sir, the House will have observed, in the proclamation just read, that it states, that the outrage committed in Dublin was, in the opinion of the persons by whom the proclamation was issued, the result of a dangerous and traitorous conspiracy against his Majesty's government and the constitution of the country. I am fully aware that I should not be justified, nor could any consideration induce me to propose such measures as those which I feel it my duty, indispensable duty, to submit, if the outrages which have excited the horror and indignation of every well-conditioned mind, were the result of any other projects than those against the public safety: for however we might regret the circumstances alluded to in the proclamation, they furnish of themselves no ground for narrowing the constitution within the limits of the existing government of the country; and although the proclamation avows a dangerous conspiracy, it does not specify those details which it is necessary should be furnished before those measures are adopted which I shall feel it my duty to recommend. But there are occasions when it is necessary that those who are entrusted with the conduct of government are bound to state, if they cannot in detail, at least on their solemn declaration, subject to an heavy responsibility, that the measure which touches the constitution of the land is called for by the circumstances of the country, and a due regard for the public safety. I should contend that the proclamation itself contains grounds which would warrant the measure, but it is necessary I should state, that the proclamation does not contain all the information in possession of his Majesty's government; information which, at the present moment, it would be highly improper to declare. It states a dangerous conspiracy at a time when it is the avowed design of the enemy to invade the country, and when Parliament is about to separate. It was said by an hon. gent., who has, on former occasions as well as on the present, furnished proofs of vehement discussion terminating in unanimous approbation, that attempts at reform by the bayonet, ought to be met by the bayonet. For my own part, I wish to employ other means; if, in aid of the bayonet, I can employ the law, I am persuaded it will be as congenial to the feelings as it is conformable to the practice of the House. I have never under-rated the efficacy of the laws, but, on the contrary, I have always deplored the necessity of resorting to those measures which have been resorted to in cases of emergency. Whenever a power, unknown to the legitimate constitution, to seize persons conspiring against the state, has been given to his Majesty's government, I have uniformly thought it a measure, the policy of which could only be justified by extreme necessity, and that in degree and duration it ought to be commensurate with such necessity. With respect to such particular measure I mean first to propose, and I assure the House I do it with reluctance, it is for the purpose, according to the title of the bill, of suppressing

rebellion, and protecting the persons and property of his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland. The means by which this purpose is to be effected are, that wherever persons shall be found in actual rebellion, power shall be given to the Lord Lieutenant to direct that courts martial shall be called for their immediate trial. Let it be recollected, that if the threat of our insolent and implacable enemy should be carried into execution, there would exist in his Majesty, by virtue of his royal prerogative, a power to proclaim martial law throughout his dominions. But what is martial law? It is not that which I wish the Lord Lieutenant should be authorised to put in force, but it is that system which suspends the ordinary course of justice, and substitutes martial law for the law of the land. Now, Sir, what I wish is, to give a power to the Lord Lieutenant that shall not disturb the ordinary administration of justice, but by which, for the purpose of suppressing rebellion, those who are taken in arms against the government shall be liable to be tried by a military court. Let it be recollected, I repeat, that this is short of the power which might be granted, if his Majesty thought proper to exercise his prerogative, and that I recommend the measure under a most perfect conviction of its necessity. Sir, I should content myself with this, were it not for a consideration necessary to be explained, in order that it may not appear that I am proposing measures of unnecessary rigour, for such they would be if they were beyond the public exigency. If the House should adopt the motion for the bill I have stated, I shall follow it up with a motion for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. I may be asked, what is my reason for having recourse to such second measures? I answer, that under this bill for the suppression of rebellion, a power would be given to the Lord Lieutenant to try all persons taken in rebellion by courts martial. Now, Sir, I do not wish to consign to trial by courts martial all whom the government may think it necessary to detain. I wish not to lose the benefit of civil process. If a bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was not to pass, government would be obliged to take up every one found in rebellion, and adopt the course laid down in the bill for suppressing insurrection. This bill, therefore, is meant to qualify the rigour of the other bill, by providing that persons may be committed by civil process, without any court martial. I mean to rest this bill on the grounds I have mentioned.——Having stated the grounds of both these measures, I must advert to the hands in which such extraordinary powers will be placed. Sir, during the last two years, I have the satisfaction, arising from public and personal consideration, of stating, that not a breath has been uttered, or a word spoken, which has called in question the moderation, wisdom, and firmness of the government of Ireland. Under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, the conduct of Lord Hardwicke has been marked with no less moderation than prudence. Immediately after the signing of the peace, when the bill for martial law was in force, and when he was encouraged by the timid, and urged by many enlightened men, to have recourse to it, you know that Lord Hardwicke laid it aside, and refused to exercise the powers and authorities the bill gave him. Immediately upon signing the Treaty of Amiens, Lord Hardwicke thought the danger the bill provided against did not exist, and he determined to give to the people the benefit of the established forms of the country. Sir, since that period, a great character has presided over the law department, who once adorned the chair of the House. Of that nobleman, I will not say a word of eulogy. There is upon the subject of his great qualities but one opinion in this country. I say then, that Lord Hardwicke, in addition to his own opinion, dictated by his good sense, has had the advice of that great person with regard to the conduct he thought it wise to adopt. We have therefore a fresh pledge of the disposition of the Irish government to adhere to the genuine principles of the Irish constitution. In such hands as these, great powers may be placed without any suspicion of their being abused. I have heard stated, what appears to me strong doctrines with respect to the proceedings. I can only say, that such doctrines are perfectly new to me, though much of my time has been passed in attending to the forms of the House. The doctrines applied to a proceeding merely formal. I was surprised, therefore, when I heard a declaration from such a quarter, that it was the practice on extraordinary occasions to defer returning an answer to a message from his Majesty on the same day. I admit the observation might apply with some degree of force to the proceeding now before the House. To a mere formal proceeding, such a doctrine would apply, but it never has been admitted that, on great and important occasions, it was necessary to interpose delay, merely with reference to proceedings of form. The observation of the hon. gent. is inapplicable because it is premature; unless this was a case of the utmost necessity. I feel that I should not be warranted in calling upon the

House to dispense with the ordinary forms; but when that hon. gent. was a member of his Majesty's government, he will recollect, for his memory cannot have failed, that the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act passed this House in the course of one day, and consequently it is to a similar species of dispatch that his observations founded on precipitation apply. If the measures I have proposed are fit to be adopted, they ought to be adopted immediately, or not at all. I speak not my own sentiments, but of those great men, on the sober exercise of whose judgment the House may rely. You know that they have uniformly discouraged every proposition of this nature. Within these few days they have yielded, and in their conviction of the absolute necessity of the measure, every member of his Majesty's government participates. I should therefore hope, that, without fettering, in any degree, the discussions of the House, without implying a wish that it should be understood the conduct of his Majesty's government is screened by any proceedings of the House; I only ask of the House not to expose the public interest to any danger from any want of confidence. It is upon this part of the question the conduct of the hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) forms a contrast with that of some other members, and particularly of the hon. gent. opposite me (Mr. Sheridan). It has been the prominent feature of that gent's. conduct, that in times of public danger he has laid aside all party feeling, and has sacrificed all personal opposition at the shrine of public duty. At the period of the mutiny (I am sorry to let the word go out of my mouth), at the time of a threatened invasion, at the dread of a famine, upon the question of the Northern Convention, and upon every other occasion where his talents could be of service to his country, he has never failed to come forward. What was the language he held? It was this—"The vessel is in danger, the crew must go to the pump, let us save the ship and bring her captain to account after the danger is over. *Let us, in case of invasion, consider not who is the minister, but who is the enemy.*" This, Sir, was his language, and *it stamps immortal honour upon him.* I have differed from him upon many political points; I have not the happiness of being intimately acquainted with him, but *I admire and I venerate his conduct.* I wish those by whom he has been attacked would give us the benefit of so good and noble an example. I move, Sir, for leave to bring in a bill, for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the protection of the persons and property of his Majesty's faithful subjects there.

Mr. *Windham* said, he wised to suggest the real situation in which the House was placed. Whether the measure was right or wrong, he should not attempt to pronounce. He must take it on the representation and knowledge of his Majesty's ministers, who themselves had taken it from the representation and knowledge of others. He thought it a measure too strong to be taken on the authority of such information. As the question stood, martial law was to be established in Ireland, because the right hon. gent., for reasons which he could not declare, told the House it was necessary. From this circumstance he might derive a justification of what he said before, for every twenty-four hours might bring something. It would be desirable that some further information should be given. All that was known was, that an insurrection had broken out in the country. It was a circumstance worthy of reflection, that the persons on whose authority they were to rely for the necessity of the measure proposed, were the very ministers by whom the last acts had been repealed. It was very remarkable, that they who, at no very distant period, repealed the acts, should now desire the House to renew them. When the House was not allowed a moment to deliberate, it naturally created doubt. Perhaps it was the repeal of the acts that had created the necessity for renewing of them. The hon. gent. proceeded in a state of irony to observe upon the eulogiums of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Sheridan in favour of each other.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in explanation, stated, that the government of Ireland had not repealed the acts after the peace, but had suffered them to expire.

Mr. *Sheridan* said he was not insensible of the eulogium, of which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) reminded him, but was highly flattered by it. The right hon. gent. on a former occasion, had said something of his (Mr. Sheridan's) speaking at one side of the House: the right hon. gent., however, had, he believed, himself been upon all sides of the House. First, he sat on the bench near him, then crossed the House and sat as long as he would be allowed upon the treasury bench; then, by a diagonal movement, he crossed the House, to the bench where he now sat, and where he was pretty likely to continue (*loud laughter*). The right hon. gent. (continued Mr. Sheridan) has talked of eulogies, but he cannot charge me with being much in the habit of complimenting

ministers, not even himself or his colleagues in office; *neither can he charge me with calling the present ministers by opprobrious names*—such as *filthy dowlas*, and afterwards wrapping myself in a skirt of that dowlas. On whatever side of the argument I may have spoken in this House, *I defy, and challenge the right hon. gent., and those with whom he acts, to point out in my political life a single act of inconsistency.* I never deserted a private friend, a political connexion, or sentiment; nor did I ever regret a vote I gave in this House but one, and that was for the indemnity of the right hon. gent. and his colleagues in office. It is certain that I have, on many occasions, given my support to his Majesty's present ministers; but it was because I thought they acted like honest men, to the best of their opinions and abilities, for the good of their country. So long as they continue to act so, they shall have my feeble support to the best of my power; but it shall be perfectly independent, and perfectly disinterested; and equally regardless of censure or praise from the right hon. gent. or his colleagues in or out of office. I shall continue to act as I always have done, with the best of my zeal for my king and country; that country which I belive, from the bottom of my soul, contains within it the best, the worthiest, and the happiest community on the face of this globe!

Mr. *Hawthorn* supported the motion, because he thought the measure would be productive of most salutary effects in the hands of that illustrious nobleman now at the head of the government in Ireland, whose conduct he had long witnessed with admiration, and which, he was convinced, was calculated to conciliate the affections, and better the condition of the people of Ireland; and which he believed it had done in a very considerable degree, particularly in that part of the country where he lived; and he was of opinion, that, notwithstanding the partial instance of insurrection and horrid outrage which had recently occurred, the spirit of insurrection was by no means general in Ireland, and so far as it did exist, was confined to the lowest orders of the people.

Mr. *Kerr* observed, that the situation of the people of Ireland had been materially altered for the better since the union, though there were still lurking the seeds of rebellion. He believed if the enemy were to land in Ireland, they would find as determined an opposition as from any class of subjects in his Majesty's dominions. He had lived in Ireland during the late rebellion, and was in a private corps, and he could assure the House that martial law was never exercised with severity. Upon the representation of himself, and some other gentlemen, courts-martial were resorted to, and they had the effect of eradicating the rebellion as to all outward appearance.

Mr. *I. H. Browne* said, he should not have troubled the House unless an idea had been thrown out that they were acting in confidence to his Majesty's ministers. He thought that to call persons in Ireland before courts-martial, on the assertion of his Majesty's ministers, was justifiable. He was fully convinced of the necessity of the measure, and that there ought not to be a moment's delay; but this conviction was not in consequence of any thing his Majesty's ministers had said. It was in consequence of the atrocious act that had been committed, and not from that act alone, horrid as it was. He accompanied the act with the sad history of the last ten years; with the recent war in which we had recently been engaged; with the efforts of the usurper of France, against our liberties; with the measures that had engaged every hand and heart in their defence. If he did not believe a syllable of what his Majesty's ministers said, the fact spoke for itself. He thought it was of importance to whom the power was given. The present government of Ireland, by not wishing to avail themselves of the alarm by continuing the acts, shewed that they would not make a bad use of them if they were renewed. He supported the measure with more pleasure, when he considered the character of the present government.

Dr. *Laurence*, at considerable length, supported the arguments of Mr. Windham.

Mr. *Hutchinson* explained what he had before said; and spoke at considerable length on a variety of topics. He wished that vigorous measures should be exerted for putting down rebellion in the first instance, but that measures of lenience and humanity should not be abandoned. He deprecated most ardently the revival of those horrid scenes of whipping, shooting, and strangling, and house burning, that during the late rebellion had been carried to enormous lengths, to the production of so much misery amongst the unfortunate people of that country, by entrusting the execution of strong measures to the hands of exasperated, prejudiced, and sanguinary men; and which tended rather to produce and to exaggerate than to suppress rebellion. He had witnessed many of those horrid scenes, and he congratulated that House that their eyes had been spared the painful view of such horrors. He earnestly besought the House not to turn away its eyes from the complaints, whether

real or imaginary, that agitated the minds of the unhappy multitude in that country; but that, instead of separating, late as it was in the season, they would investigate, and probe to the quick, those questions and measures which could have, by possibility, a tendency to suppress every disposition to discontent and tumult, by quiet rather than by coercive means; and he concluded by conjuring the House to turn its eyes to that country, as one which was capable of being rendered a source of impregnable strength and riches to the British empire; but which, if not fully conciliated, by wise and lenient means, might be perverted to the contrary.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that the proof this measure was not to be loosely committed to the hands of those likely to misconceive or abuse its intentions was, that it was vested entirely in the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant. With respect to the acts of severity alluded to by the hon. member, they were unfortunately mutual, and the natural consequence of the mutual enmity and exasperation between two parties in the same country, armed and at war against each other. He spoke at considerable length in support of the bill.

Dr *Laurence* said, that on a former occasion he had opposed a bill for continuing martial law in Ireland. But the present measure was one for which he could conscientiously vote. That atrocious outrage by which the life of the first legal magistrate in the country had been taken away, was a circumstance which peculiarly pointed to a measure of this kind.

Colonel *Craufurd* approved of the measure; because it was essentially necessary to strengthen the hands of the government. He then began to enter into some observations concerning fortifications, when the question was loudly called for, and several members called him to order.

The *Speaker* said, he could not conceive how the hon. gentleman's arguments applied to the bill before the House.

Mr. *Windham* and Dr. *Laurence* contended that Col. Craufurd was in order.

Mr. *Bragge* maintained that he was not; particularly so, after he had expressed his approbation of the bill.

Colonel *Craufurd* then said, that as he was prevented from delivering his sentiments on so important a subject, he would give notice, that on Monday he should bring forward a motion relative to the defence of the realm.

Leave was given to bring in the bill; which was brought up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, read a first and second time, and committed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in the Committee, introduced a clause, by which no court martial should consist of less than seven officers.

Mr. *Hutchinson* complained, that many persons hitherto tried before courts martial in Ireland, had been treated with great injustice, and prevented from having the witnesses necessary for their defence.

Lord *Castlereagh* denied the statement. He never knew an instance, in which a trial was not put off, upon a representation being made, that the necessary witnesses were not present. And he knew that Lord Cornwallis, when Lord Lieutenant, had always read over the minutes of every court martial, in order to see that no unjust proceeding had taken place. It would, therefore, be better to leave this matter to the direction of those who were responsible.

Mr. *Ormesby* said, he had acted as Judge Advocate on a great number of courts martial, and he could assure the House, that the prisoners had always had notice given them of their trials, and might put them off, if they chose, to any particular day. This was the practice after the rebellion; but he knew not what might have been done in the camp *flagrante bello*.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was very necessary that no unfavourable impression on this subject should go out into the world, and he called on the hon. gent. to state any particular instances which he knew of improper and violent proceedings being adopted by courts martial towards the persons whom they tried.

Mr. *Hutchinson* entered into a justification of his conduct and his principles; but did not specify any facts in support of his assertion.

The report of the bill was then received, and it was read a third time and passed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then obtained leave to bring in a bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to secure and detain such persons as he should suspect to be conspiring against his Majesty's person and government. The bill was brought up, carried through all its stages, and passed. A clause was introduced into this, as well as into the former bill, for limiting the duration of both to six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament. The bills were sent to the Lords, and about half past ten o'clock, a message came down, informing the House, that the Lords had agreed to the same, without any amendment.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 29.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given by commission to the Irish Martial Law Bill, and the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill. —Counsel was afterwards heard on the Scotch appeal, Hogg, *v.* Lashley.—Several bills were brought up from the Commons, and read the first time.—The bills on the table were proceeded in. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 29.

[MINUTES.]—The Prince of Orange's Annuity Bill was read the second time, and committed for the next day; and the Scotch Cotton Manufacture Bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to the Lords, together with a copy of the evidence upon which the House was induced to pass the bill.—Read a second time the Irish Tea Importation Bill, and committed for Monday.

[STAMP DUTIES.]—The House resolved into a Committee, to consider of the duties on vellum and parchment.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the measure he had to propose, was founded on the same principle as that which the House had already sanctioned in the consolidation of the duties of excise, customs, and assessed taxes. The object of the proposition, he had now to submit to the House, would be a consolidation of the duties only, without any alteration as to their amount. A new schedule would be constructed, by which the trouble of the officers would be diminished at least two-thirds, and the collection of the duties, of course, greatly facilitated. The only new regulation which it was necessary for him to notice, was one relative to the employment of improper stamps. Great inconvenience had arisen to many persons, from using such stamps inadvertently. Where the stamp was inferior in value to that which ought to have been used, it was his intention that the instrument should, in all cases, remain illegal; but where the stamp was of equal value, though not applicable to the deed, it was evident there could have been no intention to defraud, and some relief seemed due to the parties who had fallen into such a mistake inadvertently. He should not propose to make such a stamp legal, except upon paying a double duty. A contract having an improper stamp, though not inferior in value to the right one, was not to be considered valid, but might be rendered so. When this measure was completed, the House would have the consolation to reflect, that in the course of one session four great branches of the public revenue had been greatly improved by the adoption of a system of consolidation. It was true that the present measure involved only a detached part of the stamp duties, but it would lay a foundation for the consolidation of the whole in the next session of Parliament. He then proposed a resolution for consolidating the said duties.

Mr. *Francis* remarked, that the hon. gent. had mentioned only his intention of giving relief to persons who had used improper stamps of equal value to the legal one. He must know that great inconveniencies had also arisen from the employment of stamps of superior value to that which ought to have been used.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was also intended to provide for that case in the Committee on the bill.—The resolution was agreed to, the report received, and leave given to bring in a bill for consolidating the duties on stamps on vellum and parchment.

[CIVIL LIST.]—On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House resolved into a Committee of supply; and several petitions, estimates, and other papers on the table, were referred to the Committee.—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated, that the four sums he should first move, were sums to reimburse the civil list for like sums, ordered to be advanced therefrom by his Majesty, pursuant to votes of this House; and he therefore moved,

	l.	s.	d.
To Mathew Martus, Esq.	639	17	6
To Ch. Th. Felton, Esq.	534	15	0
To W. Chinnery, Esq. for the expense of transporting convicts.	822	9	1
To ditto for expenses at Norfolk island	471	5	0
For printing the journals, bills, and votes of the House of Commons for last year	3000	0	0
To discharge arrears of the police offices	960	8	6
To Mr. Soane, architect, for plans and elevations for repairs and new buildings in the House of Lords in the year 1794-5	1000	0	0
To make good a defalcation of a subscriber to the lottery	240	0	0
Fees and expenses disbursed to Dr. Jenner by order of this House, in order to nett him the sum voted for his valuable discovery of the vaccine inoculation	725	0	0
To the Board of Agriculture	300	0	0
To the British Museum	3000	0	0
To the Veterinary College	1500		

[CLERGY OF IRELAND.] — Mr. *Corry* moved the order of the day for the House to resolve into Committee, to consider the expediency of enabling the lord lieutenant of Ireland to advance out of the public treasury to the board of first fruits, to be by them advanced in loans to clergymen having small benefices, and no glebe houses, to erect glebe houses for their residence.—The House resolved accordingly.

Mr. *Corry* then entered into a chronological detail of the institution of the board of first fruits in Ireland, from the time of its institution, in the reign of Q. Anne, to the present time; in the course of which he stated, that its principal revenues were derived from charges upon the annual income of church livings beyond a certain amount; to be approbriated for the building and repair of churches, a purpose to which their revenues were not adequate to the extent which was most desirable; but toward this purpose they were in the habit of receiving annually from the Irish Parliament a considerable donation. He then went into a summary statement of their accounts, by the last of which it appeared, they had a balance in hand of 37,000l. The purpose for which this bill was introduced, was nearly to the full as desirable as that of the building and repair of churches, and one which must contribute in an effectual way to procure that which was justly held to be so very desirable, namely, the residence of the clergy. He moved that the chairman be instructed to move for a sum not exceding 50,000l. for that purpose.

Mr. *Francis* wished to know if the sums to be advanced in this way would not be so advanced under some competent surety, that they would be expended *bonâ fide* for the purposes to which they were so granted? He observed, that by the account stated by the hon. gent., there was already a very large balance in the hands of the board of first fruits, remaining from year to year unappropriated, and which, had it been placed in the public funds, would have considerably accumulated for the benefit of the objects of the institution. It was his wish that every reasonable means should be afforded for maintaining the respectability of the Church of Ireland, and the comforts of its clergy; because he was sure such provision must materially contribute to the maintenance of morality in that country. But there was another point connected with this topic, which he desired to touch on only with the greatest delicacy. He himself did not pretend to know the local circumstances of Ireland, or the causes of that rebellious spirit which was now again breaking out in that kingdom. He understood, from the candid opinions of those who knew the local circumstances of that country infinstely better than he did, and who, he was convinced, had the unity, the prosperity, and the happiness of the British empire at heart, that the greatest grievance complained of by the great majority of the population of Ireland, who were Roman Catholics, was the exaction of tithes for the maintenance of the clergy of the Church of England, at the same time that they were tithed in another way for the maintenance of their own clergy; and thus were they doubly saddled with an heavy impost. He did not pretend to point out what would be the most proper mode of remedying this evil, and of quieting the minds of the great mass of Irish population; but he most sincerely wished some mode could be devised for doing away this obnoxious impost upon the catholics of that country, and thus obviating that which had so long and so uniformly proved a source of discontent and irritation. If this could be done, and he by no means wished it to be done in any way injurious to the established clergy, he was convinced it would do more towards quieting the minds of the lower orders in that country, than any other means which legislation or coercion could effect; and he trusted that, even late as it was in the session, his Majesty's ministers would institute some parliamentary investigation on the subject, with a view to the adoption of some efficient measure.

Sir *T. Metcalfe* rose to ask some questions about the arrears in the hands of the Board of First Fruits, and why they were not appropriated?

Mr. *Corry* answered, he was not prepared to state minutely the reasons why they suffered their money to be loose in the hands of a banker. All he could now say was, that they were obliged annually to state their accounts to the commissioners; and as they were in the habit also of annually receiving a considerable donation from the Irish Parliament, he must presume their accounts were satisfactory.

Mr. *Hutchinson* said, no man more sincerely wished than he did to maintain the respectability of the Protestant Church of Ireland, and the comforts of its pastors; but he most cordially concurred with the hon. member near him (Mr. Francis) in the urgent and important necessity of going into some investigation upon the subject of Ireland, previously to the approaching prorogation, and endeavour to come at the true

cause of the unhappy disturbances, and of suggesting, if possible, some lenient remedy. He had already three or four times in the course of this session endeavoured to call the attention of the House, and of his Majesty's ministers in particular, to the subject of Ireland. He had endeavoured to impress upon them the importance, at all times, but more especially at the present, of attaching to this country and its government the confidence and affections of that people. He had endeavoured to impress upon them, that there they would find a tower of strength, with the aid of which they might defy the enmity of the world. He would now put it again to his Majesty's ministers; and if he could not obtain from them a promise that they would before the prorogation, bring forward for inquiry the subject of Irish affairs, with a view to some remedy, he pledged himself that he would at an early day bring forward the subject, feeble as his efforts might be. ——[Mr. Hutchinson was proceeding, but was called to order three successive times by Mr. Alexander, who said it was not from any opposition to the hon. gents'. proposal he did so, but to remind him, that his notice would come more regularly as a distinct proceeding, as it was not orderly in the Committee.]—Mr. Corry's motion was agreed to, and the chairman ordered to report the next day.

[MILITIA]——Mr. *Sheridan* rose to explain something that had fallen from him on a former evening, which had been misconceived, and he was sure unintentionally mistated. It was in relation to the imperfect state of the militia regiments in Kent and Surry, which circumstance he was stated to have charged upon the negligence of the magistrates of these counties. But he did not impute the circumstance to their negligence, or to the noble lords at the head of the lieutenancy in those counties; and he had indeed the authority of one noble lord (Lord Grantley) to declare, that the deficiency arose from a defect of law to enable the lieutenants to enforce the returns from the deputy officers. He trusted, however, the next returns from those counties would prove the militia in a much less defective state; and he wished to know from the right hon. Sec. at War, whether it was intended to adopt any measure to render the law more efficient; as, if it was not, he should move for a return of the whole militia of the county, in order that the House might see where the deficiencies existed, and who were really to blame.

The *Sec. at War* said, that certainly he had himself remarked on a former night, that several regiments of militia were grossly defective in their numbers, and particularly those in the counties round London; but he did not attach blame to any particular persons, but merely stated the blame must lay somewhere. However, by the last returns from those counties, he was glad to find the deficiency considerably obviated, under the bill for raising the Supplementary Militia; and he trusted that by the time that returns should be made up to the first of August, the regiments would be still more complete. If the hon. member was disposed to move for the returns of any particular regiment, there would be no objection to produce it; but a general motion for the return of all, he should oppose as unnecessary.

[EAST INDIA BUDGET.]—Lord *Castlereagh* (after the House had resolved into a Committee on the East India affairs) opened at considerable length the general statement of the East India Company's affairs in the year beginning from March, 1801, and ending in the same month 1802; he also presented an estimated statement for the year of 1802-3. In the budget which he had presented at the beginning of the session, he had given a detailed statement of the affairs of the Company in 1800-1, and only an estimated statement of 1801-2. He now, having received the accounts, was able to present the actual statement of the last year, and an estimated statement of the current year. He was happy to inform the Committee, that the actual revenue for the last year considerably exceeded the estimated revenue, and that the revenues of every presidency were in a state of improvement. He was conscious that he was going to call the attention of the Committee to a detail of accounts which were not so materially interesting as a budget which more immediately affected the country; but when it was recollected that he was going to speak of an empire possessing an annual revenue of 13 millions, and which was so intimately connected with the prosperity and commerce of this country, to which it contributed so largely, he trusted he should be heard with attention. His lordship then gave a very detailed statement of the situation of the E. I. Comp. both as to its revenues and its charges. The revenues he divided into the foreign revenue and the home revenue: it will be found stated with accuracy, clearness, and precision in the following schedule.

BENGAL.

Revenues.—Average 1799, 1800, to 1801-2		6,761,598
More than the average last drawn		324,791
Estimated for 1801-2		7,051,164
Actual amount		7,127,988
More than estimate		76,824
Charges.—Estimated for 1801-2		4,582,201
Actual amount		4,705,583
More than estimate		123,382
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated		46,558
And the net revenue for 1801-2, is		2,422,406

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues		7,612,384
Charges		4,535,065
Net revenue		3,077,319
Revenues estimated more than actual in 1801-2		484,395
Charges do. less than do.		170,517
Net revenue estimated for 1802-3, more than preceding year		654,912

MADRAS.

Revenues.—An average of aggregate receipts would not be a correct ground of comparison, on account of the additional revenues acquired by conquest and by treaty since the year 1799. On the same principle as adopted last year, viz. by taking the average collections from the post-office, the old land revenues, the customs, and the farms and licences, the average of those revenues, from 1799, 1800, to 1801-2, was		1,136,597
Which exceeds the average from 1798-9 to 1800-1		101,528
Estimated for 1801-2		3,899,040
Actual amount		4,729,610
More than estimated		830,570
Charges.—Estimated for 1801-2		4,559,311
Actual amount		4,963,742
More than estimated		404,421
Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge is less than estimated		426,139
And the net charge of the year 1801-2 is		234,132

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues		4,670,369
Charges		4,555,676
Net revenue		114,693
Revenues estimated less than actual in 1801-2		59,241
Charges ditto less than ditto		408,066
The prospect estimated for 1802-3 better than preceding year by		348,825

BOMBAY.

Revenues—Excluding the revenues of the ceded provinces transferred to Madras in July, 1800, the average revenues from 1799, 1800 to 1801-2		251,446
Which exceeds the average drawn on the same principle from 1798-9 to 1800-1		89,564
Estimated for 1801-2		271,825
Actual amount		305,992
More than estimate		34,167
Charges—Estimated for 1801-2		1,185,308
Actual amount		1,187,288
More than estimate		1,980
Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge is less than estimated		32,187
And the net charge of the year 1801-2 is		881,296

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues		410,280
Charges		907,406
Net charge		427,126
Revenues estimated more than actual in 1801-2		104,288
Charges ditto less than ditto		279,882
Net charge estimated for 1802-3, less than preceding year		384,170

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

Revenues of Fort Marlborough, on average of three years, 1798-9 to 1800-1		8,806
Charges. Ditto, ditto		102,030
Net charge		93,224
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlborough, Penang, &c. estimated for 1801-2		85,840
Actual amount		241,220
More than estimated		155,380
Supplies estimated for 1802-3		116,000

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1801-2, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	7,127,988	
Madras	4,729,610	
Bombay	305,992	
Total revenues		12,163,590

Charges—Bengal	-	4,705,583	
Madras	-	4,963,742	
Bombay	-	1,187,288	
		Total charges	10,856,613
Net revenue of the three presidencies	-	-	1,306,977
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	-	-	241,220
Remaining net revenue	-		1,065,757
Deducted from the interest, &c. paid on the debts.			
At Bengal	-	971,556	
Madras	-	267,178	
Bombay	-	210,066	
			1,449,500
Shews the deficit from the territorial revenues to be	-	-	383,743
Deducted from the amount sales of imports, &c. by	-	-	418,717
		The remainder	34,974
Is the sum left applicable to the purposes of commerce, amount advanced for the purchase of investment, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment			
At Bengal	-	739,651	
Madras	-	281,329	
Bombay	-	246,021	
Marlborough		21,092	
Total advances for investments			1,288,093
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1801-2, with charges by			2,362,443

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the estimates for the year 1802-3, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	-	7,612,384	
Madras	-	4,670,369	
Bombay	-	410,280	
		Total revenues	12,693,033
Charges—Bengal	-	4,535,065	
Madras	-	4,555,676	
Bombay	-	907,406	
		Total charges	9,998,147
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies	-	-	2,694,886
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. per	-	-	116,000
		Remainder	2,578,886
Deduct further interest on the debts by	-	-	1,481,070
		The sum then remaining is	1,097,816
Add estimated amount of sales of imports by	-	-	409,500
		The total	1,507,316
Is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1802-3, to the purposes of commerce			

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	-	-	17,674,532
Amount this year	-	-	19,965,739
		Increase	2,291,207
Debts transferred in the year			143,179

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year	-	-	15,135,354
Amount this year	-	-	16,994,833
Increase of debts bearing interest			1,859,479
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	-	-	1,342,853
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year	-	-	1,481,070
Increase of interest payable annually			138,217

ASSETS IN INDIA,

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	-	12,113,923
Ditto ditto by present statements		13,372,741
Increase of assets		1,258,818
Deduct increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the Company's Affairs in India appears worse in this view	-	1,032,389

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales 1802-3	-		9,628,131
More than last year	-	472,144	
The sales of Company's goods were to a less amount	-	582,459	
Also neutral property by	-	153,036	
		735,495	
Private goods were more by	-	1,207,639	
Difference as above	-	472,144	
The sales of the Company's goods were estimated at	-	-	5,880,600
The actual amount was	-	-	6,048,028
Being more than estimated by			167,428
The receipts on the sales of the Company's goods estimated at	-	-	6,500,600
Actually amounted to	-	-	6,972,417
Being more than estimated	-		471,810
Charges and profit on private-trade estimated at	-	-	130,007
Actually amounted to	-	-	172,474
Exceeding the estimate in	-	-	42,474
General Result.—The balance of cash estimated to be against the Company on the 1st of March, 1803	-		1,434,556
Actually proved to be in their favour			1,009,822
Being better than estimated			2,444,378

Which may be attributed to the additional receipts on the sales of goods on private-trade, and on the issue of bonds, combined with the payments below the estimate on account of India and China, and on several other accounts, also the protraction of the liquidation of 700,000l. of the debt to the Bank.		
ESTIMATE, 1803-4		
Receipt for sale of Company's goods -		6,085,500
General Result:—Although the balance of cash on the 1st March, 1803, was large, and although the smaller receipt on the sale of goods is more than made up by an expected payment from Government, the great disbursement required for India and China for purchase of investment and liquidation of debt, and the payment of the loan from the Bank are likely so to operate, that the balance of cash, in favour of the Company, on the 1st March, 1804, is estimated to amount to the sum only of -		89,393
DEBTS AT HOME.		
On the 1st March, 1802 - - -		4,822,683
On the 1st March, 1803 - - -		4,773,886
Decrease -		48,797
ASSETS AT HOME.		
On the 1st March, 1802 - -		16,802,760
On the 1st March, 1803 - -		17,440,593
Increase -		637,833
Adding the decrease of debts to the increase of assets, the improvement of the home concern in the year is		686,630
CHINA AND ST. HELENA.		
Balance at China last year in favour - - -	1,019,551	
Balance at China by the present accounts - -	91,434	
Decrease at China	928,117	
Balance at St. Helena, on the 30th Sept. 1800, in favour -	77,852	
Balance at ditto, on the 30th Sept. 1801 in favour - -	78,848	
	996	
Net decrease at China and St. Helena		927,121
GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.		
Increase of debts in India - -		2,291,207
Decrease of debts at home - -		48,797
Net increase of debts -		2,242,410
Increase of assets in India	1,258,818	
Increase of assets at home	637,833	
	1,896,651	
Deduct, net decrease of balance in favour at China and St. Helena - -	927,121	
Net increase of assets		969,530
Deducted from the net increase of debts, shews the state of the whole concern in a worse point of view than at the conclusion of the last year, in the sum of - - -		1,272,880

Having gone through all the statements, he observed, that nothing could be more gratifying than the view thus exhibited, of the actual prosperity and future prospects of our East India settlements, which were now infinitely superior to what they had ever been before, or to what belongs to any other country on the face of the globe.—Whether we looked to its revenue, its commerce, the value of lands, its population, or its peaceful government, it must present an object of envy to every other nation in the world. The noble marquis, at the head of that government, had an opportunity of carrying into effect the system of judicature adopted by the Marquis Cornwallis, and from the reports of the different governors, given in as a statistical view of the whole country, a plan was now effected which had been much improved by the exertions of Sir G. Barlow. The judicature of the courts was now equal to those of the other settlements, and the same system was extended to most of the Jaghires and Circars. Means were taken to ascertain the value of the other more remote English possessions, and the same system pervaded them all, who had their courts and judges in the same regularity as those of Bengal. The Polygars were a very warlike and interesting people. They lived under a kind of feudal system, which rendered them at the same time both martial and idle. This was increased by their treaty to keep 23,000 men for the service of the company. But this of late had been very advantageously remitted for the sum of 71,000l. per annum in money. The most material point was the situation of the Carnatic, which had undergone a considerable change; but as this was not a time to enter into the merits of the treaty which annexed a part of the nabob's possessions to ours, he would confine himself to that part of the subject, which bore more immediately upon the question, in the financial operations of the measure. By the arrangement made, the net revenue derived by the company this year, after the payment for the collection and other expenses, was 1,094,000l. of which, however, one-fifth was paid to the nabob; which, with the payments to his creditors, would amount to 628,000l. leaving to the company a clear profit of 228,000l. By this the nabob possessed much more than he could realize by his own imperfect system of revenue; for of the immense sums wrenched from the inhabitants, by continued and successive extortions descending from the prince to the meanest soldier, only a very small portion came into the public coffers. By the late treaty, the nabob, in-

stead of paying a subsidy to the company for undertaking his defence, and that of his territories, which relieved him from keeping a standing army that was a terror to his subjects and himself, ceded a part of his territory as an indemnification to the company. This cession consisted of about half his territory, the revenues of which, by the meritorious exertions of Mr. Wellesley, had been improved from 1,500,000, to 2,770,000l. The nabob, at the same time, was the richest sovereign in India, having a clear revenue of upwards of a million sterling solely applicable to his own use, and to the comforts of his family. Speaking of the Mahratta empire, he said it must be always of the greatest importance to us, as its superficial extent was equal to that of the possessions of the company. It had lately undergone a very great revolution, as Halkar had defeated the army of the Pashwa, who was himself obliged to fly from his capital and take refuge under the protection of the company near Bombay, where he still remained. The current connexion between him and the company made it expedient to afford him the protection he sought for, and on that communication being made to Halkar, he appeared satisfied to submit the dispute to the English government. As this, however, could not be entirely relied upon, he had further to mention, that an army to support the interference of the company was assembled and prepared upon the coast, but would not, in all probability, be driven to any military operations, and at all events would be attended with little expense, and would not affect the general results of the peace establishment. He then concluded with moving resolutions in conformity with his calculations.

Mr. *Francis*. The attendance this day is a new proof of the truth of an observation made by the noble lord (Lord Castlereagh) at the beginning of his speech, that no subject is so irksome to the House as matters of account, and particularly those of the East India company. Undoubtedly, Sir, it is an unfortunate circumstance, and likely to be productive of the most serious ill consequences, that so great a national concern as the British dominion in India, and the affairs of the India company, should be so little regarded as they are by the House of Commons or by the public, and that a subject so important should not have attraction enough to engage any considerable number of gentlemen even to listen to the few, who still have the resolution to examine these accounts, and to take part in the questions connected with them. The importance of the subject grows with your neglect of it; but the disposition of the House was not to be corrected. On my own account, Sir, I confess that I do not regret that there is not now a more numerous attendance. Some advantage may be derived from it. The observations, which I mean to submit to the Committee, require an attentive audience. From the very few who are present I may hope for silence and attention. Greater numbers would not only not listen, but probably disturb others, who might be disposed to favour me with their attention. I should address myself most earnestly to his Majesty's ministers, if any of them had thought fit to attend, and to such of the present Directors as have seats in Parliament. Of those gentlemen I see but one in his place. I am sure of the noble lord's attention, and some way or other I hope that the substance of what I shall say this night may find its way to the body of the East India company, I mean the proprietors of India stock, and to the knowledge and observation of the public. I shall not attempt to follow the noble lord through the particulars of these accounts; for though I readily admit that he has performed his part, as he always does, with perfect regularity and great perspicuity, I do not think it possible for any human memory, without the assistance which the noble lord has in his hands, to recollect and pursue, in a similar order, the various heads, totals, balances, estimates, and calculations, exhibited in these papers. Mine, at least, is not equal to the task. Nor would it answer any serviceable purpose, certainly not that which I have in view, of establishing such plain conclusions of fact, such a practical result and evidence of the real situation of things, as may be easily comprehended, and leave a deep and distinct impression. National prosperity is not proved by figures. You must see it in its operation; you must feel it in its effects. Not that I mean to neglect all the accounts before us, or all the noble lord's calculations. On some of the most considerable of both, I shall offer some observations, which I think will be sufficient to warrant a presumption that, if all of them were examined in a way which I shall hereafter recommend, even these accounts would furnish a different view of the subject from that, which the noble lord has endeavoured to establish. At the same time I request of the noble lord to receive what I have to say with candour, and with a favourable construction, and by no means to consider me as an adverse party in this discussion. If I cannot contribute directly to the public service, I believe at least I shall make it ap-

pear, to the conviction of the Committee, that the case is pressing. I will not enter into personal altercations or asperities with any man. If I am answered, as I have been, in that form, I shall desist. My concern in these questions is no more than belongs to every member of the community. The community itself has, indeed, a great interest in them. Next to the safety of these kingdoms, your dominion in India, and the real state of the India Company as connected with that dominion, is the first object of national interest and concern. Take care that you look at it attentively and in time. In such possessions, so remote from the centre of your power, and from the means of your inspection, abuses are very likely to take root. But do not flatter yourselves that the consequence of abuses in India will never reach or affect this country. We are now so connected with India, and so implicated in the concerns of the company, that in their prosperity or distress the well-being of the British empire, and perhaps something more than its well-being, is involved; though the contrary might naturally be inferred from the universal indifference, with which India, and all that belongs to it, is regarded. Parliament confides. The public neither know nor care; and the proprietors of India stock are quite content to receive their dividend, without considering from whence it comes, or how long it may last. If India be not, what it might be, a profitable possession; if it does not furnish, as it ought to do, abundant resources to Great-Britain, it may be, and I am sure it will be, a drain and a burthen, which cannot be supported.—Before I enter on those observations, which had occurred to me before I heard the noble lord, there is one prominent fact, stated by him with a sort of triumph, which I request the Committee to bear in mind, and to carry along with them, through the course of this discussion. It is not of a nature to escape the most careless apprehension, or to be readily forgotten. Such a fact proves more than many arguments, and, in some important points of view, makes argument superfluous. The general drift and intention of the noble lord's speech was, to give us a favourable opinion of the state of the Company's affairs at home, and of their governments abroad. All his statements and all his reasoning went in that direction. The Company's domestic circumstances are flourishing, their affairs in India are the same, or will be so in process of time. Of these prospects of Indian prosperity, I shall speak hereafter. What I now advert to is, the information given us by the noble lord, that in the course of the current year the Court of Directors are prepared to send out property to India to the amount of five millions sterling; of which one million seven hundred thousand pounds is to go in specie or bullion.* This last circumstance the noble lord mentioned, in terms of surprise at the energy of the Directors, as if they had performed some great national service, for which the public, at this season more than any other, ought to be particularly obliged to them. One would think that his lordship had been talking of the importation of so much specie, to assist the declining circulation here, not the extraction of such an enormous sum from a country already overrun with paper. By what means, with what loss, or with what inconveniences to the Company, this measure has been accomplished, I know not. Of the magnitude of the effort on this side, there can be no dispute; but what does it prove on the other, but the magnitude of the distress? I have no doubt that this supply is wanted in Bengal, and still more at the other presidencies. The circulation of Bengal, once the land of silver, once the source of wealth to England, is for the most part carried on in paper; and now it must be supported by supplies of specie from England. In the last year, the Company exported bullion to the amount of 630,000l. In the present year, they are to export 1,732,000l. besides 300,000l. which the government of Bengal reckon upon in their estimate of receipts, to be applied to current services, making in all 2,662,000l. exported in two years; of which 1,300,000l. is for the relief of Bengal, and the remainder I suppose for China. In former times, one of the principal advantages derived from the acquisition of a great territorial possession in India was, that it saved, or might have saved, the necessity of sending bullion from England to China; but as the reve-

* This seems to be the same plan, which was recommended to the Directors by Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 30th of June, 1801 (page 20); in which he says, "It is requisite, by exports, by "bills from India, and by bullion, to find an aid "to your Indian concerns, to the amount of five "millions sterling. The difficulty does not con-"sist in any inadequacy of resources at home, to "make those exertions, but in the means of "sending so large a sum; and particularly, in "the means of finding bullion to so large an "amount as two millions, to which amount it "must be found, &c."

nue increases, the advantages of it decline, and this one is lost. Bengal not only does not furnish China, but has no specie left for her own circulation. They, who can look with indifference at such a reverse in the result to this country of its connexion with India, who can shut their eyes to the consequence of such facts, are not likely to care for any thing that can be said on the subject. The mischief is evidently in a state of progression; your difficulties grow with your means. It is now twenty years, since this House, by the advice, and at the special recommendation of the present Lord Melville, laid down a set of fundamental principles and general rules for the better government of India. One of them was understood to be of so much importance, that the authority of the House of Commons was not thought sufficient to enforce it: an act of parliament was brought in by Lord Melville, by which, among other provisions, it was declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest, and "extension of dominion in India, were "measures repugnant to the wish, the ho-"nour, and the policy of this nation." This, and many other of the principles then professed, were mine long before they were his, and those of the India Company, before they were mine. The object of the Legislature was, to confine your territorial possessions within their limits at that time, when they were full as much as you could manage. On the wisdom and necessity of the prohibition I do not believe there was one dissentient voice in the nation. It was not merely to put a stop to wars in India, for conquest or plunder, but positively to restrict you from extending your possessions. Now, whether the war is made for the conquest, or the conquest comes by the war, the wise purpose of the Legislature is defeated. In the last ten years, the surface of your territory, and the nominal amount of your revenues, has been nearly doubled, whether by force or fraud, by victories over declared enemies, or by pretended treaties, dictated to tributary enslaved nabobs, who are called your allies, does not belong to the present question. If a positive pecuniary profit had resulted from these acts, I know how completely in vain it would be for me to measure them by the spirit and meaning of the legislature, or by any principles established by any authority. The only question I ask is, Have you violated your principles with an adequate advantage? Have the wars paid you? Are you reimbursed by your conquests? Are your acquisitions a benefit or a burthen to you? I speak to the I. Comp. and the public; for as to private persons, I do not mean to deny that new sources of fortune may have been discovered. Let the fate of the community be what it may, individuals, engaged in such great concerns, will always find means to take care of themselves. If the affirmative be maintained, the proof should exist in a result of facts, not, as it has done for many years, only in estimates and accounts. You should see it in the discharge of debt, in the abundance of specie, and in a growing surplus applicable to tribute through the medium of commerce. Does any one of these articles furnish evidence of a prosperous state of your governments in India? You have an annual revenue, as the noble lord states it, of thirteen millions: when you had not half that income, nor half your present territory, the Indian debt was a trifle; you had a surplus of a million at least, sometimes much more, for the purchese of an investment, and Bengal assisted you with bullion for China. In a letter to the Court of Directors, written in June 1801, Lord Melville mentions his having stated *to the House of Commons, that he was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions.* In another place he says, "After the most mature consideration I can "give the subject in all its bearings and re-"lations, I have *a deep-rooted conviction,* "that your Indian debt is the only formi-"dable enemy your Indian prosperity has "to encounter. Subdue it, and you *have* "*subdued* every thing that ought rationally "to be dreaded." Since that time, I ask, have any savings been made on a revenue of 13 millions? Have they furnished a surplus for investment? Has a single rupee of the debt, as it then stood, been discharged? Just the contrary. There are no savings: your expenses absorb your revenue, and much more; you have no surplus. You are driven to send specie to India. The debt, which in June 1801, Lord Melville thought so formidable at 14 millions, was increased to near 20 millions on the 30th April 1802, exclusive of the portion of it, which has been transferred to England; and it is fair to presume, from never-failing experience, that its progress in the current year will not be much less than in each of the two preceding years. All the presidencies, in their estimates for 1802-3, reckon upon considerable loans for the service of that year. Sir, I have often in this House taken notice of the uncertain-

ty and fallacy, not the fraud, of Indian estimates, and how little they ought to be depended on, even by those who draw them up. The actual state of the debts and incumbrances of the I. Comp. is a demonstrative refutation, not of the figures, but of the practical result and implied promise of all their calculations for many years*. On this subject, however, there is at this moment special evidence before the House: I mean, such an instance of inaccuracy, as, I believe, if any thing can, will guard the House from giving implicit credit to Indian estimates hereafter. I am very far from thinking that it could have been intended. The fact is, that, on the 8th of March last, an estimate was laid before the House, by the Court of Directors, in which the supposed debt in India is stated as follows:

"The total of debts on the 30th "April 1802, is therefore esti- "mated at - - - - - - - - -	17,614,000l.
On the 28th of April, the real account was produced, by which it appears that the same debt, at the same period, amounted to -	19,965,700l.
So that, between the estimate in March and the real account in April, the difference is no less than - - - - - - - - - -	2,351,700l.

A mistake, or miscalculation, of 2,350,000l in estimating the increase of debt in a single year is quite enough for the purpose, for which I mention it, and much more than I expected. The Committee will observe once for all, that in stating these totals, I follow the usual form of the resolutions; without distinguishing what part of the debt bears interest or not. The sum, in the hands of commissioners of the sinking fund, may be deducted from the total of debts; but that does not alter the proportion of the increase. The addition made to the Indian debt, in the two years ending in April 1802, amounted to 5,325,337l. But are you sure that this is all? Is there no arrear left? Are all the demands on all the presidencies ascertained and stated? Be that as it may, this formidable debt is evidently in a course of rapid progression*. The augmentation of establishments, and expenses of all sorts, keeps pace with the increase of your dominion, out runs that of your revenue, and at this distance can neither be restrained nor controlled, without an exertion of vigour as great as the difficulty, and a choice of instruments equal to the task. In a political sense, you have more than you can govern. In an economical sense, you have more than you can manage. That there should be no material fraud or embezzlement in the annual collection and expenditure of so many millions, may be true. On that subject, all you have to judge by, is speculation and experience.—I would now draw the attention of the Committee to the state of affairs at home. If they have prospered to the degree that has been stated; if the Company's commercial profits have answered their expectation; if the pompous

* The Committee of Directors, in their report of the 25th of March 1802, observe, "that the "right hon. gent. (Mr. Dundas), on retiring from "office, has represented India and the affairs of "the Company, in the most prosperous situa- "tion, &c.; that they have too much reason to "fear, that the exclusive trade, as regulated by "the act of 1793, is not only necessary but in- "dispensable, as a resouree to save the Company "from destruction, &c.; that the few months, "which have intervened, have been more than "sufficient to convince the Court, that Mr. "Dundas was mistaken as to the real situation "of the Company's affairs; for the whole of his "estimates are completely destroyed, in conse- "quence of the advices since received, &c. They "trust they have demonstrated the opinion they "entertain of the sanguine estimates formed by "Mr. D., &c. However discouraging this pro- "spect may be, it is aggravated by circumstances "which never existed before. The establish- "ments are increased, the political resources are "absorbed, &c. we find that the treasury (of "Bengal), for want of money, has been obliged "to issue notes payable nine months after date, "with an interest of twelve per cent. &c. In "this situation, which Mr. D. represented as "prosperous, with more than double the amount "of political debts to discharge, and groaning "under the enormous increase of military ex- "pense and establishments, he proposes to call "on the proprietors of East India Stock to raise "no less a sum than four millions sterling, for "what he calls commercial purposes; but "which, in truth, is to discharge political "debts, &c.—The original capital (2,800,000l.) "was sufficient to enable the Comp. to carry on "their trade, when it was truly exclusive, for "near a century. The three last sums (4,980,000l.) "have been added during the administration "of Mr. Dundas, for commercial purpose, &c.— "It never can be denied, that the four millions "are to be raised for the express purpose "of discharging political debts.——(Signed) "Abraham Robarts, Edward Parry, Charles Mills, "J. Roberts, F. Baring, Jacob Bosanquet, Hugh "Inglis, Joseph Cotton.".

* In 1796, the Indian debt stood at	7,146,083l
In 1802, at.....	19,965,739l.
Increase in six years.....	12,819,656l.
Average of annual increase....	2,136,609l.

appropriation of net proceeds, directed by the act of 1793, was not a mere delusion; the evidence of such prosperity ought to appear in the liquidation of the debt, and in the discharge of the principal engagements to the public and to the proprietors, on the faith and credit of which the charter was renewed. In a trial of ten years the specific benefits of the measure ought to have appeared, the effects ought to have been felt. The act of Parliament says that, after providing for bills of exchange, current payments, &c. the net proceeds and profits of the Comp. shall be applied, first, to the payment of a dividend of 10 per cent. on the present, or any future amount of the Company's capital stock *; second in payment of 500,000 l. a year into the receipt of the Exchequer, for the use of the public; third, to the purchase of stock in the public funds, to the amount of twelve millions sterl. as a guarantee fund for the better securing the Company's capital stock. Of these provisions of the act, I know of none that has been complied with, but the payment of the dividend, which, in my opinion, is a very moderate compensation to the proprietors, and not at all adequate to what they are fairly entitled to, considering their interest (if not property) in every thing that has been acquired abroad, and the risk, to which their capital has been repeatedly exposed, in making the acquisitions. The proprietors, in fact, divide little more than five per cent. on the price they have paid for their stock. Of the participation of 500,000l allotted to the public for the renewal of the charter, only one year's payment, out of eleven, has been made; and as to the famous guarantee fund, by which the proprietors were taught to expect that their capital stock, or the value thereof, would at all events be secured, I suppose they know that, in these eleven years, not a single shilling has been applied to the formation of that fund. Were all these stipulations agreed to by the Company in 1793, and all these provisions recommended to Parliament for mere appearance, and to serve a turn, without any serious thought of their ever being carried into execution?—or did they proceed upon fair estimates, and well founded calculations of growing resources and probable profits? Presuming that they did so, you see the full value of all such estimates and calculations.—In stating the Company's debt abroad, I take it for granted, that the total amount, as far as it could be ascertained, has been fairly brought into view. In the general circulation of their property, the title of which is, stock per computation of the East-India Company (exclusive of their capital stock) on the 1st of March, 1803, I do not think that the same course has been pursued. I adhere to my opinion, that this account, constructed as it is, creates a false balance, and leads to a false conclusion. On the debit side, I aver, and am ready to make it good, that two very important articles are omitted, which ought to have been inserted in the body of the account. A memorandum at the top or bottom of an account, and which does not even state the amount of the article omitted, may furnish an evasion; but it is no answer to my objection. In the first place, why is the capital omitted? It amounts to six millions of stock, for which the corporate body has received 7,780,000 l. from the proprietors, and are accountable. Is this a proper article of debt in this account, or is it not? Is it true or is it false, that, in all partnerships, the original subscription exists, as a demand between the partnership in gross, and each proprietor, in proportion to the share he has in the common stock? If that proposition be false, and the debit be improper, why was it invariably included in the annual amount of the Company's debts, till the year 1794? Do you doubt the fact? I have a series of the printed accounts in my hands to prove it. But I do not believe, that, after the final admission of the worthy baronet on the other side *, this point will be any longer disputed. He allowed, that, on the whole, he was inclined to my opinion. From his knowledge and judgment I expected no less. Then, why is the article omitted? Of the intention I can say nothing; but I can very easily shew you, what purpose is answered by the omission. A debit of six millions, inserted in the body of the account, would reverse the balance. How very few are there, even among persons directly interested in the result, who ever think of looking into these voluminous accounts? Of the few who take that trouble, does any body, I speak generally, look at more than balances and totals? If, on the face of the

* The appropriation of 500,000l. a year (out of the net proceeds) to the discharge of bills drawn in India, for the transfer or remittance of the debts of the Comp. from thence to Gt. Britain, makes no part of their engagements to the public, or to the proprietors. Whatever has been applied to that purpose, ought to be added to the total of debt contracted in India.

* Sir Theophilus Metcalfe.

account, the balance appears to be on the right side, does any man examine the particular, or inquire how it arises? As far as my observation goes, very few indeed. But, at last, to justify the omission, an order of the House of Commons, given in 1794, has been pleaded. For what purpose was it obtained? On this point I can only offer you a conjecture, of the truth of which, I have not the smallest doubt; and with that I shall leave the inference to the internal judgment of the Committee. When the subject was before the House some time ago, I was not aware, or I should not have failed to take notice of it, that the House of Commons, in 1794, had ordered the Directors to deliver in the account of their stock by computation, and not to include the capital. Orders of this kind are moved for without notice, and pass without observation, upon trust, and as things of course. To account for the motion, I need only suppose that the President of the Board of Control, finding the balance of stock on the wrong side, should say to the Directors, "You must leave out the capital."—"No," say the Directors; "we cannot venture to alter the established form of our accounts."—"Then, what is to be done?"—"Give us an order of the House of Commons."—"If that be all, you shall have it." The order passes; the Directors are all obedience; and thus the omission of a debit of six millions (which, in truth, ought to be 7,780,000 l.), never omitted before, is sheltered and justified.—At the foot of the same account, another article of debt appears, though not inserted, as it should be, in the body of the account; namely, 960,843 l. for sums advanced by his Majesty's Paymaster General, on account of King's regiments serving in India. This debt the Company have, in fact, acknowledged; because they have paid 100,000 l. in part of it. Then, why is not the remainder stated as a debit, in the account? Because it would add 860,843 l. to the balance against the Company; and then we are told, that there can be no intention to suppress or to deceive, because one of the articles in question is alluded to, and the other stated in a note or memorandum, external to the account.—I now turn to the other side, of the computation of stock; and there I can assure the Committee, that, to the best of my knowledge and judgment, many of the credits taken are liable to question, and deserve to be specially examined before they are admitted. The only item, however, to which I would wish to draw your attention is, by what is due from government for stores and supplies to his Majesty's troops, &c. amounting to no less than 3,573,339 l. for which full credit is taken, without reserve, as if the debt made part of the Company's actual and effective property, as if it had ever been acknowledged by government, or could not be disputed. Now, I ask the noble lord, plainly and distinctly, does he acknowledge this debt on the part of government? Was it ever acknowledged by his predecessor in office? If my memory does not very much fail me, I have heard Mr. Dundas declare, in his place, that government did not acknowledge it. After so many years are elapsed, it is possible I may be mistaken, and therefore I do not positively insist on the fact; but I believe it. How the claim has grown to its present enormous size I know not *; but it is high time that it should be strictly examined, and admitted once for all by Parliament, as far as it can be proved, or finally dismissed from this account. Circumstanced as it is, the credit taken for the entire account tends only to make the India Company believe that the debt is good, and that they are richer than the supposed debtor admits by more than three millions and a half sterling. If it be only "stated by the Company as a claim upon government, subject to adjustment;" I say, let the claim be examined, and the adjustment made by a Committee of this House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom I should have been glad at this moment particularly to have seen in his place, has thought proper to recommend it to Parliament to pay the India Company one million sterling, on account of expenses incurred during the late war. This appears to me a very questionable act on his part, and certainly should not have passed unquestioned, if I had been able to attend my duty that day. Between government and the Company there is a long series of pecuniary transactions, with demands and counter-demands on both sides. Then, I ask, what parliamentary evidence did the Chancellor of the Exchequer produce? What proof did he lay on the table, to satisfy the House of Commons that one million, or any other sum, was due to the India Company? Has government no claims on the Company since the renewal of the charter? And, without a liquidation of accounts, how is it possible to determine, which of the parties is finally in debt to the other? In these circumstances, the Chan-

* In October, 1780, it was reported by a Committee of Proprietors, to amount to 422,000 l. under three heads; *viz.* Subsistence of French prisoners, Expedition to Manilla, Hospital expenses of his Majesty's troops.

cellor of the Exchequer pays the Company one million sterling on account, which implies that there is still a balance due to them. He may think so, or he may be told so; but his private opinion, or his personal knowledge, is no ground to this House for paying a million of the public money to any body. Nothing could justify such a payment, but a report of the Committee of this House, specially appointed to examine and settle the claims on both sides.—There is another subject, Sir, of very great consequence to the nation, as well as to the Company, which I wish to bring into view, not so much for immediate discussion, as in hopes that it will be taken up by Parliament hereafter on a great comprehensive scale of national deliberation. I mean the real state and result of the Company's trade to the continent of India. Is it a profitable or a losing trade? Or, if there be an ultimate profit, is it at all proportioned to the capital employed, the charges, and the risk? On these questions, it would ill become me to say any thing but with the greatest diffidence. In opening the subject, I look for information from gentlemen, who understand it much better than I do. The arguments I have heard on both sides have not ended in giving me perfect conviction on either; but assuredly they justify a doubt and call for an inquiry, in the issue of which the essential interests, perhaps the existence, of the India Company are involved. As long as the cargoes provided in India were paid for out of the surplus of territorial revenue, it was natural enough that the commercial profit or loss on the prime cost should be but little regarded, because the whole investment was a gift or a tribute to the Company. But habits grow out of an abundance of means, and are apt to continue when the means are gone. A woful reverse has taken place in this branch of the Company's resources. Instead of providing their investment with the money of India, which was equivalent to getting it for nothing, they have for many years paid for it with money borrowed there at an exorbitant interest, and now with specie from England. On this footing is the trade profitable, and, without supposing any other disadvantages, can it be pursued? The reverse I allude to, does not end here. The hon. person, under whose administration of India the charter was renewed in 1793, declared that his plan was, to engraft an open trade on the exclusive privilege of the Company, and that he had at last arranged it with the Company. This speculation is above me. The proposition seems to involve a paradox in the idea, and a contradiction in the terms. I have no conception of the manner, in which elements and principles so opposite to one another, as an open trade and an exclusive privilege, can act or subsist together. All general reasoning and common experience lead to a suspicion that, sooner or later, the stock will starve the graft, or the graft must kill the stock. On this question, however, we have now no occasion to speculate. An experiment of ten years ought to furnish a practical solution to all such doubts. Without regarding theories, I ask only, whether, in fact, the plan has succeeded. Are the parties satisfied? Do the chartered Company and the private merchant find all the advantage they expected from their respective participation in the object? or has the plan served only to throw an apple of discord among them? Of the success of the private trade, under the present distribution, I can form no judgment. Whether any, and what compromise has taken place, I know not. But I shall be surprised, indeed, if in fact it should appear that a corporate body, acting by agency abroad, and loaded with expensive commercial establishments, is able to support a profitable competition with individuals, acting for themselves, alert and vigilant in the transaction of their business, who have nothing else to attend to, and who have no establishments to maintain. At all events, I can hardly state an object of inquiry more important to the Company than to know, what the real profit of their India trade (distinct from China) amounts to, on an account fairly made up, and charged, as it ought to be, with interest on the capital employed, loss on goods exported, &c. and not omitting any article of expense that ought to appear in such an account*. On the whole, Sir, I

* *Extract of Mr. Henchman's speech, at a General Court of Proprietors, 8th April* 1802, *page* 86.—"In the calculations made by the Directors, no interest of money is charged on the capital employed; yet a great part of the Company's Indian investment is made with money borrowed at Indian interest; and the course of the business is this: it is borrowed early in the year, to be advanced to the native manufacturers. The goods are delivered in the course of the year; they are shipped in the beginning of the next year; at the end of it, they are sold in England; and, in the beginning of the third year, British manufactures are shipped in return, which may be sold in the course of that season; so that it must be thirty or thirty-six months before the money is realized to pay off the bond that was given for the first loan to make the investment. To this we may add five per cent. confessed to be lost in the exports. So that it may fairly be said, thirty-five per cent. is, on this account, to be added to the Company's expenses in making up the account. I will not stop to notice *many other charges* not calculated on by the Directors. This alone is sufficient to raise very

cannot think it possible for this House or for the Company to look at the actual state of their immense dominion in India, their revenues, their expenses, their debts, and their trade, and the course in which all these concerns are running into ruin, without seeing the necessity of meeting the case with stronger measures, and more vigour, than has yet been applied to it. Compared with the exigency, these voluminous accounts and annual budgets are mere formalities. They furnish some materials, but they provoke no injury. In this House, they excite neither attention nor attendance. The only things listened to or looked at, are the flattering commentary, and the delightful prospect. From year to year, as one set of promises fail, the next improves. A losing *account* is balanced by a winning *estimate*, and perpetual disappointment cured by vigorous expectation. An early and resolute parliamentary investigation into the state of India, and of every object connected with it, in my opinion is indispensable. Such was the course pursued in 1781. The House about that time appointed two Committees; one to inquire into the political transactions in India, the other into the internal abuses of the government of Bengal, and the general result of the connexion of India with Great Britain as it then stood. Such Committees should be revived at stated intervals, and once at least in every Parliament. If the measure was wise and necessary in 1781, much more so is it now, when your dominion is double what it was, and your embarrassments greater than ever. Most earnestly would I urge and entreat his Majesty's ministers not to neglect this great national interest, to think of it in time, and put the consideration of it into a right course. The evil is not stationary. While ministers delay they lose ground, and at last the object will force itself upon them with increasing difficulty and disadvantage.—There is another measure, very fit to be adopted by the Court of Proprietors in concurrence with Parliament, if they think they have any concern in the fate of the corporation. They have an example of it in a proceeding of their own in 1782, when they appointed *a Committee to examine into the general state of the debts, credits, and effects of the Company both in England and abroad.* I was named on that Committee. Their Report was drawn up by the late Mr. Orme and Sir John Call. The share, I had in it, was too inconsiderable to preclude me from saying, what I think of it, that a more able, judicious, and conclusive performance of that kind does not exist. The general principle on which they proceeded, was to class the debts and demands, according to their quality, on one side; and on the other, the corresponding property or assets, which might fairly be set against them in each class. They reminded the Proprietors, as I do now in the same terms, "How liable they and the public are to be misled, by the inspection of a general estimate; where, on the credit side, the quick stock in England is blended with the several quick stocks abroad, and one general total involves many articles, which are afloat, at risk, or obviously dormant and non-productive; thereby giving the *whole* an equal degree of creditable value, in opposition to debts, which are actually due, and must be paid in England; as well as others, which will ultimately come to be paid there, if not liquidated abroad."—At the close of their Report, they make an unnecessary excuse for having possibly exceeded the limits of their appointment, by giving opinions instead of adhering to figures only; and they conclude with a remark, not less applicable to present circumstances than those, to which it was applied: I cannot do better, than adopt their opinion in the same words, and repeat them as if they were my own:—"Situated as the Company now are, it is impossible to discuss the subjects of trade and expense, without adverting to collateral objects, on which the others materially depend; because the Company may be successful in war, extend their possessions, and control the politics and princes of the east; while they are poor in revenue, distressed for resources to pay expenses, and bankrupts in trade."

Lord *Castlereagh* explained, and said, that he approved very much of the hon. gentleman's proposition, to probe these matters to the very bottom; and, for his own part, he was perfectly willing and prepared to meet him upon the subject whenever it was found proper to do so. As to specie being sent out of this country, that was not a circumstance which could be reckoned disadvantageous, if the value of money was properly adverted to. One

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serious doubts, whether the Company gain any thing by their Indian investments. *But*, say the Directors, *the surplus has not appeared so large as it ought to have done, from the Company's adherence to the old forms of making the accounts.* Now, I contend the very contrary of this, and assert that, if they did not adhere to these old forms, the surpluss would appear still less, instead of more. For the practice of the India House is, and has long been, to value the rupee at two shillings, whereas they have bills upon them, at rates of exchange much higher, which of course must reduce, instead of augmenting their surplus profits."

symptom of the prosperity of the Company was, that their assets had kept pace with their debts, and that they had been able to weather a war of ten years, without any increase of debt whatever. With respect to new loans appearing on the face of the accounts, if the hon. gent. would take the trouble to inquire, he would find that the Company were constantly making loans. The statement which he had taken the liberty of submitting to the House, was entirely such a one as had been laid before the House on similar occasions, during the space of eight or ten years back. If the hon. gent. had really thought such statements mere formalities, he (Mr. Francis) was reprehensible in not having stated his opinion on former occasions, in order that some new mode might be adopted to render Indian affairs more clear and intelligible.

Mr. *Johnstone* thought, that the Company's affairs ought to be judged by other criterions than the accounts which were now laid before the House. In the course of his speech, he took occasion to observe, that there prevailed in India an inordinate spirit of extending the territorial possessions of the Company, and took notice of some acts in which the present government of Bengal and Mr. Wellesley took a part.

Mr. *W. Pole* thought it neither manly nor decorous in the hon. gent. to throw such an imputation by a side wind against persons, who, if they had acted improperly, ought to have their conduct inquired into by that House.

Mr. *Burrowes* delivered his sentiments not only upon the subject regularly under the consideration of the Committee, but upon some of the rather irrelevant points which were introduced into the discussion, and spoke with considerable animation and ability. He could not possibly, he said, suppress the feelings of indignation at the unfounded charges thrown out by two gentlemen on the other side of the House, at so gross and indecent an attack made upon two noble personages then absent on the service of their country in situations of the highest trust, importance, and responsibility, and who, for their conduct in such situations, had received the unanimous thanks of that House, which was deservedly ranked among the brightest rewards their country had to bestow. He was resident in India the greater part of the time in which the transactions alluded to took place, and therefore was enabled to speak not only from documents, but from personal and local knowledge upon the subject.—With respect to what had been thrown out relative to the conduct of Lord Teignmouth, he could assure the Committee, that noble lord never did sanction the succession of the prince in question, previous to his being placed on the Musnud of Oude. He had opportunities of being well informed upon that subject, and had perused all the letters and documents appertaining to it. After stating the outlines of the transaction, Mr. Burrowes argued successfully upon them, in vindication of the then government of Bengal. He contended that the slight and trivial circumstance of a salute being fired from the ramparts of Fort William on the occasion of that prince's accession, was not sufficient to impeach the honour of the government of Bengal; on the contrary, that government could not consistently with its honour and character have remained unconcerned spectators of a contest for the Musnud of Oude. He must, however, strongly deprecate the practice of thus bringing subjects into debate which had been repeatedly discussed, and decided upon by the House. Such a proceeding was neither just nor honourable. He again adverted to the charges which were made against the two noble lords now at the head of affairs in India; and again, he must express his indignation at hearing those meritorious and honourable personages branded with the name of robbers. Their conduct, so very far from justifying any epithets of that nature, would, he was confident, whenever it should come to be fairly and fully discussed, redound highly to their honour. The transactions, when discussed and sifted to the bottom, would add, in the estimation of an impartial posterity, to that stock of fame and honour which they already possessed. He defied any man to point out any political characters, who, since the arduous times of the French revolution, have acquired more solid glory than the two noble lords at the head of the administration of India.—With respect to what had been thrown out relative to the affairs of the Carnatic, he had as little apprehension on that head. That province was protected by the British forces from all its enemies; the reigning family was maintained upon its Musnud since the year 1744, and in possession of their territories. What was their return for such friendship and support? This clearly appeared by some documents found at Seringapatam—it ap-

peared they had entered into a traiterous correspondence with that inveterate enemy of the English, Tippoo, and at a moment when we were at actual war with him. This conduct, independent of what even else may be alleged against it, was entirely incompatible with common good faith. Such a line of conduct would have been sufficient ground for war with Portugal, Holland, or any other power with whom we might be in alliance; upon that ground alone, upon the very justice of the case, our government would have a right to make war upon the Nabob, even were he an independent prince. We were justified, by the circumstances of the case, to depose him by force of arms. It should be recollected, that at the very time Tippoo was ready to fall upon us, upon principles of self-defence, the deposition of the Nabob was obviously justifiable: but the measures which the noble lords in question concurred in adopting, were those of uncommon moderation; a moderation, he would contend, unexampled in the history of mankind. They only required of him to do that which was absolutely necessary for our own safety. Their views were bounded by self-preservation only. If ever this important topic should come to be fully discussed, what he advanced would amply appear from the documents found at Seringapatam. That such an inquiry was in contemplation, he was induced to believe, when he recollected that there were orders of the House then pending for documents to throw a light upon the subject; and this consideration called upon him still further to condemn the charges made against those two noble lords, previous to the discussion being entered upon. Here

Mr. *Francis* rose to order. He said, what had fallen from him on the subject did not deserve the character given of it by the hon. gent. If he thought his language improper and disorderly, he should, according to the regular practice in that House, have had the words taken down, and then moved the censure of the House upon them. He had no right to go on in such a style of invective, but should have adopted the right course of proceeding.

Mr. *Burrowes* proceeded. He was not conscious, he said, of having used the language of invective; but the hon. gent. should recollect, that he had spoken of the treaties with the Nabobs of Oude and Arcot, as treaties with enslaved princes. He had a right to comment on that language; however, he at the same time meant nothing personal to the hon. gent. His zeal for the honour and characters of the noble personages in question might have betrayed him into an undue degree of heat and warmth; however, in the case alluded to, the charges made against those noble lords, not only affected their own, but even the national character, which, in the present moment, it was particularly necessary should be free from reproach. Pursuing the subject farther, he observed that, in his mind, the only question with respect to the two noble lords was, whether they had not stopped short of their duty, considering the treachery to be fully proved, and whether they should not have gone farther? He then proceeded to a consideration of Lord Wellesley's financial administration in India, of which he spoke in terms of unqualified approbation, and particularly instanced the former financial distress of the Company, which compelled them to borrow money at the exorbitant interest of twelve per cent. This he contrasted with the present prosperous and flourishing state of the Company, for which they were chiefly indebted to the able and diligent administration of the noble marquis, under whose auspices their trade was improved beyond any former precedent, and the revenues advanced to an amount of nearly one million and a half; and these facts, a residence of 12 years in India, afforded him an opportunity of knowing In concluding, he took a short review of the prominent military operations in India, under the direction of the present Governor-General, of which he also spoke in terms of approbation, and particularly applauded that master-stroke of policy, adverted to by the noble lord who spoke last, of dissolving the connexion between the French and the Nizam, by which means, a powerful force of 14,000 men was disbanded, and the officers, mostly French, were made prisoners.

Mr. *Prinsep* said, he could prove from a clear calculation, that the revenue of the East-India Company was deficient in the sum of three millions. — The resolutions were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Tuesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 30.

[MINUTES.]—The Attorney-General obtained leave to bring in a bill to extend the limits of jurisdiction of the Courts of Up-

per and Lower Canada.—Lord Glenbervie brought up the report of the Committee appointed to consider the state of the Journals of the House, which was ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday next. —A petition was presented from the prisoners confined in Cardigan gaol, praying relief.—The Two Million Vote of Credit bill, the 1,500,000l. Exchequer Bills' Bill, the Tobacco Export Bill, the Quasia Duty Bill, the Dover and Deal Pilots' Bill, and the bill to exempt persons serving by themselves, or substitutes, in the army of reserve, from serving in the militia, were severally reported, and ordered to be read a third time on Monday.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, which was agreed to.—Mr. Vansittart brought in a bill for granting certain countervailing duties on fine sugar, imported from Ireland into Great Britain, which was read a first time; as was also the bill for consolidating the duties on stamps. —The Auctioneers' Duty Bill, and the Irish Tea Exportation Bill, went through a Committee, and were ordered to be reported on Monday.—The Tortola Free Port Bill, and the Scotch Malt Bill, were read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.—The House in a Committee to consider of the bounty payable on sugar, resolved that it was expedient that the period for granting an additional bounty on sugar should be limited. The report to be received on Monday.—The Property and Income Bill was ordered to be read a third time on Monday, to which day the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, August 1.

[MINUTES.]—The Bristol Fort Bill was read a third time, and passed.—The following bills were brought up from the Commons; the East-India Trade Encouragement Bill, the 1,500,000l. Exchequer Bills' Bill, Vote of Credit Bill for Two Millions, Customs Regulation Bill, the new Woollen Manufacturers' Bill, and several private bills.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, August 1.

[MINUTES.]—A petition was presented from the debtors in Newgate, praying for relief. Ordered to be laid upon the table.—The report of the Committee appointed to consider the reprinting of such of the Journals and Reports as were deficient, was agreed to, and the sum of 10,000l. ordered to be paid to the deputy clerk of the House, for the purpose of carrying the resolution into effect.—Mr. Corry brought up the report of the Committee on parsonage glebe lands. The resolution for granting 50,000l. to carry the bill into effect, was agreed to, and a bill ordered.—The 2,000,000l. vote of credit bill, and 1,500,000l. Exchequer Bills' Bill, were read a third time, and passed.—A new writ was ordered for Downton in Wilts, in the room of the Hon. John William Ward, who had accepred of the Chiltern Hundreds.—The House went into a Committee on the expiring laws, and the report was ordered to be received next day. —The Property Bill was read a third time, several clauses were added, after which the bill passed. — When the motion for the House resolving itself into a Committee on the Prince of Orange's Indemnity Bill was made, Mr. Calcraft, observed, that it had been stipulated on the part of the French Republic, Holland, and Spain, that a compensation should be made to the House of Nassau. He had expected that the 18th article of the Treaty of Amiens would have been acted upon, and that measures would have been taken by government to enforce its fulfilment; but he did not find there had been any correspondence with France upon the subject, to enforce the article of the treaty. He was, however, so grateful for the services rendered by the illustrious House of Orange to this country, that he should not oppose the measure; but he thought his Majesty's ministers, before they called upon this country, ought to shew that they had done all in their power to obtain indemnity from the other powers of the Continent.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that notice of this measure had been given at an early period of of the session, and that it had only been deferred by more interesting business. After a few words from Doctor Laurence, the House resolved itself into the Committee, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.—The Stamp Duties Consolidation Bill was committed, and the report ordered to be received the next day. —The Countervailing Duties Bill was read a second time, and committed for the next day.—The Tortola Free Port Bill was committed, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

[SUPPLY.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for going into a Committee of Supply, and that the petitions of Mr. Martin and Mr.

Dubois be referred to it; which being complied with, he further stated, that both petitions were from American royalists under very particular circumstances. The The claim of Mr. Martin he should not have to trouble them with now, as it had been already admitted, and voted by the House. That of Mr. Dubois came recommended by nothing so much as the peculiar hardship of his case. When the British forces were in the southern part of the American States, very essential services were performed by the family of Mr. Dubois, and the petitioner himself, though very young at that time, displayed so much alacrity and zeal, that they were warmly acknowledged by Generals Balfour and Craig. This claim, as an American loyalist, might have been proved, and would have been admitted before the commissioners, but Mr. Dubois, who was then a minor, received intelligence that his estates in America had not been confiscated. In order to regain them, he went over to that country, and, after long delays and numerous applications, failed of obtaining the benefit of the treaty from the American government, and did not return to England till the year 1800. What he meant to propose was by no means an equivalent to his losses, for he did not expect any thing like a compensation; and he should therefore propose, that the sum of 5,320l. be granted to make good the claims of Mr. Dubois, as an American loyalist.

Dr. *Laurence* seconded the motion, observing that no claim ever came better recommended.—The resolution was agreed to, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, August 2.

[MINUTES.]—The Irish Magistrates' Protection, and the Prize Captors' Bills, were read a third time, and passed.—In the Scotch appeal cause of Hogg v. Lashley, the Attorney-General, on the part of the respondent, replied at considerable length to the arguments of the counsel on the other side, after which the further consideration was deferred to Monday next.—The East-India Trade Regulation, the Customs Regulation, the Exchequer Bills, the Two Millions Vote of Credit, and the Woollen Manufacturers Penalty Suspension Bill, were read a second time, and committed for the next day.—The Property Amendment, the Auctioneers' Duty, and the Irish Tea Exportation Bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, August 2.

[MINUTES.]—The Receipt Tax Bill, the Auctioneers' Bill and the Irish Tea Exportation Bill, were severally read a third time, and passed.—The report of the Stipendiary Curates' Bill was brought up, the amendments agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time the next day.—The report on the Workmen's Combination Bill was brought up, and agreed to.—The report on the Tortola Trade Bill was brought up.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that the bill be recommitted, and that it be an instruction to the said Committee to introduce a clause to regulate the duties on foreign silks and velvets. Agreed to.—The report on the Prince of Orange's Annuity Bill was brought up and agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time the next day.—The report of the Committee of Supply, for granting 5,000l. as a compensation to Isaac Dubois, an American loyalist, was brought up and agreed to, and a bill ordered to be brought in accordingly.—In a Committee on the Irish Navigation Act,

Mr. *Vansittart* moved, that it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider of authorising the importation into Ireland of certain articles of commerce in neutral vessels, the property and produce of neutral states.—Also, to prevent the exportation of copper from Ireland. Ordered.

The *Advocate-General* rose to make a motion for leave to bring in a bill respecting the validity of assignments. He entered into a brief detail of the situation of the subjects of this country, relative to the awards made by commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament to regulate all matters of dispute between this country and the United States of America, and the doubts and difficulties which had arisen in consequence of the awards made in various cases, and concluded by moving leave to bring in a bill for removing doubts respecting the variety of assignments made in pursuance of the 7th article of the treaty with the United States of America, and to enable his Majesty to prosecute in those cases in which awards have been given.—Granted.—Mr. Vansittart brought up an account of places and pensions granted from 1800 to the present time.—Ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Amherst's annuity bill, and the

Custom-house officers protection bill, were severally read a first time.—The bills to regulate the rights and claims of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Grafton, and the Marquis of Bute, relative to certain duties on wine imported into several ports within the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, was read a first time.—The bill fer removing doubts respecting the validity of assignments, in pursuance of the 7th article of the treaty with the U. States of America, &c. and the bill to extend the powers of courts of justice in Upper and Lower Canada were read a first time.

[East-India Budget.] — Lord *Castlereagh* brought up the report on the East-India budget. On the question that the resolutions be read a second time,

Mr. *Prinsep* rose, and apologised to the House for taking up their time, when so much of it had already been expended on this very subject; but as he had some apprehension that the speech of the noble lord might make an impression on the House, contrary to what the true interests of the Company really required, he hoped he should be indulged with their attention, till he delivered a few observations, which he thought he was imperiously called on by his duty to make. As a proprietor, and one who was deeply interested in the prosperity of the Company's affairs, he had given the subject now before the House every degree of consideration, and the most minute attention in his power, and the result was, a thorough conviction in his own mind, that, if the Company persevere in paying their debt in the present circuitous manner, the consequences could not fail to be, in the end, very ruinous and fatal to their best interests, and must inevitably and totally preclude any expectation the House or the Country may have formed, of receiving any of that participation in the resources of the Company, which had been so long and so repeatedly promised them. He had, he said, taken the liberty to make out statements of the results which lay on the table, and from those he was fully convinced, and confirmed in his opinion, that the statements made by the noble lord, and the right hon. gent. his predecessor, were extremely unsatisfactory and fallacious. The right hon. gent. who was the predecessor of the noble lord, had stated, that the debt of the India Company was 10 millions; whereas on comparison of all the papers, and a minute investigation of all the sums taken from the papers, produced by that right hon. gent., the amount is 15 millions sterling, which sum had been taken out of the revenues of the Company, by means of loans, and other improper methods of managing the Company's finances. Had that sum been applied in payment of the debt, it might have been altogether extinguished in the course of five years, and in that case, iestead of the present existing debt of 19 millions, the Company would be in possession of three millions, with a debt of no more than two millions. He therefore thought himself strictly warranted in repeating, that if this system be pursusd, of paying off the debt in the same circuitous way that had hitherto been persisted in, the consequences would not fail to be highly injurious, and, he feared, would in the end prove fatal and ruinous to their interests. With every care and every desire to avoid the smallest misrepresentation either of the affairs of the Company or the intentions of the noble lord who brings forward this measure, he felt himself called upon by the imperious dictates of his duty to protest against it, as one that was fraught with fallacy, and which would be found to operate in a manner very different indeed to what the noble lord expects from it. He said he had the fullest confidence, that what he was then saying could not by possibility create the smallest doubt in the mind of any one, either as to the credit of the Company or the conduct of the directors, for whom he professed the greatest respect and regard, and for whose talents, integrity, and industry, no man could have an higher opinion than himself; nay, he could even contrast this statement of the noble lord's predecessor with the actual administration of the Company, and by dry figures he would prove to the House, that it appears upon these papers, that *communibus annis*, bills to the amount of 500,000l. have been drawn, and that the expenses of various kinds have amounted to full as much more; whereas, had the trade been limited according to the act of Parliament passed for that purpose, we should have had no India debt at all. In thus attaching error to the plan of the right hon. gent. he begged leave at the same time to bear full testimony to his talents and integrity. The right hon. gent. had his warmest thanks for the unwearied attention and diligence which he had uniformly paid to the affairs of the Company, and he believed he had said no more than the truth, when he had declared in his place in that House, that whenever he contemplated the business, either on his rising in the morning or going to bed at night, he found the weight of it too heavy for him.—Mr. Prinsep said, that the right hon. gent.

had exercised all those concerns very much to his honour, he was free to confess: yet he thought he might be allowed to shew the fallacy or insufficiency of his plan, and to say to his successor, read, compare, and reflect, and avoid, if possible, falling into the same delusion. If the noble lord, or the rt. hon. gent. who now fills another department of his predecessor (Mr. Tierney), or any other gent. in the House, would give him the honour of their company for one single hour, he would undertake to prove to them every word he had said. He was sorry that he did not at that moment see any East-India Director in the House to whom he could address himself on the present occasion; on a former one, the House had been told by one of its members not to attend to the statement of such an hon. gent. (meaning himself) because he was of a fervent disposition, and apt to state and colour things too warmly; he assured the House, however, that he never intentionally stated any thing as a fact which he did not on the fullest investigation believe to be so. A plan had been produced he said, in that House, which had cost the Company 20 millions. The noble lord seemed by his look to deny this, but he was sure of it, if you do but keep the clue in pursuing it, which was absolutely necessary to be done; for in India accounts, the clue, if once lost, could not be easily found again, nor in a very short time. If that plan be pursued, he must once more repeat, that it would be highly injurious, and in the end fatal to the Company's interests. That Company was, at present, managed by very able men, but it was not abounding in ready money—the whole capital was obliged to be employed; still, however, if this measure was not adopted, he was one of those who looked forward with a firm and steady eye to prospects the most flourishing and profitable. There were other resources also relative to private trade, which were now in a course of gradual and regular improvement, and which, he doubted not, would turn out equally productive. He begged pardon of the House for having detained them so long, and concluded by protesting against the present measure.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he trusted the hon. gent. would excuse his going at length into the arguments then used by him against the measure, after the very full discussion the subject had received. He begged the right hon. gent. however, to be aware of one thing, that what he called his (the noble lord's plan), was no other than the law of the land.

Mr. *Prinsep* said, he understood the act of Parliament, which says, that out of the surplus revenues the Company shall use one million sterling only.

The *Speaker* reminded the hon. gent. that he must confine himself to explanation of what he himself had said, and should consider whether what he now was saying was not in reply to what had fallen from the noble lord.

Mr. *Prinsep* said, he thought that what he was saying might be taken as explanation, as the noble lord had mentioned the act of Parliament. He was about to proceed on that subject, when—

The *Speaker* told him he was not within the line of explanation.—The resolutions were then read and agreed to.

[Navy Abuses.]—Captain *Harvey* said, he held in his hand a petition from several admirals and captains of the navy, the object of which was to pray the House to extend the powers of the commissioners for enquiring into naval abuses, so far as to enable them to enquire into the proceedings of prize causes and appeals in Doctors' Commons, and the Admiralty Court. He said that great injury had been done to the officers and seamen of the navy, from the delay in causes in Doctors' Commons and the Admiralty Court. He moved, "that the petition be brought up."—On the question being put,

Sir *W. Scott* rose and said, that it was by no means his intention to oppose the motion, though such a petition as the present could not but surprise him very much. If there was any charge to be made against him, he should, with the utmost pleasure, meet the charge, and throw himself on his country. What the hon. gent. meant by delay in causes and appeals in Doctors' Commons, he should be glad to hear him explain; there were very few appeals. He had no objection to the petition being brought up, but he could not avoid saying, that he thought it somewhat indecorous to bring up such a petition without the least notice, or the smallest intimation having been given to him. If there were any complaints against the proceedings in a court, the judge of that court was certainly the properest person to be consulted.

Captain *Harvey* appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other members of administration, if he had not shewn them the petition the preceding day, and said he had put off presenting it then, at the express request of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he naturally supposed would intimate it to the right hon. and learned gentleman.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* acknowledged that the hon. gent. had informed him of the petition, and had deferred presenting it at his request. He, perhaps, ought to have apprised his right hon. and learned friend of it; and it was his intention to do so, but it had really slipped his memory till the very moment that he saw the hon. gent. rise that day with it in his hand. He thought, however, that in a case like the present, where a serious charge was made against the proceedings of a court, the compliment might and ought to have been paid, of giving intimation of it to his hon. and learned friend.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he should not object to the motion, but he thought the petition as new and extraordinary a one as ever was brought before the House the parties stating, generally, that they desire an enquiry into all the proceedings of a court. If there was any necessity for such an enquiry, there was in that House a Committee of Courts of Justice, to which it would have been most proper to address themselves. He thought his right hon. and learned friend had a right to complain of the manner in which this petition had been brought forward. The petitioners wished the proceedings of the court to be referred—to whom? to the commissioners appointed to inquire into naval abuses—and they in their report—

General *Mailtand* spoke to order; he said he thought the learned gent. was not in order in alluding to the report of the commissioners in speaking to the motion of the petition being brought up.

Dr. *Laurence* conceived himself to be strictly in order; the prayer of the petition was, that the powers of those commissioners might be enlarged so far as to inquire into the proceedings of the courts, and they in their last report have cast a reflection on the proceedings of those courts. He wished the inquiry might go on if it was possible; but he hoped if it did, it would be complete, and extend to the grievances and injuries complained of on both sides; he had heard much talk of fictitious appeals against the captors, but he believed there were as many on the other side.

Mr. *Johnstone* could not agree with the right hon. and learned gent. who spoke last, that there was any thing extraordinary in the petition. He was certain there could not be any person in the navy or in the country that could have the least disrespect for the right hon. and learned gent. at the head of that court. He would not, however, detain the House now, but when the bill came forward, he had several cases to mention, which would evince that most intolerable grievances had existed in the proceedings of these courts.

Captain *Harvey* said, the petition was put into his hands unsolicited; many of those who had signed it were his particular friends; many of them totally unknown to him. He had been desired to present it, and as it came into his hands so he had presented it to the House.—The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* desired the House to observe, that in not objecting to the motion for the petition to lie on the table, he did not by any means bind himself to support the measure. He would not wish to treat it by a refusal with any mark of disrespect or harshness, as it came from persons highly respectable, and related to matters truly important: so far, and so far only, he had acceded to the motion.

[DEFENCE OF THE NATION.]—Colonel *Craufurd* rose to make the motion of which he gave notice some days ago. Before he entered into the subject, he said he would assure the House that it was his intention studiously to abstain from any details which, from being made public, might have the smallest chance to prove of an injurious tendency to the situation of the country: he therefore hoped the House would so far honour him with their indulgence as to give him a patient hearing. He thought, however, that all this secrecy was needless. There could be no doubt but the situation of the country and its coasts was well known to the enemy; that our plans were also known to the enemy. If we could take a peep into the *Bureau de la Guerre*, or into Buonaparté's cabinet, we should find plans—

Mr. *Frankland* here rose to order, and moved, that the gallery be cleared, which was done accordingly.—After much conversation, Colonel Craufurd agreed to withdeaw his motion.

Mr. *Fox* moved a provision in favour of the Prince of Wales's cavalry, giving to his royal highness more power than he had at present; on which the House divided—Ayes, 61—Noes, 38.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, August 3.

[MINUTES.]—The East India shipping bill was read a third time, and passed.—The Scotch cotton weavers' bill was read a third time, and passed.—The Irish tea bill was read a second time.—The port duty bill, and customs regulation bill, were committed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, August 3.

[Minutes]—Mr. Langmeade brought up a petition from the ship owners of Yarmouth, against the Bell Rock light-house bill. Ordered to lie on the table.—The army of reserve amendment bill, and the Scotch army of reserve bill, were read a third time, and passed.—The American assignments bill was read a second time.—The Attorney General moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the forging of foreign bills of exchange, promissory notes, and orders for payments of money and foreign copper coin. Leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time.—The Lord Mayor moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable the lieutenants of the city of London to carry into execution an act for the defence of the realm. Leave was given, and the bill brought in and read a first and second time.—The exchequer bills' bill, and the Prince of Orange's compensation bill, were read a third time, and passed.—The Tortola bill was committed, and the report ordered to be received the next day.—The bill for granting an annuity to Lord Amherst, the wine prize bill, the Canada courts bill, and the Irish glebe house bill, were read a second time.—In a Committee on the Newfoundland fishery bill, Mr. Vansittart moved a clause, for allowing a bounty of three shillings on every hundred of fish imported into Great Britain and Ireland. The resolutions were agreed to.—The consolidation and stamp duty bills were committed.—The assessed taxes bill was recommitted.

[Bristol harbour bill.]—The order of the day was read for taking into consideration the amendments of the Lords to the Bristol harbour bill. On the question that they be read a second time,

Mr. *Henderson* opposed it, because, he said, one of the amendments militated directly against a rule of the House, which had been most strictly adhered to for a century past, and the House had always shewn its jealousy of the Lords trenching on their privileges. It was a rule that their Lordships could not charge estates nor discharge them, nor could they alter any rate. One of the amendments, in his opinion, went to the alteration of a rate. He therefore moved, that they be taken into consideration that day three months.

Mr. *Bragge* contended, that the amendments in question did not tend to charge any one, or to take off any charge, nor did it alter any rate, therefore the hon. member's objection did not apply.

Mr. *Henderson* persisted in his former opinion.

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, he was inclined to think the objection of the hon. member to the amendments alluded to, was not valid, from the circumstance of the Speaker's not having noticed it as trenching on the privileges of the House, when the amendments were first brought in. He had always observed the right hon gent. in the chair extremely jealous of the privileges of the House being infringed, and that he never omitted to notice such amendments, the moment a bill containing them came into the House, and to acquaint the House of the infringements on their privileges. He was therefore in favour of the amendments being now considered.

The *Speaker* took a view of the bill, and concluded by giving his opinion, that the amendments objected to did not affect the privileges of the House.—The amendments were then read a second time, and agreed to; and it was ordered, that the Lords be acquainted therewith.

[General defence amendment bill.]—The *Secretary at War* moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act lately passed for the better defence of the realm. He gave a brief sketch of the amendments he meant to propose. As the act now stood, he said his Majesty could only suspend the execution of it in any district where three-fourths of the number were raised by volunteers. It had been found, on further consideration, and on fresh information, that this would be attended with inconveniences, and it was therefore proposed to give his Majesty a discretionary power to suspend the act in such cases as he thought proper, where less than three-fourths were raised by volunteers. The second was a more strict provision against persons evading the act, by changing their places of abode. The third was, that persons absent from England be relieved from the operation of the act, and in some degree also, those who are obliged to be absent from home, such as travellers, &c. and who do not go away from any intention of evading the act. The last alteration was, to extend the powers of captains of companies in the appointment of non-commissioned officers. At present they were restricted to three serjeants, three corporals, three drummers; it was proposed to increase these to six each. Leave was granted. The bill was immediately brought in, read a first and second time (by permission), and ordered to be committed the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, August 4.

[Minutes.]—The Million and a Half Exchequer Bills' Bill, the Vote of Credit, and Woollen Manufacturers' Suspension Bills, were read a third time, and passed.—Sir W. Scott brought up from the Commons, the Stipendiary Curates' Bill, and Mr. Bragge the Bristol Port Bill.

[Property bill.]—On the order of the day being read, for the second reading of this bill,

The Duke of *Norfolk* observed, that it was so voluminous as to make it impossible for him to read and digest it in so short a space of time. There was, however, one clause which he had very strong objections to, namely, that which exempted the creditors of the government, or, in other words, persons possessing property in the funds, from paying their due proportion. He should not make any motion on it in the present stage, but should deliver his sentiments on it in the Committee, which was fixed for the next day.

[Stipendiary curates.]—On the second reading of this bill,

The *Lord Chancellor* said, there was an objection which occurred to him on the first view of the bill, which was, that it militated against the standing order of 1802, prohibiting the grant of public money, in a bill which embraced two different objects. The present bill included two particular objects—1st. To provide for those curates who might be deprived of their livings by the operation of the bills which had already passed: and, 2dly. A grant of a sum of money to provide generally for them, and render their situation more comfortable than it would otherwise be. It would remain for their lordships to consider, whether this objection was to be decisive of the fate of the bill.

Lord *Suffolk* stated, that the bill had his approbation, as far as regarded its rendering the situation of the inferior clergy more comfortable; but, he hoped, that no objections, in point of form, would frustrate the measure, as had been the case with some other very beneficial regulations. The laws already in force, enabled the bishops to make allowance to curates as far as the amount of 70l.; but every one must know, that many incumbents made private bargains with their curates, for the recompence of 30l. or 40l. a-year. He was, however, glad to hear, that a bill was now pending, for better provision to be made to the persons suffering in their curacies from the consolidated fund.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said, his objections to the bill principally arose from the power given to bishops to diminish the revenues of incumbents one-fifth, which must materially deteriorate the property of individuals, and particularly those persons who were possessed of advowsons.—The clause respecting this object having been then read, his grace acknowledged that he had been under a mistake in the provisions of the bill.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that it was true the law at present authorized bishops to make allowances to curates of 70l. a-year, but no force or power of an act of Parliament could prevent private agreements between incumbents and their curates. There was, perhaps, some reason to lament that the bill would diminish the patronage and property of individuals, and the more so as this kind of property was now in the nature of assets, and sold in the same manner and facility as corn at a market.—The bill was then read a second time, and committed for the next day.

[General defence.] — Lord *Suffolk* said, that having heard in the country of a measure proposed for an army of reserve and the general defence of the nation, he had come to town for the purpose of being better informed with respect to them. He wished to know how the army of reserve was to be drilled, how the officers were to be appointed, and in what manner that force was to be rendered effectual? There was also another subject in which he was desirous of information, namely, how far the city of London had contributed its due proportion of men to the general defence of the country. He hoped it would not be deemed unparliamentary, if he slightly alluded to a discussion which had taken place in another House, respecting our means of defence, and the appointment of a military council. He had received some letters relating to the proportion offered by the city of London, one of which he had in his pocket; and, from the whole of the information conveyed to him, he was induced to think that blame attached to the city of London, which had not done as much as, in such circumstances, might be expected, and what it ought to do. Impressed forcibly by these considerations, without at present naming any particular day, he gave notice, that he should submit this subject to the view of Parliament before the conclusion of the present session, late as it was, and hoped his Majesty's ministers would then attend in their places, in order to give such information as he and the public had a right to expect from them.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, August 4.

[MINUTES.]—General *Maitland* moved a new writ for the shire of Kinross, in the room of Gen. Clephane, who, since his election, has accepted the office of Governor of Grenada. Ordered —The Scotch Malt Bill was read a third time, and passed.—Lord Amherst's Annuity, the Wine Prizes, the Custom House Officers' Protection, and the City of London Defence Bills, went through a Committee, and were ordered to be reported the next day.—The Alien Bill was read a third time, and passed.—The House went into a Committee on the Canada Courts Bill, which was ordered to be reported, and read a third time the next day.—The Assessed Taxes Bill was re-committed.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.] — The House resolved itself into a Committee on the General Defence Amendment Bill.

Mr. *Wilberforce* observed, that he did not object to the principles of volunteer service, but he thought this bill would be making invidious distinctions between those who volunteered and the people who served in a mass.

The *Secretary at War* stated, that the bill was only intended to suspend the general defence, whenever three-fourths of a district were obtained by volunteer corps.

Mr. *Windham* was of opinion, that the system of volunteering was establishing a dangerous aristocracy in the country, which would defeat the object of the measure. There were many men, who would be restrained from entering into volunteer corps by the inability of some to purchase the necessary uniforms; and the natural modesty of others, which would make them tenacious of entering into the same corps with their superiors in rank. The opinion he entertained upon the subject was very much strengthened by some very pertinent remarks in the public prints; the contents were not in general of that description.

Mr. *Sheridan* ridiculed the hon. gentleman's sarcasms on the public prints, observing, that in compliment to his friend (Mr. Cobbett) he probably preferred the weekly to the diurnal publications. He praised the readiness, zeal, and alacrity of the volunteer corps, and remarked, that, with the exception of the regulars, there was not a corps in the kingdom on which the late Secretary at War had not cast some degree of odium. He approved of this bill, because it encouraged volunteer exertions, and pointed out the station in which every man in the country ought to place himself. It had been stated by the right hon. gent. with respect to the general defence bill, that its object ought to have been to march companies to the army, and that their first destination was to be that of filling up the regiments of the line. He had spoken to gent. upon that subject, who thought that a nobleman, gentleman, tradesman, or farmer, all of whom were liable to the operation of the act, if they did not volunteer, would be very much surprised to find themselves, perhaps in the course of a month, in a private regiment, and liable to be tied up to the halberts. It was impossible for any man to make a comparison between the volunteers and those who were drilled on compulsion. Could the latter be compared with those patriotic volunteers, who were sacrificing their time in perfecting themselves in their exercise? Look at the St. George's and the Westminster volunteers, who most likely might, at this moment, be seen exercising in the Hall. But the hon. gent. had said, he disliked that superiority and spirit of aristocracy in towns and villages, which it was the tendency of the bill to introduce. He denied that it would have any such effect. The only effect of the bill was that of allowing persons to volunteer instead of being compelled to serve. They were not obliged to wear an uniform. If in villages they voluntarily came forward without uniform, they were exempted from the operation of the general defence bill. In large towns, such as Birmingham, Sheffield, and Nottingham, he should prefer associations of the higher classes, and in the country and villages those of the lower. He was satisfied with the power this bill gave his Majesty, with regard to the acceptance of volunteer services. We ought not to stop while any thing was left to be done. We should look forward to the possibility of the most disastrous, calamitous and disgraceful events again occurring. The state of Ireland was such, that although every man must rejoice at its present security, we ought not to calculate on its remaining free from disturbance. It was absolutely necessary that Ireland should not be separated from this country. It might, perhaps, be necessary that the whole of our disposable force should be employed for the purpose of retaining Ireland. Upon the whole, he saw no objections to the alterations proposed by this bill; but, on the contrary, thought it a proper extension of the system of the volunteer service. [Mr. Sheridan delivered this speech from the Treasury Bench.]

Mr. *Windham*, in allusion to the part of

the House from whence the hon. gent. had spoken, described him as a new convert, and observed that, like a young soldier, he had fired his musquet too soon When a measure was brought forward that was new, various in its operations. and depending upon a thousand different causes, the effects of which were impossible to be foreseen, time ought to be allowed to discuss it. This was a bill which it had been thought necessary to read a first and second time the preceding day. It was a measure in such a hurry, that not a moment's time was to be lost in debating it; but it was impossible, in point of fact, that a measure like that of arming the nation could be carried on with such speed. It must proceed with regularity; it was like the seven ages described by Shakspear. The bill must first be prepared; it must then be brought in; it had to go through the forms of the House; first and second readings; committed; third reading; and the same stages in the other House; it must then be passed, after which it was to be sent into the country to be carried into execution. Then there followed such a clattering, such a bustle, and tumult: what with the various duties of the tything-man, the lord lieutenant, and the deputy lieutenants the whole business was as confused as a horse-race. The tything-man was going to the school-master to read the act, and the school-master to the justice to understand it. In short, before this bill could produce the men, the enemy might be at the door. It would be some time before we had the men in their shoes, but how long it would be before they became soldiers, "seeking reputation in the cannon's mouth," he could not say. At present we had an army only on paper. He referred to the journals and placards, observing, that, at the beginning of an invasion, he wished for something better than paper bullets. The country was not to be defended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's coming vapouring down to the House, exclaiming, Do not be afraid! I am the man. Something like him, who, when he was told up stairs, the house was on fire, said, What! and I here! After the right hon. gent. had set the four corners of the world on fire, it was not his coming down with his little bucket, or thimble full of water, that would extinguish the flame. He next referred to the writings and principles of his friend Mr. Cobbett, on whom he pronounced a panegyric; stating, that he had met every bad revolutionary principle by principles of the most good, loyal, and virtuous tendency, and that he (Mr. Cobbett) deserved to have a statue of gold erected to his memory. As to the mode of carrying the bill into execution, he was of opinion, that if ministers combined the higher orders, and left the lower orders to themselves, they would put the defence of the country upon a bad footing. He desired to know how the volunteers were to be combined. Was it to be a mixture of the old and the young, the robust and the weak, the husband and man of family, and the single man, the enervated with the strong. If this was to be the system, the volunteer corps would be merely places of refuge from that service which the prerogative of the King might call upon every man for. It was providing a place of retreat for those who wished to avoid service. He therefore deprecated the force of the country being converted into volunteer corps: he admitted that the bill might be good or bad, according as it was executed.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in reply to the observations that he was a new convert, asked the hon. gent. whether it was a new situation for him to come forward and state his opinion when the country was in danger? Did he call out like the hon. gent. "restore me and my friends to power, or the country cannot be saved?" Was it new to him to be an advocate in the cause of the country? The hon. gent. had accused him of firing his musquet too soon; he had, however, returned the fire. He ought to apologize to his Majesty's ministers for the danger into which he had brought them; but happily the hon. gent. had fired his musquet, but had forgot to put ball in it. The hon gent. commanded a fine piece of artillery, which was formidable whenever he had recourse to it; but he was so fond of squibs and crackers, that he seldom did any execution. It was not long since the hon. gent. had stated, that there was no spirit in the country, and that journals lagged in rousing its energies. Would he have had these bills brought in at that time? He had said, the people of England were a degraded, base, and lost people. Was that the time for bringing forward such a measure? No; it was more likely to be attended with effect, by having been brought forward after the spirit of the people had been excited. With regard to that clattering and race-course bustle the hon. gent. had described, he was glad to hear that noise of the machinery of the bill, but it was with regret he had heard the hon. gent. speak of it with disgust and rebuke. The hon. gent. had called the placards of the enemy paper bullets, and had said what a time for Buonaparté to come! It was to be hoped he would not come the sooner in consequence of what the hon. gent, had said, but if he

did, he would find that the measures adopted by ministers had already produced an army of 100 000 volunteers. The hon. gent. regretted the measure had not been brought forward sooner, but he could have no substantial reason for his regret, except that he would have had three times so many opportunities of abusing ministers. His system had been a system of discouragement, which, if it had been followed, would have led the country to despair, and prostrate itself at the feet of its enemy. He had said, that there was no salvation for the country, except by a particular individual being minister; that the country had nothing to fight for; that after the disgraceful treaty of Amiens, the country had received, on the part of honour, kicks innumerable; that it had nothing like glory or honour for which to contend. This was one of his modes of discouragement. The next was to lay down, by most laborious demonstration, that no irregular force could contend with the regular. That such a force as we had, was impossible to resist such a force as the enemy could bring against us. The next was, that nothing could be done for the country till the present ministers were out—that they were an incubus, a night mare — and that the more that was given them, the worse they were. He then referred to what he described as the hon. gentleman's silly panegyric upon Mr. Cobbett, and the erection of a statue of gold to his honour. [Here Mr. Windham said something in a low tone of voice.] Mr. Sheridan continued. The hon. gent. he said, seemed to mutter at this; nay, he groaned; he was glad to hear him groan. However, he hoped, he would go on with his statue of gold, and make it a colossal statue; but he advised him not to solicit subscriptions at the Royal Exchange; it was not likely he would be very successful there, for, he believed, in one of that gentleman's papers, he had observed, that the stocks could not exist if the monarchy existed. It was not very probable that the writer of such a sentiment would be very popular in that wealthy city, where any subscription could be raised with effect.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he approved of the bill in its original shape, because it conveyed the idea of the whole mass of the people being trained. He wished the training to extend to every class, as the country might be placed in a situation in which it would be necessary all should be ready to act. He was aware there might be some persons less to be trusted than others, but he was persuaded the people at large were loyal. He observed that the volunteer force was dispersed over the whole country, and might not be easily drawn together at the point where it was wanted. He liked the original measure, because it was to make us an armed nation. There was besides an advantage in having an indefinite force, if it was ascertained the enemy might be able to bring a force adequate to meet it.

Mr. *Archdall* stated, that Mr. Cobbett, in his Journal, had asserted, there were not 18,000 men in Ireland, and that France had only to send four ships of war, with as many troops as they could convey, in order to take possession of that country. Now was this a sentimeni for which a man ought to have a statue of gold? It was not an attempt to set fire to the four corners of the world, but to the four corners of Ireland. If his Majesty's ministers ought to be dismissed, let gentlemen move to that effect. If they did not possess the confidence of the House they would be dismissed; but at a time like this, to go on embarrassing ministers was useless and unavailing.

Mr. *Windham* said a few words in explanation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was with reluctance he protracted the discussion, feeling that gentlemen might be better employed; he should be sorry to fix on himself the imputation of having delayed by unnecessary observations, those exertions that were necessary for the safety of the country. An hon. gent. (Mr. Smith) had stated his opinion of the bill under a wrong impression. He had stated that the force for the defence of the country would be understood as definite. It was not so, but remained as indefinite as by the original bill. The present measure was only to enable his Majesty to relieve particular districts when there were such a number of volunteers as should be deemed sufficient. By the operation of this bill, there would be a force voluntarily disciplined, not disciplined under the apprehension that they might be drafted into the ranks. He knew it was the duty of every man to serve his Majesty any where within the country in case of invasion; but he wished to substitute volunteer corps, because he wished to see men come regularly into the field. The hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), had gratified and surprised him, by saying, that this was a bill upon which the country might rely, if it was properly executed—he had surprised him, because, when it was first proposed, he had spoken of it with coldness—he had merely said, it was a measure that would not do harm. There

was not one mode of defence which that hon. gent. had not spoken of with contempt, except the regular army. Fortunately his authority was not equal to his zeal, or his observations might do considerable harm. Of the militia and volunteer corps, he had spoken in a manner that had *excited disgust*, and had produced enquiries respecting the conduct of the militia in Ireland, the result of which had been most satisfactory. He referred to Mr. Sheridan's statement of the *public feeling*, and asked whether, without such a popular sentiment, this bill could be carried into effect. He had never heard an imputation of delay without feeling its *daring injustice*. He knew that the magistrates of the country had heard with astonishment that Parliament had not acted with dispatch. Magistrates could not execute so fast as the House could legislate. He never should cease to be of opinion that *the hon. gent.* (Mr. Windham) *had, throughout the whole period that had elapsed since the presenting his Majesty's message on the 8th of March, done every thing that was calculated to dispirit and dismay the people, and to add to the hopes of the enemy.* The hon. gent. himself must have read with mortification, that importance was attached to his opinions by the French Journalists, and that they were sources of exultation to them, as they were of regret to ninety-nine out of a hundred in this country. If the hon. gent. had moved an address to dismiss his Majesty's ministers, he could only have said, that in the course of eleven weeks they had laid the foundation for the largest force that ever existed. If, notwithstanding their efforts, and they had not been wanting, he was of opinion that they were unworthy the confidence of the King, let him claim the opinion of the House; but it was not consistent with his public duty to be continually endeavouring to weaken the confidence of the House towards those in whom his Majesty placed confidence. The language of the hon. gent. before the rupture, *was calculated to produce the rupture.* He was not prepared to say it was a misfortune we were at war, considering the disclosure that had been made of the enemy's intentions; not that he would go the length of saying war was a preferable state. No. God send it might be soon terminated, but he hoped not one instant, before the enemy should not have a hope left as to the issue of the contest in their favour. When the enemy ceased to have a hope (and they never could till they ceased to have interests, which though foreign to this country were inconsistent with its safety) then God grant the conflict might cease. He wished to have the benefit of the hon. gentleman's assistance; but *let him not attempt to lower government in the eyes of the enemy.* He observed, that *no change of government could possibly satisfy the hon. gent. but one at which he should be at the head!!* It was the opinion of that gentleman, the country *could not be saved unless his principles were adopted*; but it was to be hoped, there were *very few* who thought HE ought to be the guide of the counsels of the country!! With respect to the present measure, it enabled his Majessy to retain as much as he thought sufficient of the compulsory part of the bill. It was a measure that would raise an army of 400,000, still leaving his Majesty the means of augmenting it.

Doctor *Laurence*, in a speech of considerable length, supported the arguments used by Mr. Windham, and censured ministers for the language they had used towards that right hon. member; their conduct, he observed, appeared as if no person was allowed to give his opinion without their licence.—The bill then passed through the Committee, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, August 5.

[MINUTES.]—The Irish Excise Duty Bill, the Receipt Duty Bill, and the East-India Shipping Bill, were severally read a third time, and passed.

[INCOME TAX.]—In a Committee on the Income Tax Bill,

The Duke of *Norfolk* rose, and made some observations on that part of the bill which provided that parishes should make good the money with which the collectors might abscond, or otherwise prove deficient. He had not read the bill so attentively, he said, as to know how the matter exactly stood, but from what he could collect from the perusal he had given it, he thought at least the public were entitled to have security given by these men on the appointment to their offices. In page 34, his grace objected to the exemptions in favour of foreigners possessing money in our funds. He saw no good end it would answer. The only effect it could have might be either on the score of good faith, or of policy. As to good faith, in his opinion, there could be no question. If he thought there would be the least breach of national faith, by laying a tax on the funds, he

would be one of the last men in the world to propose or support it. But he could not see it in that point of view at all. When property of all kinds, belonging to persons in this country, was taxed, and particularly when the funds were taxed, considering the diminution that might result from frauds, the question of good faith ought not to enter into consideration. As to policy, he conceived the only reason for not taxing the property of foreigners in the funds was, that it was advisable they should have a stake in them; but from the nicest calculation he had been able to make, the whole property possessed by foreigners in our funds did not amount to more than a tenth of the interest of the national debt, estimating which at 20 millions, their stake would only amount to two millions, which was chiefly possessed by Dutch and French; and a sum so truly insignificant could not be supposed to have an effect in a question of peace or war; for as government would think it worth while to interfere in such a case, there being at this moment, he believed, no other representative governments in Europe except this country and Sweden, he thought that at least the money of foreigners in our funds, in cases of purchases made after the passing of this bill into a law, might very fairly and ought to be taxed. He, therefore, should propose an amendment to the following effect:—"That property in the funds, belonging to foreigners, should be liable to a tax for purchases made after the passing of this act."

The *Lord Chancellor* having left the woolsack, said, that he perfectly coincided in opinion with the noble duke, that a tax of this kind would not, according to the strict sense of the word, be a breach of national faith. If, however, such a construction may be put upon it, considering the fair character this country had always maintained with regard to its pecuniary transactions with foreign nations, though we might be considerable losers from the want of the tax, yet he by no means found himself inclined to accede to the amendment proposed by the noble duke. His lordship reprobated the doctrine which had been held as to the question of national faith, and said, he could not consider it as such, even if there had been a clause in the acts which expressly declared that the funds should not be taxed. The funds, like all other kinds of property, must undoubtedly yield and give way to the exigencies of the times, and must be governed by and subject to that general law which is imposed on all governments entrusted with the public safety. Foreigners certainly had no other stake at present, than on our justice, and our ability to pay the money when it became due. As to ourselves, we are bound equally to bear our burthens; we were all embarked on board the same bark, and must sink or swim together. Besides, he did not even see that the amendment would be of the least benefit. It would bear equally hard on foreigners, as it would diminish the interest, and thereby lessen the capital. He hoped, therefore, the noble duke would not persist in pressing his amendment.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said, that he certainly should persist, and if his amendment was not agreed to, he did not know but he should use the privilege of entering his dissent. He highly approved the principle of the tax, and on that account he wished to prevent it from being evaded. At present foreigners might be trustees, and great evasions might follow in consequence of persons in this country, in that way, making use of their names. For instance, a person possessing 3000l. in the funds might appoint a foreigner his trustee, by doing which he would evade a tax; for standing in another person's name, who is not liable to pay, as being a foreigner, the consequence would be, that there would be an apparent deduction from his income of 150l. per annum. He was clearly of opinion that property of all kinds should be equally liable to taxation. Before the funding system was introduced into this country, the land universally paid four shillings in the pound, which was an income tax to a far greater amount than what we now have, which was always considered as an income tax, and which had ever been borne with the greatest cheerfulness. He should, therefore, take the sense of the House on his amendment. A division took place—For the amendment—Contents, 3—non-contents, 7—majority, 4.——The bill went through the Committee, and on the report being brought up, the same amendment was proposed, and negatived without a division.

[CURATES' BILL.]—On the question that this bill be read a second time,

The Duke of *Norfolk* rose to object to it. He said his reason for opposing it was, that the bill militated against a standing order of the House, which was of the greatest importance to their privileges. This order originated at a time when, unhappily, there existed differences between the two branches of Legislature, and the Commons of that day took advantage, when they brought in money bills, to tack other matters to them,

which were altogether irrelevant, and of a different nature, in order to compel the Lords to pass them, or else be the means of refusing to raise the necessary supplies. The present bill was intended to provide more amply for poor curates, and by it there was a power given to raise 8000l. which made it a money bill. The sum, indeed, was but small, but still it was sufficient, if the bill was suffered to pass to trench upon the constitution and privileges of the House; and he warned their lordships to avoid so injurious a measure. No man could more anxiously desire to see that description of worthy persons better provided for than they were at present, who were the objects of the bill, than he did; but, as the present session was so nearly on the close, and as the meeting of Parliament again would, doubtless, be a very early one; if the bill passed early in the next session, it could be no inconvenience to any one, and would avoid that unconstitutional step, which he so much deprecated. He, therefore, moved, that the bill be read a second time that day three months.

The *Lord Chancellor* agreed with the noble duke as to the origin and importance of the standing order he had alluded to, and stated in nearly the same terms. He differed with him, however, in opinion, that this bill did infringe or trench upon that standing order; for the 8000l. to be raised was not for supplies; nor was the other part of the bill irrelevant to it, as it was for the better provision of curates, and this 8000l. was to go in aid thereof. He did not know, however, how far their lordships might be inclined to pass this bill, in the absence of so many of the right reverend clerical part of that House, who were so much interested in the subject matter of the bill, he could not say. If any information could be had from the two right reverend prelates who were present, he should be glad to receive it. For his own part, he thought it worthy consideration, whether it might not be as well to postpone it to the beginning of the next session—which, as the noble duke had said, would, in all likelihood, be a very early one, and when the House would have the benefit of the advice of the whole of that right reverend bench.

The Bishop of *London* said, that he had read the bill with considerable attention, and highly approved its principles and provisions; he should therefore be glad to see it pass as soon as possible. As to the opinions of his right reverend brethren, he could not say any thing; but as the bill was to promote so worthy a purpose, he should be sorry it should meet with any delay that could with propriety be avoided.

The Duke of *Norfolk* retraced some of his former arguments, and pressed the House to agree to his motion, as the delay would be so short.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that if the House did not pass the bill this session, and a bill of a similar tendency did not come from the other House during the first week of the ensuing session, he would certainly bring in a bill for the purpose into that House.

The Bishop of *London* said, that if the House were inclined to postpone the bill, it was by no means his intention to persist in the opinion that he had delivered, but would acquiesce in the judgement of their lordships.—The question was then put, that the bill be read a second time that day three months, and carried *nem. dissent.* The bill was therefore deferred to the next session.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, August 5.

[MINUTES.]—On the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, a new writ was ordered for St. Edmund's Bury, in the room of Lord Hervey, now Earl of Bristol.—The Tortola free-port bill, the warehousing and bonding bill, the Scotch assessed tax bill, the American treaty bill, the Bell Rock light-house bill, the consolidated fund bill, the Canada Courts' bill, and the stamp duties' bill, were severally read a third time, and passed.—Lord Amherst's annuity bill, the Irish glebe-house bill, the wine prizage bill, the assessed taxes' bill, the Irish sugar importation duties' bill, and the neutral ships' bill, were reported, and ordered to be read a third time the next day.—An account was presented of the increase and diminution of the public salaries and offices.—A message from the Lords informed the House, their lordships had agreed to the Receipt Tax Bill, the Irish Tea Duties' Bill, the Deal and Dover Pilots' Bill, and the Customs' Duty Bill.—The House went into a Committee on the Foreign Notes' Bill. The report was received, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day.—A petition was presented from certain innkeepers, complaining of the hardships they sustained by the billetting of soldiers.—Petitions were also prevented from the debtors in the castle of Cambridge, and in the New Compter.—The Lords' amendments to the Volunteer Corps Bill were agreed to.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The General Defence Amendment Bill was read a third time, after which,

The *Secretary at War* brought up several clauses: namely, a clause to allow commanders of volunteer corps to employ serjeants to instruct the volunteers in the military exercise, with an allowance of 2s. 6d. per day; a clause to exempt masters and mates of merchant vessels from the payment of fines; a clause for allowing lords lieutenants to appoint officers in the room of those displaced; a clause for enabling the lord lieutenant to appoint the deputy lieutenants to do duty for him in cases of sickness; and a clause providing that all persons enrolled should take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to his Majesty.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that, before the amendments were introduced in the body of the bill, he wished to know, whether, by this and the former defence bill, the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants would be entitled to demand of the different persons having horses, and of the proprietors and keepers of public conveyances, to provide those means of facilitating the progress of the country towards the enemy, in case of invasion, which clearly government might require. It was with satisfaction he had seen an advertisement of the postmasters, who had met voluntarily, and offered government their assistance in conveying the troops to wherever they might be wanted; but he wished, in case of actual invasion, there should be a compulsory power lodged in the hands of the lords lieutenants. He had, however, no doubt as to the zeal of the volunteer services; but at the same time he wished to suggest, that the coachmasters of this city should furnish government with the means of conveyances, in order to dispose of the force in a short time. He thought every means should be taken to convey the troops to the spot where they might be wanted, in as short a time as possible. He recollected that, in the time of the Holland expedition, the carriages were seized, and employed in a very tumultuous manner.

The *Secretary at War* observed, that an act had passed at the commencement of the session, giving a power to the lords lieutenants to obtain returns of all carriages and horses, and of persons willing to provide the same for the use of government.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it might not be unsatisfactory to the House to know, that offers had been made to government to a great extent, by persons having post-horses, chaises, waggons, boats, &c. so as to afford every facility to the troops and stores in case of invasion.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, he was glad to hear that his Majesty had power to obtain such returns.

The *Secretary at War* remarked, that every possible attention had been paid to the subject.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the power was not given by any bill recently passed, but by a bill passed early in June.

Dr. *Laurence* expressed himself happy, that there was such a bill—he had not seen it.

The *Secretary at War* said, it received the royal assent early in June. Gentlemen appeared not to have read it. The fact was, it had not been printed, because it was verbatim with the bill that passed in 1798. It contained a number of useful provisions, though it did not go to the length of the present measure by compelling military service.—

Upon the question that the bill should pass,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that a most extraordinary misconception had gone forth, as to his hon. friend having regretted that this bill had not been brought forward sooner. He had met several persons who had mentioned the circumstance to him. The truth was, there was no pretence for such an idea. If the bill ought to have been brought forward sooner, the blame rested with other persons.

The *Secretary at War* said, he stated, it might be a matter of regret that it had not been brought forward last war.

Dr. *Laurence* was sorry, he said, to find, that the country was to understand from his Majesty's ministers, that they were not persons who looked to the present danger, but to old Acts of Parliament, to see what they could bring forward. There were two modes of making war—one with the talents and genius of a soldier, and another, like an advocate, following precedents, and looking at what had been done in former cases, and following some direct tract marked out. The present was not a state of the world, in which men, by following tracts, could save the country. He was sorry to see them looking back to the year 1798. He would ask, was the danger then the same as it is now? It was not. Why not? The Continent was not so completely in the hands of the French; at least, she could not then avail herself of its resources. There were discussions with Austria which shook the dominions of France to its centre. There was, however, no want of preparations on the part of France. She filled her arsenals, exerted her little means to make that attack

it was probable she would now make. He had no interest in supporting the measures of 1798: for, when he gave his vote in favour of them, he declared they did not go so far as they might have done. He had heard an observation with regard to a friend of his, that he was blameable at that time. The fact was, he differed with some of his colleagues. It was well known that right hon. gentleman then held an office not responsible for the measures adopted by government. It was to be wished it was more reponsible. Why were Parlialiament to be told, that this or that measure was not taken when it ought to have been taken? The event justified the opinion of those who thought further measures necessary. The Army of England assembled to attack our possessions in the East, by means of Egypt, because, at that time, it could not attack Ireland. He believed the attention of France was directed more to Ireland than this country. He must allude to one thing:—the French could not, at the time he was speaking of, send down to Brest without fighting their way. There was then a force ready to assist the operations of this country. Many of those who constituted that force, when they found they could not obtain a decisive answer, were picked out, one by one, and destroyed. Many of them, to his knowledge had been shot. He was aware it was impossible to have such a force on the Continent at the present moment. The greatest probability of injury to this country by France, was by her making Holland one outwork and Ireland another, and by that means to cut off our trade. Persons who conducted a government should look to circumstances themselves, and meet new dangers with new energies. He observed, that it was the reputation of his hon. friend (Mr. Windham) as connected with the interest of the country, he should ever defend. His hon. friend, he said, was a great man, and while he existed he could not but merit that character. Upon the bill itself he should say but a few words. He did not approve of this complete change from the original view of the bill. It was at first a gigantic measure, a great and powerful machine, hazardous in the execution, but of great efficacy. Thinking as he did, that we must become a more military people than we had been, he could but regret a system which had been the total destruction of the recruiting service. He thought proper officers would have modelled the sort of exercise adapted to different situations. He was of opinion that in maritime counties there might have been that mixed mode of defence by sea fencibles. In inland counties, another principle ought to be adopted. Besides these, perhaps other measures might be necessary. He hoped too that at a moment of this awful description, there would have been some address to that Great Being who presides over human destiny. He had expected a solemn attestation of the kind he had alluded to. He was of opinion there should be a solemn religious appeal to Heaven on the day the associations were embodied.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, at this deep and awful crisis it could not be supposed that he could be insensible to the observations of the hon. and learned gent., or to the remonstrance or exhortation with which he concluded his speech. If that hon. gent. had read the bill now before the House accurately, he would have found that it did not interfere with the general and comprehensive measure of the former bill. The hon. gent. had adverted to the conduct adopted by the former government; he should never shrink from the principles that government had adopted. The right hon. gent., whose absence on this day was noticed, entertained an opinion that there was such danger impending over this country as required every possible exertion. If those were his real sentiments he should have uttered them before, not at this moment when the exertion was required. The hon. and learned gent. who spoke last, had represented his Majesty's present servants as a cold, tame, and inanimate set of men, capable of acting upon such measures only, in which they were warranted by precedent. When the House reflected upon the measure of the establishment of an army of reserve, and what had been done for these six months past, it would think that the ministers of the crown were not guided merely by precedent when they proposed a measure hitherto unparalleled in the annals of this country. When his right hon. friend, the Secretary at War, proposed this bill, it was to be considered that he was a confidential minister of the crown, a member of the cabinet, and responsible for any thing that is suggested. With respect to the right hon. gent. now absent (Mr. Windham), he need only remark, that he had been lately in the situation now occupied by his right hon. friend, and that any member holding such a situation must be highly criminal, if, holding such opinions, he had not himself brought forward such a measure as he conceived to be best calculated for the defence of the nation. He professed no personal hostility whatever to

that right hon. gentleman, but could not forbear expressing his disapprobation of his conduct.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, it may, Sir, be thought unnecessary for me to add any thing to what was urged so ably by the the right hon. gent. yet I cannot restrain an observation or two upon the manners of the hon. and learned gent. (Dr. Laurence). I feel also some regret at finding that he comes here single-handed, without any powerful assistant, and draws into his argument circumstances of La Vendée, the insurrection in Ireland, and the dangers to be apprehended from an invasion of the country. Considering the party with which he is connected, the charge of delay comes from him or them with the worst grace imaginable. The hon. gent. acknowledged that we are at present in no danger, comparatively with that in which we stood in the year 1798. At that period we had to contend with the northern convention, rebellion was raging in Ireland, and the French force, which they called the "Army of England," was of such a conformation that the people of this country did not know what its destination was, and I believe the general opinion prevailed of its being intended for Ireland. With regard to the right hon. gent. now absent (Mr. Windham) he could not blame him for holding his office as long as he could, but he could not help blaming him, if he saw such dangers, for holding his tongue.

General *Phipps* called him to order.

Mr. *Sheridan* said a few words in explanation, and the Speaker conceived the hon. gent. was in order.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, that he wished to rectify a misunderstanding of what he formerly stated. He wished on such occasion the whole means of the country to be exerted, and he was now tolerably satisfied that the levy of 280,000 men, in addition to our present establishment, would render us in a great degree, what we ought to be in this crisis—a military nation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained. The present bill only left a discretion to his Majesty's ministers, which depended upon their responsibility.—The bill then passed *nem. con.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, August 6.

[Minutes.]—Twenty-two public and private bills were brought from the Commons. Among the public bills were, the House of Orange annuity bill, aliens' regulation bill, the vote of credit bill, the general defence amendment bill, and the income tax bill, returned with a message, that the Commons had agreed to the amendments made by their Lordships. — On the motion of the Lord Chancellor, the final consideration of the appeal Crawford *v.* Coutts, was postponed to the second cause day in the next session.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, August 6.

[Minutes.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the House, at its rising, should adjourn to Wednesday next, which was agreed to. He observed, it would be in the recollection of gentlemen, that he had given notice of his intention to bring forward in the course of the present session, a motion for preventing the accumulation of debts on the civil list; but the pressure of other important business was such as to render it impracticable to submit any proposition to the House upon the subject. It was, however, his intention to take an early opportunity of bringing it forward in the next. He added, that it was attributable to the same cause, the Committee appointed to investigate the accounts between Great-Britain and Ireland could not finally settle them. He should move to revive the examination early in the session.—Lord Amherst's Annuity Bill, the Irish Glebe Houses Bill, the Wine Prizage Bill, the Concealed Arms Penalty Bill, the Foreign Notes Bill, the Assessed Taxes consolidation Bill, the Sugar Duty Bill, the Prize Courts Bill, the London Defence Bill, and the Neutral Ships Bill, were read a third time, and passed, and carried to the Lords.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted the usual motions at the end of a session:—That an address should be presented to his Majesty, entreating him to confer some church dignity on the Rev. S. Smith, chaplain to the House.—That addresses should also be presented to his Majesty, requesting him to pay the sum of 1,200l. to H. Alexander, Esq. for his services, as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.—Such sum to Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. clerk of the House, as, with the fees of his office, would amount to 2,000l.—1000l. to John Henry Ley, Esq.—Such sum to J. Clementson, deputy serjeant at arms, as, with the fees of office, would make 500l.—1000l. to Mr. Samuel Dunn, as a final compensation for compiling the Index to the Journals, from 1790 to 1800, and from 1800 to the present time, and for superintending the printing thereof.—350l. to Arthur Benson, Esq. clerk of the Journals, for defraying

the expense of making an Index to the Votes, and printing the same.—Such compensation as his Majesty should think proper, to the clerks attending public Committees.—150 l. to Thomas Tomlinson, Esq. for filing the registers for the use of the Committee on the Expiring Laws.—Such sum as would be necessary to print 1500 copies of the Journals of the Proceedings of the present Session, with an Index to the 58th vol., the same to be printed, under the inspection of John Ley, Esq. by such person as the Speaker should appoint; and that no other should presume to print them.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, August 8.

[MINUTES.]—The several bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—A number of bills were brought up from the Commons, among which were Lord Amherst's Annuity Bill, the Prize-Money Regulation Bill, the Irish Glebe Houses, the Neutral Ships, the Wines Prizage, and the Irish Customs Regulation Bills. These were severally read the first time.

[MILITARY COUNCIL.]—The Earl of *Suffolk* observed, that being rather indisposed at present, he should beg the indulgence of their lordships, in permitting him to withdraw his notice, for the motion he had intended to bring forward that day. As he had just heard the House ordered to be summoned next day, he should take the advantage of the attendance, which such a proceeding was likely to bring, and submit his intended motion next day, as well as deliver his sentiments upon a subject, which he conceived of the first importance at present, namely, the general defence of the country.

Lord *Hobart* expressed his wish to learn the nature of the noble earl's intended motion.

The Earl of *Suffolk* replied, that what he proposed to submit to the House, in the shape of a motion, was for the appointment of a military council or committee, with a view to the better direction of the means of defending the country, and for the assistance of his Royal Highness the commander in chief, in the execution of his arduous and important duty.—After a short private conference between his lordship and some of the peers on the ministerial bench,

The Earl of *Suffolk* proceeded to his place, and rising, observed, it was his wish by every means in his power to accommodate noble lords; as it seemed to be the desire of some that he should then go on, he would, indisposed as he was, deliver his sentiments on the occasion as well as he could. The noble Earl then, in a speech of considerable length, delivered his sentiments upon the important topics under consideration. In the outset his lordship noticed, that he was that day to have waited on the minister of the country upon the subject. It would be in the recollection of the House, he observed, that some weeks ago he brought forward the present topics to the consideration of their lordships; since that period, as he had mentioned his intention of doing, he had been to his estate, and among his tenantry, whose intentions he sounded, as to their coming forward voluntarily in defence of their country; he found them, on this head, patriotic and full of energy as he could wish, nor was such a spirit confined to his own tenantry; the inhabitants of the neighbouring parts of Wiltshire seemed animated with the same feeling and impulse: a number of men, to the amount of between 2 and 3000, appeared willing to enrol, and to place themselves under his command; the measures he took in consequence, and what struck him in the way of argument upon the subject, he should presently state. The noble earl proceeded to observe, that so impressed was he with the sentiments he had stated on a former occasion on these topics, that he solicited, and had the honour of obtaining an audience of his Sovereign: he there delivered a letter to his Majesty, containing his sentiments respecting the defence of the country, and this letter he took the liberty to accompany with a variety of notes illustrative and explanatory upon the subject. However, notwithstanding he took these steps, and afterwards made the representation at other quarters, where he thought them most likely to produce the desired effect, no military committee or council was appointed. The noble earl then adverted to the steps taken by him to represent the matter to his Royal Highness the commander in chief, and those representations included the offer of the willingness of his tenantry, &c. He thought such a laudable and ardent spirit should not be suffered to cool. He therefore, we believe, principally in a letter to Col. Clinton, the secretary to his Royal Highness, represented the circumstances, and in the quarter which he thought the most regular and most likely to accord with his wish on the subject. He made inquiries in this application, as to the means of disciplining these, of providing them with arms, and to learn where they should apply for ammunition. He had waited once or twice on the commander in chief, in the hope of obtaining an interview on the subject, but, as it turned out, without

effect. On one of these occasions, he understood, the noble Secretary of State was then conferring with his Royal Highness on a subject certainly of the highest importance. In consequence of what took place, he was induced to trouble his Royal Highness's secretary with the letter above alluded to, and from which he read some extracts. To these representations he received no answer. This circumstance, however, never led him to harbour an idea the least disrespectful of the commander in chief; on the contrary, he was well convinced of the talents and assiduity of his Royal Highness in the execution of his arduous and important office; but his well considered opinion was, and it was this principally induced him to come forward to Parliament upon the subject, that it was totally out of the power of any one individual, however exalted his professional merit, or extensive his powers, to attend, in the present circumstances of the country, and with such an unprecedentedly numerous force on foot, to all the necessary functions which their direction and command required. He was actuated by no consideration whatever derogatory of the competence and ability of his R. Highness, or wish to impede the measures of his Majesty's government, or of hostility to the present ministers. He thought most favourably of the first, wished to give every facility in his power to the second, and support to the third. It was his sense of its being impossible for one individual adequately to discharge these important functions which induced him to come forward. It may be alledged against his proposition, that his R. H. was sufficiently assisted with the advice and co-operation of his Staff, whenever he thought fit to apply for it—that he had the quarter-master general, and the adjudant general, to recur to whenever he thought necessary. Respectably as he might think those offices filled, he was of opinion the arduous and extensive duties of their own separate departments were sufficient for the exertion of their powers. In considering these topics, his lordship observed, he was unavoidably led to the repetition of much of what he had advanced on a former occasion on the same head. The experience of the benefits of the military council in France, which led to their brilliant and repeated continental victories, should be considered by their lordships. That committee or council consisted of but few members, but it was composed of the most intelligent military men in France: Carnot was one of its leading members. Their elevation of the well-known gen. Hoche was a striking circumstance: while yet a serjeant of grenadiers and a very young man, that officer presented a memorial to the committee, respecting the best means of terminating the war in La Vendée, which struck the committee as being so pregnant with sound sense and military genius, that they represented to Robespierre, who then had the chief direction of affairs, the expediency of elevating Hoche to command. He was accordingly very rapidly promoted, was soon after chosen to command in La Vendée, where it was well known how he conducted himself, and afterwards chosen to command the projected expedition to Ireland, where, had he landed with a force exceeding 20,000 men, their lordships would conceive what might have been done, when so much was achieved in that island by Humbert, an officer inferior in talent and enterprize, at the head of only 900 or 1000 men. With respect to the appointment of a military council for the assistance of the commander in chief in this country, he scarcely knew how it could be objected to, when it was considered that many of the leading officers of the state had boards or councils to assist their deliberations. For instance, the first lord of the Admiralty had a board of commissioners to assist him. The noble lord on the woolsack had the judges to recur to for assistance in his deliberations. The prime minister himself had the assistance and advice of the cabinet council; and so it was in several cases. Why then should the military commander in chief be alone deprived of the assistance and advice of his council? It was by no means his (the noble lord's) idea that the operations of his R. Highness should in the least be shackled or contracted by the military council, or even that they should possess the least control over him. He could recur to them for assistance or advice, but would be at full liberty to follow that advice or not. However, in the present circumstances of the country, he deemed it more necessary that the military commander in chief should have assistance and advice, than any other of the officers he had alluded to. With them an error or false step might be easily retrieved. In military operations such might be of fatal tendency. This however, important as it was, was not the only topic on which he had to trouble their lordships; but one point which he had to advert to was of uncommon delicacy; he should therefore not comment upon it, a mere allusion would be sufficient. He meant the offer of service which he understood had been made by an illustrious personage. In considering this question it would be proper to recollect that his R. Highness was

colonel of a regiment of cavalry, and had no higher rank in the army—a rank, which, however, he had held 17 or 18 years—if called out, therefore, he might be placed under the command of an officer greatly his junior. Alluding to the great importance of the life of this illustrious personage, it was to be recollected with pleasure, that there were other members of that august family, of whom some were ornaments of that House, and an honour to their country. On the subject of appointments to command, and projected plans of defence, the noble earl made some observations. In the former, he had to regret the omission of an officer so well qualified as his noble friend (the Earl of Moira), who commanded with so much honour to himself and advantage to his country in America, where, at the age of twenty-five, he performed the most brilliant and heroic actions. America, he observed, was a country, from its peculiar nature and the difficult situations with which it abounded, fit to form good officers: many were trained there the war before last. The superior knowledge which our opponents naturally possessed of the country, obliged even the inferior officers to advance with the greatest caution and circumspection. With respect to the erection of works at chosen spots in the vicinage of the capital, and the formation of lines in other parts of the country, he made some remarks. Of defence, by the mode of lines, he seemed to think unfavourably, he scarcely ever knew an instance wherein lines, especially if they ran to any extent, were not ultimately forced. He was proceeding to comment upon these topics, upon which he thought some explanation should be given, when

Lord *Hobart* observed, that if the noble earl thought proper to proceed in such a line of observation and discussion, with respect to which he would use his discretion, he should feel it incumbent on him to move the standing order for the exclusion of strangers. It should be recollected by the noble earl, that with respect to much of what he had latterly said, he could not fairly expect to be answered by his Majesty's ministers. The present circumstances were obviously such, as that ministers could not, consistently with their duty, say what they intended to do or not to do. He would therefore put it to the discretion of the noble earl, but if the latter persisted, he should be under the necessity of moving to enforce the order.

The Earl of *Suffolk* and Lord *Hobart* spoke in explanation, after which

The Earl of *Suffolk* proceeded to observe, that he should then have to call the attention of their lordships to a topic of a different nature, bnt which, at the same time, was important to the general subject of the defence of the country. What he alluded to, was the conduct of the city of London on this head. Their lordships would recollect, that when he last addressed them on the subject, he alluded to certain letters he had received, one of which contained some strong assertions, and which, if true, merited the most serious consideration. His lordship then read some extracts from the letter in question and which seemed to contain some severe strictures on the conduct of those in power and authority in the city, with respect to the share to be taken by the metropolis in the general defence of the country; the original proportion of militia to be furnished by the city of London, it stated, as we could collect, to be 12 or 14,000 men; this force it said was commuted in 1796 for two small regiments of militia, of 900 men each. It noticed the patriotism and energy displayed by the volunteers in the first instance, who came forward to the number of nearly 60,000, and declared their readiness to serve in any part of the kingdom; this spirit was damped by the conduct of the chief magistrate, &c. who ordained that the whole force should be divided into four grand divisions, and should be ready to act in case of insurrection or rebellion, but in this decree it appeared the word "invasion" was never once mentioned. The letter in other parts appeared to reflect on the conduct of the lieutenancy of London with respect to the quota to be furnished by the city, and comparing it with the conduct of the provincial deputy lieutenants, the former seemed to proceed in such a way as if they were ignorant that such an act as the levy en masse existed. Very different was the line of conduct observed by the city of London, in the memorable days of that illustrious princess, Elizabeth; it then came forward with spirit, alacrity, and guided by motives of the purest patriotism. Ships to three times the number of those required by government as the proportion to be furnished by the city, were speedily furnished and equipped. Men to three times the number required as its quota, were raised and prepared for service, in addition to which was a contribution exceeding 50,000l. an immense sum in those days. He hoped, however, the present exertions of the metropolis would be commensurate to the great stake she has at issue, and in an increased proportion to her present wealth and population. After recapitulating a few of his leading positions in favour of the establishment of a

military council, his lordship moved to the following effect: "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to appoint a military council of general officers, and such other persons as his Majesty should think proper, and which his Majesty may have recourse to for advice, and which should also communicate with his R. Highness the commander in Chief from day to day if necessary, and also with his Majesty's ministers."—On the motion being put,

Lord *Hobart* rose and observed, that on such an occasion he should certainly have to trouble their lordships but for a very short time. He had heard the motion, respecting which he must say, in general but distinct terms, that, in his opinion, if it was intended to impede the military dispositions and operations of the commander in chief, no proceeding could be more likely to effect it, than the very measure recommended by the motion. Under this conviction it was certainly his duty to resist it. The present organization of the staff was such as to answer every purpose, while the arrangements made under the superintendance of H. R. Highness, and which met with universal approbation, must clearly evince the measure recommended must have the injurious effect he described, or else be nugatory, which, in the case of its possessing no control, it must incontestibly be. With respect to the communication made by the noble earl relative to the disciplining and arming his tenants he had to inform him he took a wrong course—the regular mode would be to have represented the matter to the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, who would have duly communicated it to the Secretary of State—such was the regular channel. The circumstance of the noble earl having received no answer, was no proof that his letters were not read, and their contents duly considered. However the affair had nothing to do with the department of the commander in chief. Besides his staff, that illustrious officer had the advice and communication of the district generals, who were fully competent, from their local knowledge and admitted abilities, to afford it: in addition to which government were in possession of the opinions of the various generals who commanded last war upon all those important topics. With regard to what had fallen from the noble earl relative to the conduct of the City of London, on the present occasion, it may be matter of just consideration, how far the contents of such letters as he had quoted from may be true—and of the propriety of making their contents public. Much stress had better not be laid on such communication. In his opinion, the metropolis was making every fair and practicable exertion in the general defence; and should the hour of trial ever come, it was his confident opinion, the City of London would not be found backward. He had to entreat their lordships' pardon for detaining them longer than he at first intended. As to the motion it should certainly have his decided negative.

The Earl of *Suffolk* spoke shortly in explanation, and repeated some of his observations in favour of the appointment of a military council, which he begged the noble Secretary to recollect was proposed by him, to have no control whatever over the commander in chief, who would be at liberty to follow its advice or not. The institution he proposed would be of essential service even in time of peace; then, on such an occasion as the present, how necessary must be its adoption.

The Earl of *Bridgewater* in a very low tone of voice made a few observations in support of what fell from the noble Secretary of State, particularly with respect to the advantages to be derived from the communications of the different generals. He could not, he said, give a silent dissent from the motion.—The question was then put, when the Earl of Suffolk's proposition was rejected without a division.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, August 10.

[MINUTES.]—The Warehouse Bonding Bill, Scotch Consolidation Tax Bill, Vote of Credit Bill, Vellum and Parchment Duties Bill, Scotch Army of Reserve Amendment Bill, the Substitutes' Exemption Bill, the Alien Regulation Bill, the Canada Jurisdiction Bill, the Tortola Free Port Bill, the House of Orange Annuity Bill, the General Defence Amendment Bill, and the Assessed Taxes Consolidation Bill, were read a third time and passed.—The bill for better manning of the navy, went through a Committee, and was ordered to be reported.—The other bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, August 10.

[MINUTES.]—The fifth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry was presented at the bar. Ordered to be printed for the use of the members.—A message from the Lords, stated their concurrence to the fol-

lowing bills: The Prince of Orange's Annuity, the Vote of Credit, the General Defence Amendment, the Stamp Duty Consolidation, the Assessed Taxes Consolidation, the Army of Reserve Amendment, the Scots Army of Reserve, the Canada Courts, the American Treaty, the Warehousing and Bonding, the Tortola Free Port, the Foreign Note Forgery, the London Additional Force, the Scots Malt, the Alien, the Hackney Church, and two bills of a more private nature.—Captain *Harvey* presented a petition from several gallant commanders in the navy, praying the House to extend the powers of the commissioners of naval inquiry, so that they might examine into the nature of prize agency and the general conduct of prize causes. He meant, he said, to throw no imputation, nor was it the intention of any of the petitioners to cast any reflection on the conduct of any individual whatever that was in any manner connected with the management of such causes, but only to beseech the House that it would exert its authority, in order that some investigation might take place.—Sir *W. Scott* after a few preparatory observations, read an extract of a letter from Admiral Colpoys, stating his wish that certain words in the petition should have been omitted.—The petition was then read and ordered to lie on the table.

[VOTE OF THANKS TO THE VOLUNTEERS.]—Mr. *Sheridan* rose to make his promised motion relative to the volunteers. He began by reminding the House that, when he first gave notice of the motion, he had stated his conviction that it was of a nature which could give rise to no opposition. In now rising to bring it forward, he was not less sanguine that it would be unanimously adopted. It was of a nature which he flattered himself would meet the approbation of every man in the House, however different his opinions on general subjects of policy.—[At this time Mr. Windham and some of his friends entered the House.] The hon. member, alluded to the circumstance; and however difficult he thought the task, he was not without hope that even these hon. members would give their assent to the motion. He trusted that whatever zeal of opposition had been manifested on other occasions, there might, at least, be one cordial day before their separation—*one day in which every consideration was lost sight of but devotion to the cause of our common country.* It might perhaps be thought by some persons that the motion which he was now about to submit to the House would have come with more propriety from one in an ostensible situation, from a member of his Majesty's executive government. In bringing forward the motion, he certainly had no wish to interfere with what more strictly was the duty of the servants of the crown; but he could not but think that a motion such as he had to propose was one which came with peculiar propriety from an individual who appeared in that House as a volunteer in the cause of this country. It might not possess equal authority, but he was sure it would not be inferior in honesty and sincerity. In a few words which he had to offer before he submitted the motion to the consideration of the House, he should carefully abstain from every topic on which a diversity of opinion might arise, conscious as he was that some gentlemen (looking to the bench on which Mr. Windham and his friends were seated) were never backward in availing themselves of opportunities for starting grounds of opposition. Before he proceeded further, he wished it to be distinctly understood that his motion was intended to include every description of individuals whose services were voluntarily offered at this difficult and trying crisis. It would include volunteer corps, corps of yeomanry, and corps which were raised by patriotic gentlemen and accepted by government. He thought it necessary thus broadly to explain the object of his motion, to prevent any misconstruction or misapprehension from whatever quarter it might proceed. There were one or two points on which, before he handed the motion to the chair, he wished to say a very few words. At present there existed some degree of doubt, respecting the proper construction of the clauses of the bill for the general defence of the country; and also of the bill, by which some ambiguities were meant to be removed. It was not sufficiently understood how far a voluntary offer to enter into a corps, previously accepted by his Majesty, would exempt the individuals making this offer, from the compulsory operation of the bills to which he had just now referred. He thought it the more necessary to call the attention of the House to this subject, in consequence of a circular letter from a noble Secretary of State (Lord Hobart) in which it appeared to him that the noble lord had, to a certain degree, put a false construction on the act. After such an authority as this had been published, it was essential that the public at large should have a thorough conception of the true meaning of the legislature. He stated, from communications on which he could place the greatest reliance, that in Hamp-

shire particularly, the greatest embarrassment prevailed. If the interpretation of the noble lord was to be considered as decisive, then a power would be left to the constables of the different districts, to call on individuals to comply with the compulsory clause of the act, after they had entered into a volunteer corps, whose services had been regularly accepted by his Majesty's ministers. Nothing, however, could be more clear than this, that such was not the view of the legislature. It was the clear spirit of the act, and he was anxious that it should be unequivocally understood, that when any individual entered into a corps of the nature of which he had described, he was henceforth freed from the operation of all the compulsory clauses of the act. The next point on which he wished to make a few observations, was the mode in which many volunteer associations conducted their clothing. He was well aware, and it could not have escaped the notice of many other gentlemen, that many thousand individuals whose loyalty was undoubted, whose ardour to come forward in the sacred cause in which we are now engaged is indisputable, were prevented from entering into volunteer associations, from the heavy expense to which a gaudy fashionable dress, calculated merely to gratify the silly vanity of some persons who were too opulent to feel the pressure, would expose them. They had every wish to appear in the ranks of their fellow countrymen, in defence of their Sovereign and their country, but they could not, without the greatest inconvenience to their families, incur the expense which such dresses necessarily incurred. If the clothing were more cheap, he was sure that thousands, whom no consideration but that which he had mentioned now deterred, would flock to the standard of loyalty. He could not but think that gentlemen in affluent circumstances, and who had no reason to think of the expense in the choice of a dress, would do themselves infinite honour by appearing in the plainest dress possible. No man was surely, at a period like this, when the greatest virtues were called forth, to pride himself in the ranks of a volunteer association on the richness and the costliness of his dress. We were not to turn our attention to external decorations, but to place our confidence in the heart which they covered. It was not idle pomp or tawdry magnificence which was to entitle members of a volunteer association to the confidence of their country. In this great and trying crisis we were to look for salvation to fortitude, to heroism, to contempt of death. Passing from this point, the hon. gent. next adverted to another subject, on which he insisted with a good deal of energy. He was glad to see that the spirit of the country was now roused, but he wished that this spirit should manifest itself by unequivocal signs. He rejoiced to find that a military disposition pervaded the land, and he wished that the effect of this military disposition might be visible in a general military appearance in the country. In Ireland, when the system of volunteers, carried to an extraordinary pitch, left a greater proportion of the regular troops disposable for foreign service, every man in every part of the country was to be seen in his uniform. When he said this, he believed he spoke in the hearing of some gentlemen who had witnessed the scene, and the impression which it produced. At that period, every man in the Irish House of Commons appeared in the dress of his appropriate association. It might not, perhaps, be regular in him to allude to the gallery of that House; but he might just say, that the gallery exhibited an equal military appearance. The public officers of state imitated the example, and even the grave judges on the bench were unwilling to call a counsel, unless under his professional gown he exhibited a uniform. He could not but think that the adoption of a similar practice now would be productive of the most beneficial effects, in keeping alive that ardour, which, fortunately for the country, had now began to kindle in every loyal heart. Even if it had no other effect, but to point out those who were lukewarm and disaffected at this moment, when the loyalty of all was put to the test, he thought that it might be productive of infinite advantage. As to the space where volunteer associations were to be trained, he begged leave to offer a very few words. It was his opinion, that the places allotted for this purpose should, in the first instance, be as secluded as possible. Till a certain degree of progress was made in discipline, it was in every point of view desirable to be separated from the observation of a promiscuous multitude. He needed not to remind the House, that there were many individuals to whom, under such circumstances, the stare of a vulgar multitude would produce the most unpleasant sensations. There were men who would much more cheerfully expose themselves to the shot of the enemy than encounter the derision of motley spectators. He was at all times happy to hear of any facilities being given for this separate exercise. He mentioned, to the honour of the Duke of Portland, that he had given up the space before his house for the use of a volunteer association. There was another place, called,

he believed, Lord's Cricket Ground, hired for a similar purpose at an enormous expense, and at the same time unattended with the advantages of privacy. He was informed that the owners of this place, after exacting this inordinate price, were in the habit of admitting boys and other idle spectators, at the rate of sixpence. He felt indignant at such unjust and exorbitant extortion, and he did not think that government would be stepping beyond the bounds of their just authority, if they insisted on the proprietors of such grounds giving them up for the use of volunteer associations, on receiving a fair and reasonable compensation. These were the general points to which he wished to call the attention of the House. Before he sat down, he begged leave to advert to some other considerations connected, though not in so intimate a manner, with the subject immediately before the House. No man had seen with greater pleasure than he had, the noble, patriotic, generous donations, of which the gentlemen at Lloyd's coffee-house had set so illustrious an example in the city. He confessed that, liberal as the subscription already was, it was with surprise that he still observed the absence of several classes of the community, which he expected to have seen the first on the list. He had no wish to say any thing harsh respecting the noble and honourable persons of whom those classes were composed. Though they had not yet come forward with their contributions, he had no doubt that they would not be deficient in devotion to their country at this trying moment, and that, though they had not taken the lead, they would not shew themselves deficient in generosity in so sacred a cause. When he looked to the amount of the fund at this moment, and when he considered how much greater it might eventually become by the contribution of those classes to which he had referred, much as he admired the object to which it was originally appropriated, he could not help thinking that it might admit of a more extended application. Though originally designed solely for the humane and generous purpose of affording aid to the wives, to the orphans, and the relatives of those who perished while fighting their country's battles, it did appear to him that so large a fund, instead of remaining now unapplied, might, to a certain extent, be employed in contributing to the direct service of the country. Rewards might be offered to those who were now willing to volunteer the performance of important national services, and who might be deterred merely by the consideration, that in their absence their families would remain without a provision. He did not mean to press this subject further at present, but thought it his duty to throw out these hints. for the consideration of those to whom was committed the management and appropriation of the fund. He would, he hoped, be forgiven, if he alluded to another source of assistance, the beneficial effects of which had been so liberally experienced during the last war. He meant to allude to the patriotic contributions of our fair country women. In such a contest as this, in which we were now engaged, involving the preservation of all the charities and all the endearments of domestic life, he could not allow himself to believe that they would be backward in the display of their patriotism. To their other charms, he was confident, they would add the charm of love to their country and their homes. The hon. gent. having gone through these topics, proceeded to advert to the description of the force, to the individuals composing which, his vote of thanks would be addressed. On this part of the subject, he had no sort of desire to enter into any military details. He was no military man, and professed no power to give the House information on the subject. In the course of many discussions which had lately taken place, it had, however, frequently occurred to him that many of these details might have been very well spared, whether proceeding from military or unmilitary members of the House. He must, in the face of authorities deservedly high in a military point of view, be permitted to say that, as a constitutional member of Parliament, he thought the force which was now formed for the defence of the country one in which he felt himself fully warranted in placing the amplest confidence. Military men were too apt to view every object with what they were pleased to call a military eye; but with all their minuteness of observation they were very apt to overlook one little fortress, which he should never cease to think of the highest importance, and that was the fortress of the constitution. If he were asked, whether he did not think a hundred thousand regular troops a more effectual body for the defence of the country than an equal number of militia, volunteers, and yeomanry, he certainly could have no difficulty in giving his answer. Undoubtedly, for every military purpose, such a regular force was superior. He would maintain, however, that in addition to a regular army of a certain magnitude, a force, consisting of militia, volunteers, and yeomanry, was a force more suited to the habits, to the circumstances, to the constitutional liberties of this country. In saying

this he did not speak of an army for the purpose of carrying on a continental war, but a force such as it behoved us to keep up when the necessity of cultivating military habits was more imperiously imposed on us by the ambition and the malignity of a foreign enemy, whom nothing could satisfy short of our destruction. He liked the force the better, because it was a diversified character. In the first instance the preference was given to the regular troops; the militia, the volunteer corps, and the yeomanry, succeeded in their claims to distinction. There was in such a force a connexion which must ever make it formidable to a foreign enemy. There was in its compositions a facility for separation, which, in a constitutional view, he should always regard with satisfaction. Great standing armies, however disciplined and powerful, were not to be implicitly trusted. He might refer to numerous examples in proof of this position. A most striking instance occurred in the army of France. Never was there an army better disciplined, more brave, or apparently more dependent on the throne; but that very army was constituted, and on which every possible reliance was placed, in the course of a very few hours suffered the monarchy to be overtuned, and the revolution to triumph. In making this allusion, it was the farthest in the world from his intention to impeach the loyalty of our regular army. On the contrary, he believed that no body of men were ever animated with truer or more affectionate attachment to their sovereign. He admired, however, the present constitution of our military force, as being exempted from the inconveniencies and the evils which attached to a certain degree to all standing, exclusive, permanent armies. By such a constitution, the strength and efficiency of the whole was confirmed and consolidated. He liked the present attitude of the country, whether we looked forward to the continuance of war or to the conclusion of peace. On the subject of peace he should just say one word. He should be the ready advocate of peace, if it could be obtained on terms consistent with the national honour and safety. This, however, he would distinctly say, and he was sure that he spoke the language of his Majesty's ministers when he made the declaration, that no peace could be formed, no negotiation could be listened to, no offer for negotiation could be accepted, *while there was a hostile army in any part of the united empire.* If he had supposed it possible for ministers to have entertained contrary sentiments, he should have felt it his duty to have brought forward a distinct proposition, that the minister who should listen to so disgraceful a proposition, would deserve to be impeached, and to lose his head as the punishment of his infamy. He stated it distinctly, therefore, as what he conceived was the unalterable resolution of ministers, that *no proposal for peace should be entertained, while a single French soldier had a footing on British ground!!* The hon. gent., after this *patriotic effusion*, went on to recommend *unanimity* on this interesting occasion. He did not call on gentlemen to give up their opinions. He did not wish by any means to dictate to them the course of political conduct which they were to pursue. Within the walls of that House every man had a fair right fully and unequivocally to declare his opinions on public affairs. He might be permitted, however, to entreat of gentlemen, that as the period of their separation was now at hand, they would not utter such sentiments out of doors; that they would not resort to any measures which could damp the increasing ardour and energy of the country; that they would not lend the sanction of their names to sentiments which coming from unauthorized sources, had never been received with any portion of favour. All that he asked of them was, to suspend their political animosities for a moment; *not to represent the servants of the crown as weak and inefficient,* at a moment when confidence in their exertions was so necessary to the salvation of the country; not to waste that time, and those talents in party spirit and intrigue, which might be so much more worthily employed in performing the sublime and animated duties of patriotism. This was a moment which called on every honest man to unite heart and hand in support of all that is dear to us as a great and free people, against the greatest danger with which we were ever threatened. It was not, surely, asking too much of hon. gentlemen, to ask them, during the short recess of Parliament, to suspend all pursuits, to relinquish all pursuits of secondary importance, and to think only of the great cause which interested all minds and attracted all hearts. Surely their party spirit was not so violent, their hostility to ministers were not so virulent, as at all to come in competition with the great object of saving the country, which they uniformly declared was the first object of their regard. In that short interval, properly employed, much important service might be rendered to the country. Much might be done in giving a proper direction to that spirit of patriotism which now fortunately pervaded every part of the empire. Let but this

small sacrifice be made to patriotism, and when they once more assembled in that House, they might again resume their favourite pursuits, under the pleasing consciousness, that they had contributed their efforts to the general safety, that the patriotism of the people at large had at length secured us against enemies, however malignant, and dangers however formidable. The hon. gent. in conclusion, declined occupying the time of the House, by any arguments in support of his motion. The zeal, the fortitude, the promptitude, with which the volunteer associations had obeyed the call of their country in the hour of her danger, could never be sufficiently admired. He would not expatiate on their conduct, he would leave it without comment to the honest unbiassed feelings of the House. He then moved, "That the thanks of this House be given to the volunteer and yeomanry corps, for the zeal and promptitude with which they associated for the defence of the country, in this important and dangerous crisis."—He also moved—"That a return of the different volunteer corps be laid before the House, in order that they may be handed down to posterity, by being entered on the Journals."

General *Gascoyne* seconded the motion, and observed, that great exertions had been made by the town which he had the honour of representing, though the service of one particular corps, which he thought peculiarly entitled to consideration, had not been accepted. He therefore hoped the motion would pass without a dissenting voice. There was one thing only which he conceived objectionable in the constitution of the volunteer corps, and unfortunately it was an evil which was every day running to a greater extent. It was, that men of rank and fortune, and abilities, enrolled themselves as privates in a great number of corps. When he heard of members of the other House entering themselves as privates in the Lawyers' Corps, and some in this House, too, he meant the Master of the Rolls (a laugh), he confessed he felt much regret. For when the preservation of law and order was one of the objects for which we were at war, he thought it right that the distinction of ranks, which made so essential a part of that order, should be kept up. A promiscuous enrolment of persons of this kind was also disadvantageous in a military point of view; for there were many duties annexed to the situation of a private soldier, which they neither could perform, nor could be expected to perform, and he wished no man to enter the ranks who was not capable of doing all the duties of a soldier, and in a situation to be commanded to do all those duties if occasion required. He wished also to observe, that the number of men now in arms amounted to 300,000, independent of many offers which had not yet been accepted from difficulties of form, which were very easy to be got over, the principal difficulty being, that the offer was for limited service; and that being almost universally obviated, as soon as it was understood to be a difficulty, by withdrawing the offers, in order to renew them for more extended service. There was also another misconception, which prevailed to a considerable extent, and which interfered with the objects of the volunteer service; it was, that those corps, whose offers had originally been accepted for limited service, were not subject to the exertion of the prerogative, so as to be called, if occasion should require, to service more extended. When these difficulties and misconceptions were removed, he conceived, that with such a force as we had, and with that force daily increasing, it would be very wrong to confine our system of warfare to the defensive. It was the common practice of the great generals and military heroes, celebrated in history, when their territory was invaded or menaced, to carry the seat of war into the enemy's country. He trusted, therefore, that when the spirit which prevailed every where in the country, was matured, and rendered steady by discipline, so glorious an impulse would not be suffered to waste itself, without reaping that harvest of glory, to which it was entitled; and as he feared the enemy would not give it the opportunity of gathering the laurels of which it was so desirous on British ground, that opportunity should at least be afforded on the enemy's shore. He was the more desirous to impress this consideration on his Majesty's ministers, as those preparations, which were only anticipation when he first pressed it, were now advanced, and every day approached nearer to completion. This country was the more called upon for such an attempt, as our fleet afforded us what may not be improperly called a drawbridge to the Continent. He believed that such a system of warfare, if it were even only held out as a threat to the enemy, would have a good effect in teaching him to respect us more, and to presume less on himself. It would also have a good effect in shewing the powers of Europe how differently we were circumstanced with respect to the means of annoying our enemy, from what that enemy represented. He

wished every person, from the peer to the labourer, to adopt a military character, under the circumstances suited to their respective situations; and he wished this attention to the diversity of situation the more, as he was aware there was no deficiency of spirit in any situation. He would here say one word of a corps of gentlemen, which he understood was to be formed, though he was not yet aware whether their services were to be accepted or not. He wished the gentlemen who proposed to enter this corps, to consider how much more effectually they would promote the service, by entering in their proper stations into other corps. The very difference of treatment, as a collective corps, which they would have in the service, when each would be attended by a servant to take care of him, would excite discontent in the other corps serving with them. He wished that considerations of this kind were attended to, though they were not of any great comparative importance. He was sure, that if the spirit that pervaded all ranks was properly directed, we should be very soon in that state, in which we should have nothing to fear from the enemy, and he would have much to fear from us. The motion had his cordial assent.

Mr. *Chapman*, after disclaiming any intention of disturbing the unanimity desired on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, adverted to the case of the officers in the East-India Company's service now in England, who having been alluded to by the Sec. at War, as a resource to assist in disciplining the army of reserve, had offered their services in the most gallant manner. To these offers, however, he understood no answer had been returned. Such conduct he considered neither right nor handsome towards men who had frequently met the French in the field, were at the storming of Seringapatam, and at other enterprises equally bold and daring; that there could be no doubt of their doing honour to any service on which they might be employed; but, that from the state of suspence in which they were kept, they were precluded from coming forward in any other line. Mr. Chapman then declared that he could not accept his dismissal without expressing an earnest hope, that after the generous and laudable exertions of the volunteers, added to those of the other gallant troops in the service of their country, should have placed it in a state of perfect security against hostile attacks, means would be found of annoying the enemy. That these were abundant he had not a doubt; and, with the permission of the House, he would venture to suggest a quarter whence some of them might be derived. Mr. Chapman then proceeded to state, that in the east a population of fifty millions yielded obedience to the mild sway of the sceptre of our benevolent sovereign. That this population added to that of our own islands, was not inferior to the number of the host which trembles under the coercive rod of the Consul of France. That he meant not to aver that our fellow subjects in the east were physically equal in energy or bodily strength to the hardy sons of more northern regions. Nor would he propose to bring them to combat in these climates. But it was a justice due to them to declare them capable of a very high degree of military discipline, to possess great personal bravery, and to have manifested a fidelity to our cause in difficulties unexampled. That his Majesty possessed dominions situated in climates similar in many parts to their own. He alluded to the West-Indies. That in these he was of opinion, that a large part of the force entertained either for offensive or defensive operations, if raised for the express purpose, and under due precautions, might be advantageously drawn from our possessions in the east. That this force would be found the best adapted to the service. That it would prove alike capable of resisting the vertical sun of the day, and the pernicious damp of the night. That by becoming a counterpoise to the negro population, it would afford security to the planters against their insurrections, and scour the mountains when they might retire to them. That were these troops encouraged to take their families with them to the islands, aided also by other means that might be adopted of peopling them in part from the east, he had no hesitation in fondly expecting, that, in the process of time, they would produce a race of orderly, industrious freemen, both to cultivate and to defend them; and, in the end, do away the necessity of having farther recourse to the odious and atrocious practice of the slave-trade. Mr. Chapman further stated, that on the shores of the Mediterranean, eastern troops, disciplined by British officers, and having the paths of honour and glory pointed out to them by British valour, and animated by British example, would be found equal to any service required of them. And were it necessary, in our own defence, to follow the example set us by the Chief Consul, in seizing the stations friendly or

useful to his opponents, these troops would be found adequate to occupy and to maintain them.

Lord *Castlereagh*, in answer to his hon. friend, who had spoken last, said, it was true, that the officers in the East-India Company had, with that zeal that distinguished them on all occasions, tendered their services: he was sure also, that whether those services were accepted or not, they would wait the result of the consideration, and the decision of the authority to which they had submitted them. The offer were transmitted in the only manner in which they could be transmitted regularly, first by the respective officers to the Court of Directors, and by the Court of Directors to the commander in chief; and he had seen letters acknowledging, in the most handsome terms, the receipt of the offers. He was not aware of the answer that was to be given. He believed that there was an impediment to the acceptance of the offers of the superior officers, from the number of regiments in the army of reserve being not greater than could be officered out of the line, from which it was certainly right that the officers should in the first instance be taken. One word he would offer, in explanation of what was nothing more than a misunderstanding of the letter of his noble friend (Lord Hobart). There could be no doubt that the acting volunteers were not liable to be called on to be trained and disciplined in the proportion to be raised in the first instance of the force under the general defence act. It was evidently the intention of the noble lord's letter, as well as of the act, that the force first called forth should be composed of volunteers. The act fixed the number of volunteers, to entitle any person to a suspension of the compulsory clauses, at three-fourths of the first class described in the general defence act, and since that a power of suspending the execution of those compulsory clauses was given in cases when six times the amount of the original militia came forward. The compulsory clauses may be enforced if a greater number should be deemed necessary at any future period.

Mr. *Windham* wished it were in his power to gratify the hon. gent. who introduced the motion before the House, in conforming to the wish he had expressed, that no discussion should arise on this measure. The hon. gent. had, indeed, shewn more earnestness in making his wish than attention and fidelity in pursuing it; for while he deprecated discussion, he continued to throw out so many things to provoke it, that it was impossible his wish could be complied with. If the hon. gent., which would be perfectly consistent with his former misconceptions and misrepresentations, imagined that he was going to oppose the vote, he was entirely mistaken. It was among the fancies of the hon. gent. that he had spoken with disparagement of the militia and the volunteer corps. With respect to the volunteer corps, *he had not a doubt of their zeal and spirit*; and he was satisfied that in the day of trial they would serve their country in every way becoming Englishmen. He had said nothing to give offence to the militia. The whole amount of what he had said was, that with all the zeal and spirit which he always allowed them, they did not possess those qualities of soldiers which it was impossible to possess without having been in action. He had been told that what he had said given great dissatisfaction to the militia. If he had said no more than this, and he believed he had not, he had only done his duty, which he would always to the best of his opinion, whether it excited dissatisfaction or not. He hoped, however, there was no dissatisfaction on this point, for he would be sorry that a feeling, so little respectable as to be offended without a cause, should belong to the militia. But he dissented entirely from the propriety of laying it down as a rule of conduct to say or do nothing without first considering whether it is likely to give satisfaction. If he was to call to the recollection of the House an administration, but the word recollection could not with propriety be applied to what was present (*a laugh*); if he was to describe an administration which had acted on this system, the House would easily discern the consequences of it. The administration which he alluded to, considered always not what ought to be done, but what could be done with *satisfaction*; what would give *satisfaction* to the country gentlemen; what would give *satisfaction* to the militia officers; what would give *satisfaction* to the subscribers at Lloyd's, and the holders of omnium — (*a laugh*). To this spirit the country was indebted, first, for the boon of peace, and the many other blessings of the same kiod that followed in its train: and if we looked for the consequences of it, we should find them in our present situation, to which they led. With respect to the matter before the House, it was like many others, to which one was induced to join his assent, because he could not dissent without disapproving. He had no objection to a vote of thanks. It was here in some instances, as in public places, where one joined in the applause, because he could make no other

noise which would not have the effect of censure — (*a laugh*). But if he were to speak as a volunteer, he should say, "for God's sake, keep your thanks till we have done something to deserve them." It should be considered, that the volunteer corps were but just formed, and that many had chosen volunteer service to avoid compulsory service. It should be recollected, that at other times we had had volunteers, who had come forward without any influence or compulsion, and that no thought was entertained of bestowing on them, in the first instance, a vote like that now proposed. All that the House of Commons had to give to the most distinguished services by sea and land was its thanks; and when volunteer corps were to receive those thanks for coming forward at such a crisis, with a service which they would otherwise be compelled to render, he feared that this which was hitherto justly considered as the highest and most valuable testimony of the most transcendent merit and the most eminent service, would become less valuable. He should think it the proper time to vote the thanks of the House when they had expelled Buonaparté, or even now he should think it right to thank the Irish volunteers, for suppressing the rebellion; and when the House was called upon for such a vote, he thought there should at least have been some direction from his Majesty. Here he should leave this subject; but there was another on which he should say a few words, and here he should lay the ground for this privilege, under the prohibition of the hon. gent. who introduced the motion before the House. The hon. gentleman's wish went to deprive the House of its most valuable functions, when no one was allowed to speak, no one could hear; and when no one was allowed to illumine, no one could be enlightened. The doctrine was rather new, and, in his opinion, was not very wise. He wished the hon. gent, had been in the House when his hon. friend (Mr. Fox) had so properly exerted his abilities on a subject somewhat related to this, on a former night. In a cabinet composed of military men, military discussions were yet necessary to be gone into: what was the case in the cabinet was also the case here; and though he was not a military man, he would not surrender the right which he had as a member of Parliament, to offer his sentiments, which, while they were urged with modesty, would, he hoped, always contain something useful; but least of all would he consent to deprive the House of the advantage of hearing the observations and arguments of those experienced military gentlemen, who were best able to give Parliament an accurate view of the danger of the country, and at the same time to point the measures best calculated for its defence and security. He thought that great discretionary powers, when properly managed, may be of service; but, when the use made of the power that already existed was erroneous, he could not think it right to lodge still greater powers in the same hands. He condemned the principle of having recourse to volunteer corps instead of calling forth volunteer service in other modes. From the sort of training which these corps received, there was an opportunity of judging of the manner in which they would be brought into action. The companies would be collected into regiments, and the regiments formed into brigades. He did not think they would be good for any thing in that way; neither did he think, that any judicious officer would accept of them. It was not true that numbers always made strength, neither could that other comfortable saying, that if they did no good they could do no harm, be applied in this instance. They would incumber the movements, obstruct the roads, and consume the provisions *(a laugh)*, and which should also be a main consideration, they would be a great depository of panic, if, as was not unlikely, they once caught it. Under all these disadvantages, any skilful and judicious officer, instead of accepting their services, would rather say, place them at a distance. Such an officer would consider them as a wrestler would regard heavy garments, and say, let me have clear ground, free from any incumbrance: an armed population, when it was once trained, would furnish out of it corps more generally useful, and whose services and co-operation the best officers would think desirable. He regarded as the most essential instrument of defence, a force like this, possessed of all the characteristics of a loose light infantry; quick in loading and firing. When the population of the country was thus trained, every where that the enemy moved, a host would hang on him, and follow him like a swarm of insects, for ever buzzing in his ears, for ever teasing, harassing, and annoying him. If, combined with this force, we had the advantage of fortifications, the utility of which had been so strongly enforced by the hon. gent. behind him (Col. Craufurd), and large armies (for large armies we should have), the fate of the country would not depend on one or two pitched battles; but it would be one continued warfare, in which every inch of ground would be disputed both

in advance and in retreat. This was his opinion as to the proper mode of executing the measure of general armament. If the idea had been taken up, which he suggested, a large force would by this time have been half trained, and nearly ready to be applied to the services for which it may be thought advisable. There were some measures in which a great progress may be made at the very commencement, and others in which no progress could be made for a long time. This measure of general armament was one of the latter description, in which, though much had been done in Parliament, no progress was yet made in fact. It was like a July brewing, which, with the delay of fermenting, drawing off, and bottling, would not be fit to drink till Christmas. His Majesty's ministers were fond of clatter, and they thought that the machinery he recommended would do nothing, because it was silent. He considered it a very great absurdity to suppose, that what was known to every man in England was unknown to the government of France, he meant the actual state of preparation in which we were. As to the vote of thanks which the hon. gent. proposed, he had to observe, that the hon. gent. had given up what he so much insisted on at first, the execution of the compulsory part of the measure of general defence, and that he was now gone into the other extreme, and was entirely for volunteers. Against that principle, as it was now acted upon, he begged leave to enter his protest. On the mere question of the vote of thanks he had nothing to say, and therefore should do no more than to press most seriously the consideration of providing this force with arms; for without a proper attention to the state in which it was as to arms, no effectual aid could be expected from it. He confessed he did not like the manner in which his hon. friend (Col. Craufurd) had been sneered at, when he pressed this point the other night. He therefore chose to take it up, and to press it again. When the hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan) pressed for unanimity, he laid the foundation for a truce; and when he said this was the last day of the session, he wished gentlemen to abstain from all reference to former diffences of opinion, all charges against ministers, and all party sentiments, and to abstain from urging these topics till the next meeting. He could not help thinking that the hon. gent. was a little too particular in enumerating the points, with respect to which he wished this abstinence to be observed: *Hæc commemoratio est quasi exprobatio.* *(A laugh.)* He should say a word on that subject, by way of contrasting what the hon. gent. now said with the manner in which he had acted on former occasions. Parliament was different from that class of men, where it was said that the doctrine should be attended to, without regarding the practice. But he would allow the hon. gent. the benefit of the maxim. He thought he remembered times of difficulty throughout the course of the last ten or twelve years, in which he allowed nothing that he could call wrong to go by without censure, and without maintaining that it might fairly be attacked. The hon. gent. was not amiss in arraigning all measures, and in raising every species of opposition. The hon. gent. wished for unanimity, and in one sense he would have it. If unanimity was meant to apply to the defence of the country, there could be no doubt that this unanimity existed. He should wish to know, what part of his conduct had embarrassed the public service, or given ground for the charge of factious opposition; and when he and those gentlemen who generally sat near him, were charged with such things, he wished the instances to be cited. He had the satisfaction to think that most of those measures on which he and his hon. friends took an active part, were rendered more perfect in their passage towards the House, and that he and his hon. friends contributed to the improvement. He also disclaimed the charge of factious opposition. He had not opposed all things indiscriminately. He had never once opposed a tax bill, though he knew gentlemen in another opposition, who, during the course of ten years, never suffered a tax bill to pass without comment. If it was his object, or that of his friends, to give a factious opposition, he should be sorry they were such horrid bunglers as not to execute the design better, by taking advantage of many opportunities of annoyance which they had suffered to go by. Now, when all were unanimous in the defence of the country, and every thing concerned with it, because every man had his all at stake, and that brought the necessity of that unanimity home, he should be sorry to dissent from that unanimity, but that by this he consented to seal his approbation of whatever ministers had done, or that he surrendered his right to censure and arraign them, he positively denied. It was a bad thing to have a government in which the country could not confide: if it was true, that the present government was such, the country should know it. If it was untrue, the attempt to establish the belief would give room for the refutation, and those who attempted to give currency to the falsehood,

ought not to be pardoned; but if true, he would say again, that the eyes of the country ought not to be shut to it. It was worse than all to have a weak government, and to confide in it; for then the country leaned on a broken reed, which would certainly let it down. When a government regulated itself by public opinion, the proper way to correct it was, to apply the correction through the public opinion, to which it looked up so much. He denied the principle, that because a government was under difficulties, it was therefore to be the more relied on. The increase of danger naturally created unanimity. The rebellion in Ireland had created an unanimity of this kind, and a French invasion would create it still more. He, therefore, protested against an unanimity which would go to preclude the right of censure; and when this was the last day of discussion, and there would be no other opportunity till the next session, he thought it his duty to avail himself of this right; and as the hon. gent. proposed to carry his restriction still further, and to abridge the liberty of speech out of doors during the vacation, as he proposed to lock him and his friends up in this manner, and to put the key in his pocket—(a laugh);—he thought it proper at least to save their right, by his protest, lest it be considered as entirely lapsed and surrendered by disuse. Having said this, he had no objection that the motion should pass, and the hon. gent. may, if he pleased, go about as master of the ceremonies, making his bow to every one of the corps, and returning them thanks where they were not at all expected.

The *Secretary at War* confessed himself unable to follow the hon. gent. through all the detail into which he had entered, relative to the superiority of regular troops, and the inconvenience that might arise from the employment of a loose irregular mass, in conjunction with them, by its becoming an incumbrance in their operations, every syllable of which was irrevelant to the motion which had been submitted to the House. But he could not overlook the observation of the right hon. gent., with regard to the system pursued by his Majesty's government, which he had stated to be erroneous. No person could appreciate that system, unless he were in the secret of his Majesty's ministers, and as the right hon. gent. had admitted himself ignorant of the precise system they meant to adopt, such a charge must come with a bad grace from him. He was himself free to acknowledge, that it was intended to give every encouragement to voluntary service, as well such as had been found beneficial during the last war, as of the description specified in the late bill. He was not one of those who accused the right hon. gent. with depreciating the militia and volunteers; because, though some heated and unguarded expressions had escaped him in the warmth of debate, the right hon. gent. had shewn, by his explanations, that his observations applied to a force of either description only as to a force that was not regular. But whatever respect he entertained for the opinion of the right hon. gent., he could not but lament that he employed the whole weight of his authority to decry, though not to oppose, the measures which his Majesty's ministers thought it advisable to adopt; and he was of opinion that ministers had a right to complain, that the right hon. gent., when he had a seat in the cabinet, and was convinced of the magnitude of the danger to which the country was exposed, had not made known his sentiments, nor brought forward the necessary measures for his security. The volunteer system, though it had in his opinion been carried to too great an extent during the last war, he looked on as a salutary one; but as to the charge of the right hon. gent., that it was the intention of his Majesty's ministers to convert the force to be raised by the general levy into a voluuteer force; he was at a loss to know where he could have formed any just foundation for it. If there were any instances in which that should be the case, he would himself undertake to shew, that the circumstances of the district required such a modification. In some districts it would be necessary to form the men into regiments or battalions, in others into independent companies; and in others again it would be expedient not to form them into companies at all; so that it would be impossible to act upon any general principle; and arrangements should be made with reference to the local circumstances of the districts; and to the dangers to which they should be exposed. Having said this, he should hope that no general criticism should be entered into, with respect to the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, who were undoubtedly subject to a heavy and serious responsibility, but who were not treated with all the fairness and candour in certain quarters, which they had a right to expect; yet he trusted the House would be disposed to do them justice, and suspend its judgment until their conduct and measures could be fairly estimated on their merits. The right hon. gent. had amused himself and the House by his sallies of wit, but he

was surprised to hear him assert gravely, that the bill for the general levy had created much fuss and confusion in carrying it into execution, but had not yet produced a single man, at a time too when there was a great and augmenting force every where visible in the country, which in a short time would be snfficient to place it completely out of danger. If the right hon. gent. had looked round him, even in the city of London, he might have observed that a considerable augmentation of force had already taken place, which was every day increasing, as well there as in the other parts of the kingdom. He acknowledged himself incapable of stating, with certainty, the number of volunteers in the whole kingdom, but he was sure he could not be mistaken in computing them to amount, at this moment, to between one hundred and one hundred and fifty thousand. He should join most heartily in the present motion for a vote of thanks, because he was of opinion, that it would contribute greatly to excite farther exertions ; and, that there was no honest man that would not concur with the hon. gent. who had made it. Though he could not admit that it had been brought forward prematurely, he agreed with the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) altogether, as to the sacredness of the thanks of that House. He felt that at so momentous a crisis as the present, when so much would depend on the zeal, spirit, and exertions of every individual, the House should relax a little from its rigid observance of forms, and not too precise in adverting to precedents. The right hon. gent. seemed to him not to be aware, that, at the end of last war, the thanks of the House had been voted to the volunteer corps, and though that had been at the end of a war, no greater energy, courage, or exertion, had been displayed on the present occasion. The right hon. gent. said, he had no objection to a vote of thanks of the House to the volunteers of Ireland, who, the right hon. gent. affirmed, had saved the capital. As to this circumstance he should first say that the government of Ireland had not been surprised, nor had the volunteers saved the capital. They had acted with three or four regiments composing the garrison of Dublin, and for their gallant conduct in conjunction with these troops were entitled to every praise. He should not pursue this subject further ; but he could not have listened to the assertion, that the volunteers alone had saved the capital of Ireland, without giving it the most positive contradiction.

Mr. *Charles Dundas* declared that no man could more sincerely vote for the motion of the hon. member than he should, because he thought the spirit of the country ought to be cherished. He rose merely to reply to some observations which had fallen from the right hon. gent. opposite, relative to the provisional cavalry. He had himself the honour to command one of those regiments, for which alone he could answer, and which had been reviewed by a general sent for the purpose from the War-Office, whose report had been highly favourable, and when he mentioned General Garth, he referred to a military authority that would stand high with the House. He therefore challenged the right hon. gent. to produce any report of any military man that could give sanction to the observations he had indulged in. He had come forward as a country gentleman, when the situation of the country called for exertion ; and he trusted he should meet the indulgence of the House for obtruding himself upon its notice, when called to it by the observations of the right hon. gent. He begged to remind the right hon. gent., that the present was a crisis when every man ought to come forward as a soldier : he begged to remind that right hon. gent. that the present measure would tend to promote his idol, the army, and that it would relieve the state from a burthen which it would be unequal to in the maintenance of a regular force equal to the defence of the country.

Mr. *Windham* explained. He did not mean to make the least allusion to any particular corps ; he only intended to state generally that the volunteers would not, at all events, be found as serviceable as the House seemed to imagine they would.

Mr. *Wilberforce* expatiated on the well-known patriotism and bravery of Englishmen at every period of their history, and thence inferred that it would be useless to thank the country for doing no more than what it had always done on every occasion where the exigency of their affairs required it. He would not wish to have it known that they were thanked by the legislature for what they had already done, as that might be construed to imply some previous doubt, or to convey an idea that they had exceeded our expectations. Englishmen wanted no such stimulus to incite them towards the defence of their native soil. He then gave a description of the liberality, as well as the patriotism, of that part of the country which he said he had the honour to represent, and acquainted the House that a subscription had been entered into

there, upon nearly a similar plan to that in the city of London, and that several thousands had been already put down. He then adverted to the difference between a regular and a volunteer force, and said he thought that a man might be trained to wheel, to fire, &c. and yet not be able to "snatch a grace beyond the rules of art." This drew to his mind the intrepid conduct, the collected thought, and the most arduous enterprising spirit of our gallant countryman, Sir Sidney Smith, on whom he passed the highest encomiums, declaring that by land or at sea his exploits were equally manifest and equally splendid; that he was like that justly celebrated hero of English history, the Duke of Marlborough, who made the most discordant principles of nature unite in support of the cause which he espoused. There was something, however, in the very nature of the present volunteering system, however ardent, brave, or zealous its members might be, which he thought made them liable to objection. Many from their age, their state of health, or their connexions in life, would be found not fit to endure the hardships which many others in the same corps were ready and able to bear. He would avoid treading on military grounds as much as possible, but confessed he hoped it would be the means of eliciting the observations of gentlemen far better qualified, and whose ideas might, according to his opinion, be serviceable to the House (looking towards Col. Craufurd). All that he meant to draw the attention of the House to, was towards the classification of the different volunteer corps. If that was not attended to, he thought that we might be able to ascertain the numbers by looking at the lists, but we would never be able to ascertain the true effective force. What had been mentioned by an hon. member (Mr. Chapman) respecting the East-India force being sent to the West-Indies, he was sorry to have heard in that House, and hoped that it would never be adopted by his Majesty's government. On this point he dwelt for some time, and declared that he considered that part of the world as as a devouring gulf, which swallowed up all our force, and that it was a greater expense and less real advantage to us by many degrees, than what the French had gained on the Continent last war alone. He then paid some handsome compliments to the lawyers' corps, and said that he thought we should not trust so much to persons who had no stake in the country, as those on whom, from their wealth and respectability, we could rely in the hour of danger. But there was another point to which he expressed a hope and confidence that ministers would attend, that was, to the providing those of our countrymen who volunteered their services with proper arms, and training them accordingly; for instance, he had heard a good deal of the difficulty of procuring firelocks for this immense force, and he had inquired as to the nature of the obstacle. He found that barrels could be supplied in abundance, but that the difficulty was in getting the locks made fast enough. That had suggested to him the idea that a number of men should be disciplined in another way; our artillery might be brought into more active service. Several extraordinary exertions he thought might be made, in the manner of a gent. in that part of the country where he came from, who, being asked as to what he meant to subscribe, desired them to refrain from pressing the question: he could name no particular amount, but he would vest his whole estate and all his assets in the hands of any respectable commissioners, to be used as they might think proper between him and his country; and, when the danger was over, he had no doubt that such hon. men would return him the surplus. This was becoming the ancient character of Englishmen, and would be found sufficient to free the nation from the imputation of a shop-keeping spirit, which had been thrown on them by the French. He concluded with expressing his most hearty approbation of that part of Mr. Sheridan's speech which declares a reliance on the conduct of ministers, that no peace should ever be made while there remained a single Frenchman in a hostile situation on the English shore.

Mr. *Archdall* combated the arguments of Mr. W. in a few words as to his most striking points. He thought that it would have been much better if the right hon. gent. was a little more witty, or else that he did not attempt to be witty at all; for by the sudden ebullition of his fancy, he was frequently wrong, and might be always fairly supposed to fall short of what he himself had intended. He thought that it was a consideration of no intrinsic worth, whether a force was to be denominated masculine, feminine, or neuter. The idea of satisfying the lieutenants of the militia, and the other officers, the country gentlemen in general, the stockholders, and the monied interest, might be burlesqued, but he wished that every gent. when in office would endeavour to reconcile the minds of all descriptions of people in the same manner as he had descsribed. With all the novelty of invasion and rebellion,

with all the novelty of the particular circumstances of the times, he hoped that the session would not be suffered to close without every man being reconciled and united in the general idea of doing what they could for the benefit of the country. He hoped that no gent. in that House or in the country would ever experience or see troubles in any degree similar to those which he had seen and felt. For that reason, as well as his general reliance on the conduct of the present ministers, and for the reasons so powerfully urged by the honourable mover, he should feel himself bound to support the motion.

Mr. *Francis* said, Mr. Speaker, the hon. gent. who has just sat down, concluded his speech with a comparison which does not seem to me to resemble the case: He says that if the owner of a house and the father of a family were to inform his children that the house was on fire and in great danger of being consumed, it would be absurd and unnatural for them in return to say, that they must take four and twenty hours to consider whether or no they should help to extinguish the fire. Now, Sir, if it were evident that an address to the throne was very like a water engine, and if an act of Parliament were equivalent to a great supply of water, I should agree with him in thinking that any part of the family who refused to work the engine, or to provide the water, would not only be very undutiful, but very great fools into the bargain. Until that proposition is made out, the honourable gentleman's allusion will not go far in support of his argument. On the present occasion I can assure my hon. friend near me (Mr. Sheridan) that I have no thought of abusing the right and privilege which belong to me as a member of Parliament, to enter, if I think fit, into the discussion of any subject that comes regularly and properly under my consideration in that character; but much less am I disposed to surrender such a right and privilege to the admonition we have received from him to refrain from arguments and debates on military subjects. In a parliamentary sense, right and duty are relative ideas. The duty gives the right, and the right indicates the duty. According to the occasion I shall at all times exercise my right to the best of my judgment, even on military questions coming in a parliamentary way before me. And I am perfectly sure my hon. friend will act in the same manner when the case requires it, notwithstanding his present exhortation to the contrary. I do not mean to oppose the motion, though I think it liable to many considerations which ought to have been previously weighed. The motion being once made, they come too late. The purpose for which I have risen is to express to my hon. friend the very great pleasure with which I heard the conclusion of his speech, not for the value, the wisdom, or the necessity of the advice contained in it, though I do not mean to affirm that such advice may not be valuable, wise, or necessary, or that, coming from him, its has not the advantage of novelty; but for another reason. He says, "On this day, at least, let us be united; on this occasion let cordiality prevail among us; and when we quit the House let us agree to leave all party spirit behind us, all animosities, all factious opposition to government, &c. as we do our hats on the benches; and the rather, as we may be sure that these articles will be kept very safe, and delivered to us undiminished whenever we meet again within these walls;" with many other sentiments of the same sort, to which I am not able to do justice. I must tell my hon. friend, however, that with respect to *me* at least, his good advice is superfluous. I have no animosity to his Majesty's ministers collectively, or personally to any of them; and with respect to some of them, very much the contrary. Consequently I have no feeling of that kind to deposit here, or to carry with me into the country. I shall go out of this House with my hat on my head, and no animosity to any man in my heart. When I heard my hon. friend, in the conclusion of his speech, engage himself and exhort others with so much warmth to support the present government by all possible exertions in the country, the inference that immediately occurred to me, and which gave me very great pleasure was, that since the last debate on military subjects, my hon. friend *must have received some satisfaction from his Majesty's ministers on two points of very great importance and interest in his judgment and feeling, as well as mine, on which at that time, certainly all satisfaction was with-held.* For otherwise I cannot bring myself to think it possible that ministers would have had all that cordial support and approbation which he has given them this night, and promised them hereafter. *The first of the objects I allude to is the appointment of a military council, in favour of which he divided and spoke with great force. Undoubtedly he would not have done so, if he had not thought it what I do, a measure of considerable importance to the country. The other related to a subject of personal attachment and affection to the illustrious person concerned, as well as of judgment and opinion for the public service.* I shall not now enter into the merits of a question on which it is

impossible we should differ. He did not take part in it that night, but I have no doubt of his sentiments. If on these two points I had the same assurance, which I conclude my hon. friend has had, that a satisfactory course would be taken, he would find me ready, not perhaps to go all the lengths that he does, but as far as I can in conscience and with honour, and without the smallest mixture of any opposite disposition, to give credit and support to ministers wherever I have an opportunity as well as in this House.

Colonel *Craufurd* was of opinion that the House was about to bestow that reward on the volunteers, by a vote of thanks, to which they would be entitled if they had saved the state. The volunteers had undoubtedly come forward with zeal and promptitude; but in that they had only discharged a necessary duty to the state, and a duty which they owed to their wives and families, for whose protection they were enrolling themselves against the greatest misery and oppression that could befall a people. He therefore should say, that the thanks of the House should be reserved until they should have some opportunity of meriting them, though no man, either in or out of the House, thought more highly of the spirit and courage of the people than he did. While Parliament was deliberating on the question of voting its thanks to a body of men, who performed but their duty in coming forward on the present occasion, and on the discharge of which their interest, their honour, and their security depended, an action of extraordinary gallantry had taken place, which perhaps was not of sufficient magnitude to merit the thanks of Parliament. He alluded to the capture of St. Lucia by General Grinfield, and he thought it would have a bad effect to accede to the present motion, if the gallant troops engaged in that expedition were to be passed unnoticed. He thought also that it would have a very bad effect on the volunteers who had bravely rescued Dublin from the horrors of a brutal and ferocious banditti, to vote the thanks of the House to men who had come forward in their own defence against the greatest calamity that could befall a nation (its subjugation by a French force), as from a sense of public duty, while such gallant behaviour was suffered to remain unrequited. Having said this, he repeated again, that he thought as highly as any man of the spirit and valour of the volunteers. As an hon. friend had alluded to German tactics on a former occasion, and another allusion had been made that night to the german eye, he felt it necessary, while on his legs, to make some observations on the subject. He had never said, that German were superior to English troops; and though, from his having passed the early part of his life, where he had an opportunity of learning the German tactics, he may have been partial to it, he was, from additional experience, conviced that it was erroneous. He should much rather see the infantry of the English army in the state in which it had been after the American war, than trained after the German system, which he thought was carried to too great an extent. The great King of Prussia, who had invented that system, had accommodated it to the extensive plains of Silesia and Saxony, and from that single circumstance it must appear manifestly inapplicable to the local situation of the country. Having said thus much, he hoped he should never again hear himself stiled the advocate of German tactics. Many gentlemen who heard him, had been witnesses of brilliant actions and military operations in Flanders, and were perhaps as much disposed to be partial to Flemish as he was to German tactics. He had on a former occasion stated, that a great regular force was necessary, and all that he had since heard on the subject had not induced him to alter his opinion. But he could not help adverting to an observation of the hon. gent. who opened the debate, that a regular army was more likely to be corrupted than any other. He begged the House to recollect what the country owed to the army. When the navy was in a state of mutiny, when the jacobins had employed every effort to seduce the army, and had on the same day sent circular letters to all the regiments, informing them that the others had risen against the government; when these letters had been given by the guards to their officers, the army had proved itself incorruptible, and to it is the country indebted for its preservation and security. He did not justify the army from any personal feelings, but from a sense of that obligation which every impartial member would admit the country owed to the army. Yet he was convinced that a large irregular force would be of the highest consequence to the defence of the kingdom. The House had been several times cleared while he was on former occasions speaking, but no expression had ever fallen from him of so delicate a nature, or so likely to be injurious to the country by its publication to the enemy, as a paper, which he had seen from high authority, in the papers of that day, a letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex.

In this, it was stated, that twenty-five firelocks could only be issued for each hundred men, which proved, that training, not arming, was the object. When he had stated, that if there was not a sufficiency of arms to furnish the whole number, the principal gunsmiths of all parts of the kingdom should be employed in making them; it was treated as a ridiculous observation, and he now repeated, that if his Majesty's ministers had omitted to give such directions, they had been guilty of a criminal neglect of a most important duty. He should likewise have more confidence in the irregular force, if it should undergo a military organization, and whatever his Majesty's ministers might say on that head, it would be impossible for him to believe them, if he could convince himself by what he should see out of doors, that such assertions were unfounded. To render the military organization of such a force effectual, it should have a Commander in Chief with his Staff, and it was impossible for the Duke of York, even with the assistance of the adj. and q.-master general, to attend to it, because it was a far more unwieldy force than that his Royal Highness presided over with such eminent ability and service to the army. Though he had not the honour of being known to the illustrious personage to whose offers of service allusions had been made on a former night, he thought his Majesty's ministers, if at a loss how to employ the heir apparent, might in this manner appoint him to a situation in which he could render the most important and essential services to the empire. No person was more capable of gaining the affections and hearts of the people; and such a prince, surrounded with able officers, in such a situation, would incalculably increase the enthusiasm that at present exists in the country. Here he begged not to be understood to mean any disrespect to the Commander in Chief, who, with his other duties, could not attend to the organization of the levy; and, without an organization, it would be of little comparative strength. As to the suggestion concerning the employment of Seapoys in the West-Indies, nothing he thought could be more injurious to our service in that part of the world. These troops liked our service better than that of the native princes, because they were better treated; and if they could be induced to go to the West-Indies, they would be miserable before they got there, and they would be miserable there, and after all would not be fit troops to act against an European force. The conquest of a few islands in the West-Indies had broken if not ruined the spirit of our troops last war; and whatever may be the commercial considerations, he sincerely hoped no such use would be made of the force now provided. He was convinced our colonies had been extended as far as our population was capable of maintaining, and on that account he had rejoiced at the Treaty of Amiens, and the surrender of so many islands to the French. He rejoiced in that treaty, because we are indebted to it for the spirit that at present exists in the country. He did not know whether the levy was to be confined to six times the number of the original militia, and whether the volunteers were to be included in that number; if so, he should heartily lament it, for the volunteers were composed of persons from all the classes, more or less accustomed to comfort, and certainly not as fit for field service as persons in the first class, whom the House had been led to believe it was in contemplation to call out while the bill was passing. He should not enter into any military details, though he should never, as a member of that House, give up his right of urging any topic which he might conceive beneficial to the country to be discussed. He was confident, that the danger of invasion was much more imminent on the present occasion than at any period during the last war, because, from the commencement of the war to the Treaty of Campo Formio, in 1797, the whole disposable force of France was engaged on the Continent, and from that treaty to the renewal of hostilities in 1799 apprehensions from Austria had obliged the French government to keep a large force on foot to watch their motions. At present, on the contrary, France had an immense disposable force, with which there was every reason to apprehend it would make an attempt on this country. The hon. member then concluded, by vindicating the conduct of his right hon. friend from any motives of personal animosity in the opposition he had given to the measures of government.

Lord *Hawkesbury* had not meant to trouble the House, if it had not been for some observations that had fallen from the hon. officer, who had stated, that the country was in a state of comparatively greater danger of invasion than during the last war. He should, however, while on his legs, advert to the motion, though he should first reply to the observations that had called him up. He looked upon it of little practical importance to consider the state of the country with reference to any past period. For if it was admitted that the country was in danger, every exertion ought to be made to secure it, though such exertions may not have been

used on a former occasion to which reference may be made. He was one of those who thought the danger of invasion in 1797 comparatively as great or greater than at present, though he agreed with the hon. officer, that as long as the French armies had been occupied on the Continent, there existed no great danger of invasion on a large scale. The hon. gent. had stated, that after the Treaty of Campo Formio, which was but a kind of armed truce, the French forces had been kept up in the neighbourhood, with reference to the possibility of a resumption of offensive operations; and that had, in some degree, been the case; but that observation applied equally to the present case. In the broken and degraded state of the Continent, a war was not to be maintained with such a power as Great Britain without the possibility at least of bringing on a continental war, and they must necessarily guard against it as an event likely to grow out of such a contest. The Treaty of Campo Formio was concluded in 1797, after which the French kept a large force in the north of Italy. In 1798 they invaded Swisserland with a large army to act as a check on the Austrians, and, in the Spring of 1799, hostilities were recommenced. During the period between the treaty and the renewal of the war, the French forces were stationed chiefly on the left bank of the Rhine, in Swisserland, and in the north of Italy. But at present they have an army not only in the north of Italy and in Swisserland, but a large army in the south of Italy, and an increasing army in the north of Germany; and, therefore, he contended, that so far as related to the occupation of other countries, the danger was not so great as at a former period. There was another circumstance, however, to which the hon. gent. had not adverted, and which had considerable influence on the question of invasion, the comparative state of the French navy. In 1797, there was a formidable fleet in the harbour of Toulon, as we afterwards found at Alexandria; and another at Brest, which rendered the danger of invasion considerably greater then than at present. He could not discover any circumstance in either period, though both called for the vigorous exertions of the country, which would not apply to the past as the present. Thus much he had thought it necessary to say, as the comparison had been alluded to, and the observations had grown out of the discussion, in order that the House should not be influenced by any improper impression. It was the duty of ministers to make every possible exertion for the security of the country, without reference to any former period. Having said this, he should now say a few words on the object of the motion. He was ready to admit that the thanks of the House should not be given lightly, nor without great and adequate services being performed; but it was a fallacious reasoning to urge, that because the thanks of the House had never been voted to the army till after some brilliant service, the House should not agree to the motion that was then before it. The country was now placed in a situation in which no ordinary means would be sufficient for its security; in which neither the army nor the militia would be adequate for its defence. It was placed in a situation in which great and extraordinary exertions were necessary; exertions, which never before had been employed, except to a certain extent, during last war; exertions which perhaps should never be resorted to in ordinary wars, and we had witnessed the spirit, unanimity, and zeal, with which all ranks had come forward; we had witnessed the patriotism with which every thing the exigencies of the country required, had been accomplished. Under such circumstances, he thought it the duty of Parliament to record this vote as a monument of its feelings for the virtues and public spirit of the people. He should ask whether, in some future contest, if the people should not be inclined to come forward with the same zeal and enthusiasm, a glorious appeal may not be made to this record of Parliament, whether future legislators may not say to such a people, this was not the conduct of your ancestors, will you degenerate from their example, and shew less spirit than they did? He thought the motion was founded in sound policy, and that the House ought to thank the hon. gent. for having brought it forward. It was not for any partial success of military operations, it was not for the success of an expedition, but it was for an unparalleled display of patriotism and public spirit, arising out of the peculiar circumstances of the times, and would confirm the generous feelings already excited, as well as encourage future exertions.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, though it was not his intention to give a direct opposition to the motion of his hon. friend, yet there were several reasons why he did not altogether approve of it.—In the first place, though he thought very highly of the volunteer corps, yet he was not satisfied that they were sufficient at the present moment. He would have preferred the Levy en Masse, under the bill which had been passed, which would have given a greater force, and

which would have afforded the means of making a considerable addition to the regular force if occasion required it. Another objection he had to the volunteer corps was, that from their numbers they would prevent other descriptions of persons from being called out, which he could not but consider as a subject of regret: for though the volunteers were actuated by the most laudable and patriotic motives, yet from their situation in life, from their habits, they certainly were not so well qualified for the fatigues of a campaign as the sturdy peasantry of the country. The hon. gent. then adverted to the means of arming the country, and said, that it was not surprising if government should not have arms sufficient for all the volunteers who offered their services, because they could not have expected that it would have been necessary to arm so large a portion of the country, and therefore it was not to be expected that they should have previously provided such an immense quantity of arms. He, however, agreed with the hon. colonel that government should now use every exertion in their power to procure a sufficient number of arms. With regard to the present motion, he admitted it might be politic, but what would be their feeling if upon a future occasion they should have to view with regret the resolution they had come to: this certainly was an event of which he had no apprehension, but still he thought that Parliament ought not to be precipitate in voting their thanks. Indeed he was convinced that the volunteers would feel themselves more gratified if the thanks of the House were postponed till they had had an opportunity of deserving them. He again expressed his apprehension that the numbers of volunteers would be so great as to render it unnecessary to call out the population under the Defence Bill, the consequence of which would be, and in some cases now was, that while men actuated by the most patriotic motives, were voluntarily endeavouring to acquire military discipline, they were surrounded and laughed at by a set of worthless young fellows who ought to be themselves called out, but who were excused from the numbers who voluntarily offered their services. Upon the whole he should not certainly oppose the motion—it would undoubtedly be very invidious; but at the same time he could not help expressing his wish that the hon. gent. had not brought it forward at present.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose to reply, and spoke in nearly the following terms:—By the courtesy of this House, any member who brings forward a motion is allowed the right of replying to any arguments which may be offered against it; but of this right I should not on this occasion avail myself, if it were not for the very direct personal allusions which have been made to me in the course of the debate. I confess that I feel great surprise that the appeal I have thought it my duty to make to the House for a vote of thanks to those gallant men who have stood forward so gallantly in defence of all that is dear to us, should have provoked a dissentient voice, or produced a discussion of such length—now not less than five or six hours. This hesitation was not less surprising than impolitic; but the conduct of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) did not by any means surprise me. That the man who required 24 hours to consider of the propriety of putting down rebellion in Ireland, should waste five or six hours in investigating the policy of declaring our gratitude and admiration of the loyalty and exertions of those who stood forward to protect their country in the time of peril, was perfectly consistent; that he should have been seconded, however, by the gallant officer behind him, was rather a matter of astonishment. But before I proceed to remark on the observations of both those gentlemen, I must take notice of the appeal which has been made to me by an hon. friend of mine, namely, whether, before I consented to give my support to ministers, I had obtained satisfaction from them upon two points, and made those the conditions of my support; first, as to the appointment of a council of war which I supported the other night, upon the motion of another hon. friend of mine. With respect to this measure I confess that, though on the occasion I have alluded to, I strongly advised its adoption, I have since then, in consequence of information I received from the very highest authority, had my opinion very materially shaken, if not altogether removed; for from this authority I have heard such arguments as completely satisfied my mind that the establishment of this commission would be attended not only with disadvantage, but seriously injurious; I therefore am ready very fully and frankly to declare that the sentiments I held upon this subject were erroneous.—The other point to which my hon. friend referred, but not quite in the friendly tone to which he has been in the habit of addressing himself to me, was with respect to the offer of service from H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. That, however, is a subject of delicacy into the discussion of which I shall not enter. I believe there is no man who knows me will

doubt for an instant the respect, attachment, and veneration I enterrain for the virtues and public spirit of that illustrious personage; but I am not to be tutored or schooled by any man as to the way in which I should manifest my feelings and discharge my duty towards his R. Highness. I am not to be told, that unless the offer, which has done him the highest honour, shall be treated in a manner satisfactory to my hon. friend and me, I shall decline to support his Majesty's government on this trying occasion. Of my respect and regard for his Royal Highness as a Prince, and as a man, I should think my hon. friend himself is fully aware. It is not necessary for me to make any parade or profession of my zealous wishes for his interest or character. It is justly due to that character, to state that which must constitute its highest praise, that he has offered, in the noblest manner, to stand forward for the nation's defence; and I am fully persuaded that that offer was not less graciously received by the persons to whom it was made, than it is felt with gratitude by the country at large. I am, however, confident, that whatever might have been the effect of that offer, H. R. H. would not be friendly to any observations calculated to excite public discontent, or to disturb public unanimity; on the contrary, I am fully persuaded, that, according to the sentiment of his dignified friend, Lord Moira, his R. Highness would rather enter as a private in the ranks of his armed countrymen, than countenance any discussion which could tend to divide the feelings of the people. With respect to the remarks of the hon. officer, upon the manner in which military lectures are received in this House, I must set the hon. gent right, if he alluded to me. I beg him to understand that I never did say that this House was not a proper place for military men to state their opinion; but I did say this, that as a member of Parliament I would not abandon my opinion in compliment to the assertions of military authority, for which generally speaking, I profess not to entertain a very profound respect, at least so far as it is displayed in this House: and indeed it would be rather surprising, if from the manner pursued such authority should be much respected. I can collect no information from it. One officer rises and lays down a certain plan, another proposes one of quite a different nature, but neither follows up his ideas. There is a kind of confusion and irregularity in their movements. They do not march close upon each other with the lock step, but they run about and scramble in such a way as to be scarcely intelligible, and when inteligible of very little use, and not at all tending to elucidate the subject, or to enlighten the House. The hon. officer to whom I refer tells, to be sure, some military anecdotes, with which any man that has read some very well known books cannot be unacquainted; and another hon. officer at times entertains us in the same way. But of what value to the House is the repetition of those matters of fact? If these gallant officers can tell us nothing more than what can be seen in Plutarch's Lives, Cæsar's Commentaries, or Vauban, or how such a division moved at Malplaquet or Blenheim, they can render very little service to the country. Indeed, for the credit of these officers themselves, I deprecate such discussions, and would advise them to abstain from such statements. But, as to the motion before the House, the hon. colonel asks, why thank the volunteers for merely doing their duty? His new acquaintance and right hon. friend below him ought, however, to be the last to oppose a motion of thanks to them for doing their duty; he who has been so long and so loudly lamenting the base spirit which, according to his description, existed in the country, in consequence of the treaty of Amiens and the character of the present ministers. If the right hon. gent. did really wish to remove that lowness of mind which he so often deplored, his language this night was strange indeed; but if he regretted to find his opinion mistaken, it is of course quite consistent to resist the expression of our gratitude to the band of patriots who have broken through that slumber of apathy, and shook off that shade of despondency which he has so frequently pictured to the House, but which in reality never existed. The hon. colonel has described the motives which ought to actuate the people of this country to take up arms at present, and he contends that their having obeyed these motives, namely, the defence of their own families and the call of public duty, does not entitle them to the gratitude of Parliament. I regret that the hon. colonel has in the course of his observations entered into any contrast between the volunteers and any other description of the public force. Such comparisons are invidious at any time, and particularly imprudent at present; I can see no good purpose that it can answer. Although the wisdom of the hon. colonel's right hon friend (Mr. W.) has given the sanction of his authority to the practice, I did flatter myself that in the observations with which I prefaced this motion I had abstained from every topic that was likely to provoke debate or dissension, and that was my wish. I declined to say one word as to the conduct of ministers, because I knew, from

the experience of a former evening, that any thing from me in commendation of ministers would be a pretext to the right hon. gent. to fall foul of them. Recurring to the comparison of the hon. col. between the volunteers and the regulars, I cannot help saying that he has not taken a course very likely to reflect honour on his favourite force. The hon. col. has admitted that the volunteers have done their duty, but that they are not on that account entitled to the proposed vote, while the distinguished services of the regular army are overlooked. In proof of their services, however, the hon. col. states this, that at the time of the mutiny in the fleet, the jacobins sent circular letters to the several regiments of the army, inviting them to mutiny, which invitations they refused to comply with. Then the hon. gentleman's argument stands thus, that we should refuse our thanks to the volunteers, whose merit is that they have done their duty, but that we should grant this honour to the regular army, whose merit is, according to his statement, that they rejected a propostion to mutiny; that they declined to violate their oaths—to abandon every sense of duty and honour. Such is the substance of the panegyric which this regular colonel has pronounced upon the regular army. If he can say nothing more in their favour, I think the army would be much obliged to him to with-hold his praise. The hon. col. has, in his compliments to his right hon. friend, thought proper to say that it would be for my interest to preserve my hands as clean from the imputation of unworthy motives in my opposition to ministers as his right hon. friend has done and continues to do. If the hon. col. has been acquainted with the views and proceedings of the old opposition, he would have declined that remark; but I will refer him for information upon this point to his right hon. friend, and I would call with confidence upon that right hon. gent. myself, to state the course which the old opposition took when he acted with them. Were not the grounds upon which they rested their conduct materially different from those upon which he and his colleagues now act? When they condemned ministers they pointed at the particular acts which justified that condemnation. They never pronounced loose and general censures. They never told the country that the ministers they opposed were not entitled to confidence without proving it; but the right hon gent. never does meet the ministers fairly, never opposes them front to front; his mode of discipline seems best to qualify him for squibs and skirmishes; his favourite plan of attack is on the flanks and rear of his adversary. Is this the system of tactics which the hon. col. would approve? I would call upon the right hon. gent. to make his approaches more manfully. If he would consult the precedent of the old opposition, he would alter his present course for one better adapted to recommend himself to the favour of the country, and the deference of Parliament. I am glad, however, to perceive, from the reference he has made to the old opposition, that he is refreshing his memory; that he is furbishing his arms, no doubt from an expectation, in which I hope he will not be disappointed, that he will have to stand a very long campaign in opposition. If in this campaign he will endeavour to imitate the party I have alluded to, he will protect himself and his friends from the charge of faction; he will not oppose measures because they come from a certain set of men, and although the same measures from other men would meet his most cordial concurrence; he will not act upon such motives, and if not, his opinion and opposition will become respectable, and may have some pretension to a comparison with the old opposition, from which the right hon. gent. may perhaps think I have now a furlough; but as to the comparison of the two oppositions under the present circumstances, it strikes me that the old opposition might address that of the right hon. gent. in the same terms as those used by the landlord who kept the sign of the two Magpies at Hounslow, in his dispute with another landlord who thought proper to put up the same sign—"We are the real old Magpies, and you have set up your new opposition through spite:" [a general laugh.] The hon. col. in his affection and deference for the Prince of Wales, recommended that his Royal Highness should be appointed to the command of the *levy en masse*, as a place suited to his rank and consequence. I would beg the House to recollect that this is the army which the hon. officer advised ministers to distribute into scouting parties, or to stay in their respective districts, to keep up a kind of irregular attack upon the enemy—to fire from behind hedges or walls—from out of houses, &c. Now mark the station the hon. col. would assign the illustrious personage I have mentioned—he would send his Royal Highness to take his place behind a tree, to watch and direct flying shooters, to conduct a mode of warfare that would resemble something like boar hunting. This is a part which I hope will never be assigned to the Prince of Wales; that we shall not call on him to stand behind a tree, or throw himself into a ditch when the enemy approaches. An hon. friend of

mine has stated in the course of his objections to the motion before the House, that while the volunteers were drilling, they were laughed at by idle worthless spectators. This appears to me to be a very strong reason in favour of this motion, for *if the volunteers are laughed at by the profligate*, let them have this honourable mark of your approbation to gratify their pride, to raise them above such sneers. The late Secretary at War has maintained, in the course of this debate, and on other occasions, that our situation was by no means so dangerous, at any period of the late war, as it is at present. To this assertion the noble Secretary of State has so ably answered, that I think it unnecessary to say much; but I insist that the perils of the country in the year 1798 were much superior to those by which we are now menaced; for at that time Ireland was actually invaded, a formidable insurrection prevailed, and had the whole of the French force, which was sent to Ireland, been able to effect a landing, or rather, perhaps, were it not for the treachery of Hoche, that country would have been subdued. Then I contend that Ireland was saved by an accident; and if the 40,000 men which were permitted to go to Egypt had bent their course to Ireland, what, I would ask, could have been the fate of that country? In such a state of things, I maintain that ministers are justified in charging the right hon. gent. with neglecting to resort to such measures of vigour as he ought to have employed, and such as have been on the present occasion adopted. The right hon. gent. will not deny that he felt the extremity of panic at the state of the nation in 1798, insomuch that he was heard to complain of the apathy of his colleagues; that they were not forward to adopt measures sufficiently suited to the crisis. They were, to be sure, persuaded to propose a bill, which was passed, in the preamble of which the alarming state of the country was acknowledged, and several military preparations prescribed, which however were never executed, nor was the act in any of its provisions acted upon; but yet it was remarkable, that though clumsy and ineffectual it contained the same principle and nearly the same clauses, which the right hon. gent. has objected to in the act for raising the mass of the people. Why did the right hon. gent. approve of a proposition then which he abuses now? There are indeed many other measures of the late ministry which the right hon. gent. professes to condemn. He has said, among others, that the provisional cavalry was a foolish measure—how then can he account for the support he gave it as a minister? I do appeal to him or any other man who has a spark of frankness, whether such conduct is excusable! That of a right hon. gent., who lays claim to a character of candour, sincerity, openness, and independence of mind, who continued in this House to plead for proceedings, of which, as a cabinet minister, he strongly disapproved, was certainly not quite consistent. The hon. Colonel says, that Austria was not sincerely desirous to preserve the peace of Campo Formio. I remember when we stated the same thing in this House we were opposed by the late Sec. at War and his friends, and the fact was positively denied. The Ex-Sec. at War considered the assertion mere nonsense—indeed, that right hon. gent., whether in or out of office, has always been in the habit of treating the assertions or arguments of his adversaries, with an appearance of indifference, if not contempt, that was not becoming in any man. No doubt, if great talents would justify a man in looking down upon the arguments of his adversary, the hon. gent. was fully qualified to do so—but no degree or description of talents could excuse such conduct. The argument of every man is, if at all attended to, entitled to respectful attention. With regard to the conduct of the right hon. gent. since he became an ex-minister, I do contend, that its uniform tenor has been to invite and encourage the enemy, and to depress and discourage our own people. He has invited the enemy to provoke the war, by the description he always gave of the character of ministers—and since the war he has invited an attack upon our country, by the statements he has made of the situation of the public mind, the disorganised state of our army, and the aukward manner in which our defensive force was to be constructed. By this kind of invitation he has brought Buonaparté into a scrape, and he certainly is in a much worse scrape than this country; all his misfortunes may be attributed to the reliance he placed on the words of the right hon. gent., when he reported the ministers to be a set of shabby, pusillanimous, incapable fellows, who knew nothing, who would bear any thing, who would submit to any injury, or endure any insult. In short, that the peace of Amiens was a curse, and that, bad as the ministers were, this treaty had rendered the people still worse. He always stated that ministers were only anxious for the safe tenure of their places, and that as

there was nothing high-minded about them, they would make any sacrifice to that object. What was the natural tendency of such language? What impression was it likely to make on the mind of Buonaparté? If he were told that it was all rant, the mere heated declamation of a discontented ex minister, he would, no doubt, answer, No—impossible! Mr. Windham is a discreet statesman, and he knows the character of the English government, and of the English people, well; no man better. But Buonaparté was deceived, and was suffering much regret for his confidence in the right hon. gent. He knows now, that *ministers are not quite so passive or so timid as the right hon. gent. would lead him to imagine*; that they would go to war sooner than sacrifice the honour and interests of the country. There is a character in our great bard, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, to whom, though I cannot entirely compare the First Consul, I have no doubt that if he were to declare his sentiments on his present situation, he would say, in the language of the old knight,—"If I thought he'd been so valiant, I'd be damned ere I had challenged him."—I am pretty certain that such is now the feeling of Buonaparté, and he has to thank the right hon. gent. for reducing him to that dilemma. I hope that ministers will place him in a still worse dilemma; if duly seconded by the people, upon which I confidently rely, I have no doubt that it is in their power to do so. In reply to the observations that have been made on the motion under consideration, on the ground that it is not necessary, I shall only say, that it must be useful; that it is dictated by justice and policy, and called for by the irresistible voice of gratitude; that the merit it is intended to distinguish is great and material to the public safety; and that to record such merit would excite the emulation of the people at large, if a stimulus were necessary, while it would form a monument honourable to our own character, grateful to the pride, and conducive, by the influence of example, to the best interests of posterity.—The question was put upon Mr. Sheridan's motion and carried *nem. con.*

Mr. *Sheridan* next moved that the Speaker do signify to the lords lieutenants of counties, &c. the assent of the House to the above resolution. Agreed to *nem. con.*—Mr. Sheridan finally moved that a return be made and entered upon the Journals of the names and numbers of the volunteer corps, who, from the present moment till the next meeting of Parliament, should enrol themselves and be accepted by his Majesty, in order that their patriotic example may be handed down to animate our latest posterity. Agreed to, *nem. con.*

[STATE OF IRELAND.]—Mr. *Hutchinson* then rose to advert to the notice he had given of bringing forward a motion respecting the present state of Ireland. In his opinion it was then too late an hour (ten o'clock) to agitate a question of such delicacy and importance. He therefore wished, if such were the pleasure of the House, to defer his motion to the next day, if it was intended that the House should sit on that day, otherwise he should now submit to the House what observations he had to make upon that important question.

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, that the House would meet the next day merely *pro formâ*, and he hoped that the hon. gent. would not introduce a subject of such magnitude in a thin House, and when a full attendance might be productive of such personal inconvenience.

Mr. *Windham* contended, that after a sitting of five hours, the attention of the House could not be equal to the discussion of a subject so intricate and momentous.

General *Maitland* wished, as the attendance of members was now numerous, and as the hon. gent. was aware when he gave his notice of the other business which had that night occupied the attention of the House, that the motion should be immediately submitted to discussion.

The *Speaker* intimated, that the hon. gent. had a right to defer his motion.

Mr. *Hutchinson* availed himself of that right, and his motion was deferred.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, August 11.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given by commission to fifty-one public and private bills. Among those of the former description were the Income Tax Bill, the Vote of Credit, the Scotch Taxes Consolidation, the Vellum and Parchment Duties, the Orange Annuity, Tortola Free Port, the General Defence Amendment, the Substitutes Exemption, the Foreign Note Forgery, and the Scotch Army of Reserve Amendment Bills.—Lord Dundas was sworn, and took his seat.—The bills which remained upon the table were read a third time and passed. Among these were the Wines Prizage, the Amherst Annuity, the Assessed Taxes Regulation, the Neutral Ships, the Countervailing, the Aliens' Regulation, the Seamens' Encouragement, and the Custom-

House Officers' Protection Bills.——The Attorney General, attended by several members, returned the Aliens' Regulation Bill, with the acquiesence of the Commons to the amendments made therein by their lordships.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, August 11.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Wilberforce presented a petition from the debtors confined in the gaol of York, praying relief, which was ordered to lie on the table; as were petitions of a similar nature, presented by Mr. Vansittart, from the confined debtors in the King's Bench Prison and the Poultry Compter.—Ordered, that a new writ should be issued for the election of a representative for the borough of Athlone, in Ireland, in room of the right hon. W. Hancock, who has accepted the office of Escheator of Munster.—Also a writ for the City of Bristol, in the room of the right hon. C. Bragge, who has accepted the office of Steward and Bailiff of the Chiltern Hundreds.—Also a writ for Cambridgeshire, in room of the right hon. C. Yorke, who has accepted the Stewardship of the Manor of East Hendred, in Berkshire.—Also a writ for the Royal Boroughs of Jedburth, Haddington, &c. in room of the hon. T. Maitland, who has been appointed to the office of one of the Commissioners for managing the affairs of India, with a salary annexed.—A new writ was ordered for the Borough of Whitchurch, in room of the hon. W. Broderick, who has been appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.——The Lords' amendments in the Alien Bill were agreed to, and the bill ordered back to the Upper House.

[STATE OF IRELAND.]—Mr. *Hutchinson* rose pursuant to his notice to submit a motion relative to the affairs of Ireland. He began by stating how material it was in the present juncture to enable his Majesty to avail himself of all the resources which every part of the empire was capable of affording, and how desirable it therefore was to put Ireland in such a situation as to render her natural strength, her wealth, and population, available for the common safety of the empire. The unanimity which appeared in this country was a source of joy to every loyal mind, but the joy of an Irishman was considerably allayed by the reflection that so many of his countrymen were, by the oppression they endured, by the wretched poverty they suffered, damped in their ardour for the public security, if not altogether alienated in their affections for the British government. To remedy this misfortune, he called upon ministers to attend to the state of Ireland, and to reform radically the system by which it had been so long governed, and that would serve to establish the tranquillity of Ireland, to place that country beyond the reach of foreign aggression and domestic treason. He called upon the liberality of Parliament to consider this subject, and upon the equity of ministers to recollect the solemn pledges made to the Irish people at the time of that union which deprived Ireland of its Parliament. He demanded of them the execution of those promises, if they wished that the professions of the British Cabinet should have any confidence or credit in Ireland. For himself he would confess, that when that measure was carried he did not reckon much on the splendid prospects which he understood were held out by the emissaries of the British Cabinet to delude the supporters of that measure, and he from that and still stronger reasons opposed it, but as it had actually taken place it was his wish that this important incorporation should be the parent of settlement, and not the nurse of revolution. He begged it to be understood that it was not his intention to charge any set of men with a designed breach of promise, but he sincerely regretted that his countrymen were deceived, that ministers were so inattentive to their wants and wishes, and that a degree of supineness and delay prevailed with regard to that country which he did not witness even in the most insignificant English object. This was a conduct which any Irishman must observe with pain, as tending to produce the most dreadful calamity to Ireland, and threatening to involve the downfal of the empire. Here the hon. member entered into a comparison between the systems in which the government of the two countries was managed, and contended that they were essentially different—the people of England enjoying the privileges of the constitution and the advantages and profits of industry, to both of which the people of Ireland were almost entire strangers; for the revolution of 1688, which gave liberty to the former, cramped the industry of the latter, and laid the foundation of the discords which had since desolated that unhappy country. The one system, in fact, was as different from the other as perfection was from imperfection. In England the House might be contented with the beaten track, with moving in the ordinary way, but in Ireland they must begin anew in order to do any effectual good. He admitted that, under the benefecent

reign of his present Majesty, that the greater part of the penalties which disgraced the statute book, as applying to the difference of religious sentiments, had been expunged, but something still remained to be done. So long as any part of this vicious system was suffered to exist, he was fully persuaded that it would be idle to calculate on the peace of Ireland, or to look for harmony or happiness among the people; so long as this anomaly in the history in government prevailed, that the minority of the people should be authorised to lord it over the majority, and that this superiority of power should be vested in persons of the lowest class over those of a much higher, merely on this ground, that this majority had too much honesty to act against their conviction, that they would not basely profess sentiments of religion which they did not feel. Until the affairs of Ireland should be put in some train of settlement, he would oppose the idea of an hon. general, that the members could depart to their respective homes, satisfied of having done every thing that was necessary for the safety of the empire. If any doubt was entertained of the melancholy situation of Ireland, or that the picture was exaggerated, let a deputation be appointed by the House to go over to that country, to investigate the state of the poor, and to report their opinion to Parliament after the recess. If such a course were adopted, he was confident, from what he observed of the liberality of the House, that relief would be granted to his poor countrymen. The office of deputy on such occasion would be one of the highest honours, and one which no doubt any man of humanity would be happy to undertake. Certain he was, that even in the most disturbed times, should the arrival of such ambassadors be announced in Ireland, the most profligate or desperate in the country would not offend them. This was one of the means to which ministers ought to resort, to put Parliament in possession of the most authentic information respecting a country in which, by justice solely, it was in the power of ministers to recover the minds of the disaffected, and to substitute the most zealous loyalty for hostility and desperation. The residence of the landowners in Ireland, ought by some means to be enforced, at least some branch of each family. There were also other means, into the detail of which he, for the present, declined to go—because it was unnecessary to trespass on the attention of the House in a description of that which was already very well known, particularly to his Majesty's ministers, who might depend upon it, that unless a very liberal plan was adopted for the government of Ireland, that country would be mangled by the most fatal division, to which the empire itself might ultimately become a prey. If the just expectations of the people of Ireland should be satisfied, and they should be cordially attached to the British government, there was very little doubt that we should be qualified to despise the menaces of that insatiable despot, by whose machinations alone the horrible atrocity lately committed in Dublin was to be attributed; that to which no Irishman could advert without horror and indignation; but it proceeded from him who cared not about the means he chose to accomplish his ends—from him who promised but to deceive—who sought for conquest only from a desire to promote his military fame and to propagate slavery. That any part of his countrymen could be so deluded as to trust to the professions of such a tyrant, or count upon any good to their country through his interference, was to him a source of the most sincere regret, but of this delusion he trusted that the benevolent interposition of this House would cure them; that interposition which humanity and policy should urge them to make, in order to protect from bloodshed a body of men who had the strongest claims to their kindness—who were their fellow subjects for now above 600 years—who had fought their battles—who had contributed to establish their strength and consequence, and who were still capable of assisting in the defence of that strength and consequence, if they were only treated with equity, if the natural resources of the country were properly nurtured. These advantages, which it possessed from nature, were generally known, and the character of its inhabitants was esteemed wherever it was known; for, of whatever enormities some of its infatuated people might have been guilty in times of civil commotion—enormities which were equalled, if not exceeded under similar circumstances in other countries, and very recently in this, when the passions had not so much cause to be inflamed, yet the reputation of Irishmen for humanity, fortitude, high honour, and the most extensive talents, cannot be questioned, nor excelled in any nation under the Heavens, not even in those which boast the greatest wealth and power, and which are the most selfishly conceited. It could not be pretended by ministers that they did not possess the power of granting a com-

plete redress of grievances to Ireland; for that monstrous authority was adequate to any thing which was capable in such a way to deprive Ireland of its legislature, which could do that which Lord Auckland once said would be as difficult as to make the Thames flow up Highgate-hill. It might be said that ministers had in contemplation to bring forward a better system for Ireland, but that it was not yet prepared. The case, however, did not admit of delay; and here he took occasion to condemn the procrastination which had so long distinguished ministers on this subject. From the time that the late minister had accomplished the union, nothing in fact had been done to render that measure complete, or to follow up its spirits. To him, as an English minister, it certainly was a great object to attain, whatever Irishmen might think of it; but that minister must have been a wretched politician if he thought an Act of Parliament quite enough for the purpose, while the people were discontented. If he really did not mean to propose some conciliatory measures, he must have been either a blockhead or a knave: but it was understood that he did. The present minister, however, superceded him, and has since shewn no disposition to do any such thing. His appearance in office was held to be a bad omen for the people of Ireland, and his neglect to attend to them has been productive of incalculable mischief. The hon. member proceeded to describe the happy consequences which would result from the appointment of the Prince of Wales to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. If his Majesty would give this farther proof of his parental attachment to his Irish subjects, and that his R. Highness would condescend to accept of it, he had no doubt that his character, which was in still higher estimation than his high rank, would excite a degree of unparalleled enthusiasm throughout all Ireland. The people would justly say, "We have heard of Princes visiting our island, but they have visited us as conquerors and pillagers; but your R. Highness comes to us with the olive of peace." The disposition of this illustrious personage, and his known attachment to the Irish people, would naturally enough produce such a sentiment—but, there was little hope that they would have the honour and happiness of his R. Highness's presence. The same evil fiend who prevented his R. Highness from being called into employment when the empire is pronounced in danger, would, no doubt, interfere his baneful influence, to preclude Ireland from enjoying this felicity. It appeared to him that any adviser, who could have recommended the rejection of his R. Highness's late offer of service, must be a foe to the monarchy of England—for what could tend to strengthen that monarchy more than the popularity of the Heir Apparent—a popularity at present universal and ardent, but very likely to be reduced, when it is observed that in this crisis of public danger, he does not appear among his armed countrymen; for it might never be generally known to the mass of the people, that his Royal Highness had offered to stand forward, and that his offer had been declined. If any commotion should take place in Ireland during the recess, which was not improbable, the hon. member recommended government to meet it with vigour, but exhorted them, at the same time, to send positive orders that no cruelty should be practised, that vigour should be blended with humanity; that such measures as the loyalists resorted to during the rebellion of 1798, and which too many of them are disposed to employ at present, shall not be allowed, for he assured ministers that they would only tend to create thousands of rebels, and would drive many to desperation who are at present tranquil. His advice, therefore, upon this point, he hoped would be followed by ministers, from that humanity which formed the most prominent trait in the character of the right hon. gent. He expected that he would not tolerate any wanton severity, the apprehension of which was now such in Ireland, that he knew of many families who were anxious to quit the country, in order to release themselves from seeing or suffering such dreadful scenes as were too frequent during the former rebellion; but to hope they would never again occur, that the outrages of the rebel and the loyalist would be repressed, and that we should hear no more of house-burning—of pillages, or of tortures! (*A cry of hear! hear!*) He understood that there were some gentlemen in the House who doubted that such tortures had ever taken place, and that there were some who had the confidence to deny it altogether; but he would refer such persons to the authority of Lord Cornwallis, who humanely and wisely put a stop to that horrid practice, and to the noble lord on the treasury bench (Castlereagh), who knew enough of the proceedings in Ireland, and who had much to answer for his conduct in that country. But if farther authority were wanting, he would refer to one of the last acts of the last Parliament of Ireland, and one which affixed to their character a most memorable badge of disgrace. The

act to which he alluded was the indemnity bill, which extended protection to the Sheriff of Tipperary, and other magistrates—a bill which cheated men of the verdicts for damages obtained in a court of justice; a bill which imposed upon the plaintiffs in actions the necessity of proving that the magistrates, against whom such actions were brought, were not actuated in the conduct charged against them by a wish to put down rebellion. Such was the nature of an act which afforded ample evidence of the system pursued in Ireland—a system which he trusted would never be repeated.—He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House such information as has been received respecting the late rebellious outrages in Ireland, and the present state of that part of the united kingdom."

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he did not intend to ask the attention of the House for any great length of time, nor was it necessary, for indeed the speech of the hon. gent. as the ground for his motion, had precluded the necessity, and had almost put it out of the power of the House to enter into the question in the way he had proposed, that was to say, connecting the motion with the substance of the speech. Now considering the state of our affairs abroad, and the great measures now necessarily adopted at home; and considering that the greater number of members were gone to the different places which most immediately required their presence, to give effect to the very measures which they as legislators had assisted in enacting and which the wisdom of Parliament had adopted; considering all these matters, he could not help saying, this motion was highly inexpedient to be adopted by the House; indeed he had no difficulty in saying, that any motion not proposed to be followed up by any practical measure, with a view to some beneficial effect, must at all times be liable to great objection in that House, because it was taking up the time of the House unavailingly, and bringing upon the country sometimes very great inconveniences, by agitating the minds of the people upon topics which, if discussed at all, should be discussed fully and directly, and not in a collateral way. This was a general objection to all motions of this nature, meaning always to confine it to such motions, and not to say any thing to preclude any inquiry in the House when a fair ground was laid for it, and when it was proposed to be followed up by some practical and beneficial measure. Having made this general observation, and begging to add, that this motion came after all the ordinary business of the House was over for the session, or at the close of the session, as it might be called, and for that reason also he might be permitted to say, the motion would be sufficiently objectionable to the House to reject it, unless it was proposed to be followed up by some practical measure of a beneficial tendency. Such was the case most remarkably, for not only was this motion brought forward at the conclusion of the session, but the House did not know the course which the hon. gent. intended to pursue in the event of the House adopting his motion, and that too when the attendance of members was such as that the House could have but few in it; gentlemen being now necessarily in the country; so that if the motion was adopted, and the hon. gent. pursued the subject, it could not, for the present at least, meet with that investigation which the subject would necessarily demand, and which the hon. gent. assuredly would wish, in order to carry into effect what he intended. As to information, he saw no pretence for asking for it at the present moment, and in the present manner. He wished not to be misunderstood; he had no idea of resisting any application for information to that House, when a proper ground was laid for it, either with regard to Ireland, the conduct of the executive government there or here, or upon any other subject; but then the information must be asked for on a ground that it was to be followed up by some practical proceeding for the benefit of Ireland, or any other part of the united empire, which it could not be in the present state of the session. Having said this on general topics, as applied to the present case, he would say but little on the particulars to which the hon. gent. had called the attention of the House. He did not affect to have any great knowledge of the affairs of Ireland, as to what was its present, or might be its future condition; he might know it as any other person might know it, by history and by general observation, and by taking a great deal of interest in that part of the united empire, and from some documents which he might have, which were open to the eye of any individual; but he protested that as to Ireland he saw nothing in this motion which tended to be of any advantage whatever. The possible effect of agreeing to it was that of unhinging the minds of the people at a time when it was most essential they should be undisturbed by political disquisitions. Indeed, he had no difficulty in saying, that motions upon the foundation of alleged grievances should never be assented

to, unless those who state the grievances are provided with some remedy for them, such a remedy as may at least seem to be expedient to be adopted. He regarded this as a general maxim, that when any person complained of an evil, he should produce the remedy he proposed to apply to it; so that the House may have an opportunity of deciding upon the evil and the proposed remedy together. This he had no difficulty in laying down as a general doctrine, applicable to all species of complaints made for the mismanagement of political affairs; but if circumstances ever made a motion particularly unfit, they had that effect at the present moment; in supporting which assertion he need only revert to the present situation of our affairs abroad and at home, and those things which we had lately witnessed with regard to Ireland; for without entering into the question, whether Ireland has been more or less well or ill governed lately, or how it was governed, or what may have been the causes which have produced certain effects, or what the remedies may be, he did not believe that the motion now before the House would have any good effect, for he did not believe that those which were stated to be the cause of the evils of Ireland had any connexion with them, nor did he believe that some of the remedies which had been mentioned would have the effect of remedying these evils. Be that as it might, the question now with every man in Great-Britain, and indeed every part of this united empire, was this—What is best to be done at this moment, to oppose the foreign foe, and to put an end to the machinations of domestic enemies and traitors? and the result of deliberating on that question ought to be, and must be, to exercise, firmly and steadily, all the power and energy of the empire, not by looking back and asking ingenious men to see whether they could not find something that might possibly have been better if transacted over again; he was confident such a course of proceeding could produce no good whatever, but might be the cause of great evil. He was of opinion that the energy of the united empire should be called forth at this period; that the whole of its strength should be exerted to support the constitution of the country in church and state, as by law established, and against the enemies of the empire, foreign and domestic, at the present crisis; and he would ask the House, whether, under all the circumstances by which we were surrounded, this motion was likely in the least degree, to produce that effect? On the contrary, he thought it pregnant with evil.

Mr. *Elliot* said, that he could not more strongly mark the degree, in which he differed from the judgment that the noble Secretary of State had pronounced on the propriety of the present motion, than by declaring that if no person of greater weight and authority than himself had done it, he should have felt it his duty to have brought this subject in some shape or other, under the contemplation of the House previous to the close of the session. It was, indeed, a matter of considerable astonishment to him, that the motion had not been anticipated by the act of his Majesty's ministers themselves, who appeared to him to have exposed themselves to severe animadversion for having permitted such an interval to have elapsed without some farther communication to Parliament in respect to the late transactions in Ireland—transactions, which, he presumed, must have excited in the minds of every one, which certainly, at least, had created in his, very painful and anxious impressions. Nothing, to be sure, could be of less importance to the House, than why he either attended, or was absent from his parliamentary duty, but it had occured to him that he might, in the course of this discussion, be asked, why, if he attached so much importance to the affairs of Ireland, he was not in his place on the day of his Majesty's message, relative to the late proceedings in Dublin. Now it had happened that he was in the country at that time, and he there, through the kindness of a private friend, was first apprized of the melancholy fate of the venerable magistrate, who had been the victim of those bloody and ferocious outrages, an event which must have struck every heart with horror; but which was still more deeply affecting to him, who had a personal and intimate knowledge of the eminent public and private worth of that most estimable character. He, however, was not then informed of the particular circumstances that had attended that savage deed; which, he acknowledged, he at first conceived had been perpetrated in some sudden and partial affray in Dublin; and until he read the debate on the King's message in the newspapers, he was not aware that transactions had happened of so serious and alarming a nature, as to be the subject of a communication to Parliament, and of very important legislative proceedings. Had he been in his place on that occasion, he should indubitably have concurred in the measures which were adopted by the House, because he thought the emergency was of a nature which required promptitude and decision. At the same time he should have felt that he voted partly on a

compulsory and temporary confidence in the declarations of ministers, and partly on the intelligence contained in private letters from Ireland which he understood had then been received and shewn by several persons in London, for he did entirely coincide with the sentiment expressed by his right honourable friend near him (Mr. Windham) that there never was so grave a parliamentary proceeding taken on such a paucity of parliamentary information. The only parliamentary document that had accompanied his Majesty's Message was the lord lieutenant's proclamation, which stated that Lord Kilwarden and his nephew had been murdered, and that there had been rebellious outrages in some of the streets of Dublin, but it did not mention that some of the King's troops had been fired upon, or that concealed ammunition and treasonable proclamations had been discovered, nor did it specify any circumstance, which indicated a rebellious confederacy of so wide and extensive a nature, as could justify so violent an encroachment on the constitution as the Martial Law Bill. It would very probably be alleged that the Martial Law Bill had on former occasions been passed without any such detailed communication. He had, indeed, to the best of his recollection, voted more than once for that measure without any such specified communication; but he begged the House to observe, that it was for the *continuance* of that law he had so voted; for when it was *originally* proposed there were on the table of the Irish Parliament two reports of secret committees containing information sufficient to justify that, and perhaps even stronger measures, and it was also notorious that there had been a rebellion from one end of the island to the other. But the present case was perfectly different, a long interval had elapsed since the expiration of the last Martial Law Bill, and Parliament was now called upon to adopt the measure under new circumstances. The measure had completely a fresh origin, and he therefore maintained, that the house ought to have a full detail of the facts, under which it had been proposed to it to resort to so momentous a proceeding. If his Majesty's ministers were not enabled, as they ought to have been, to have made such a communication on the delivery of the late message, they must surely by this time be prepared with that information, which it was necessary the House should possess for its own justification. There were, however, other reasons which induced him to deprecate the separation of Parliament without a due knowledge of the present state of Ireland: one was the inauspicious ignorance which his Majesty's ministers had manifested in respect to the affairs of that country. Either they had information on the subject, or they had not. In charity to them he was willing to suppose the latter, because if they had been acquainted with the actual situation of Ireland, they had exposed themselves by their conduct to an imputation, which he could not presume to attribute to any men, that of having countenanced a systematic delusion on the judgement of Parliament with regard to it; for within those walls they had been of late accustomed to hear the most flattering statements of the profound tranquillity of that part of the united kingdom. He was afraid too there had been some very reprehensible remissness on the part of the executive government of Ireland. He had heard from authority, on which he thought he could rely, that intelligence had, for several weeks before the late outrages in Dublin, been offered to the Irish government, stating indications of the existence of a treasonable confederacy in the country; but that such communications had been treated with much coldness and indifference. This surely was very censurable conduct, for though he admitted that information in a country, so distracted by jealousies, was always to be taken with much caution, yet no prejudice could be incurred by a free reception of it, and even considering the state of Ireland for some years past by the adoption of proper preventive measures against any danger that might be pointed out. He understood too, that in the debate upon the message from the Crown, some of his Majesty's ministers had asserted that the government of Ireland had not been without previous information of the late insurrection. This strongly corroborated some facts which had been related to him, and which, as he believed them to have been accurately reported to him, he should mention to the House. About a week before the rising in Dublin, a man had been taken into an hospital, severely wounded by the explosion of gunpowder, and through his means a secret powder-mill had been discovered. Within a few nights afterwards, some watchmen in a street in Dublin, observed a barrel conveyed to the door of a certain house which was opened to receive it; but which, on the approach of the watchmen, was immediately shut, and some persons rushing on the watchmen from another part of the street, rescued the barrel from them, and in the course of the scuffle there dropped from it some ball-cartridges. These circumstances were in themselves such as ought to have excited great watchfulness on the part of the government.

Still more positive and alarming intelligence, however, had been sent to the Castle; government had been assured, on the very day preceding that of the insurrection, by some most respectable gentlemen of the county of Kildare, that the peasants in that part of the country had left their work, which was a never failing symptom of approaching commotion, and it was represented that an unusual number of persons, in small parties, had been observed on the roads to Dublin. Notwithstanding all this information, no other precaution had been taken than that of doubling the guards of the town, a measure (and he had been in a situation which enabled him to speak with precision on that point) which was frequently, and, almost of course, adopted under the expectation of an ordinary riot; but which was wholly inadequate in the instance of such a danger as that, against which the government had then to provide. In fact (though he knew there had been indignant assertions to the contrary from some of his Majesty's ministers) the Irish government had been, in spite of the various and multiplied intimations they had received, completely surprised. The garrison had been so little prepared, that the troops from the barracks did not reach the part of the town in which the rising happened, until some hours after the commencement of the tumult, and the insurrection was suppressed entirely by the exertions of a volunteer corps, called the Liberty Rangers, and a very small detachment of the 21st regiment which happened to be in the quarter of the city where the commotion began. He must add too, that he had heard, the volunteers were very scantily supplied with ammunition. But if government had been properly watchful, why had the troops in the barracks not been kept in readiness?—Why was Colonel Brown so unapprized of his danger as to be assassinated as he was going from his lodgings to the barracks?—Why had not a sufficient guard been stationed in the vicinity of Thomas-street, in which case the insurrection would have been immediately quelled, and Lord Kilwarden's life preserved?—If his Majesty's ministers could prove that the executive government in Ireland had been duly on its guard, let them give the House full information; let them, for exemple, lay on the table the first dispatches from Ireland communicating the transaction, that gentlemen might judge whether or not they bore the appearance of having been written under the impression of surprise. Unless strong proofs were adduced to the contrary, he confessed he should believe that the government was completely surprised. He had received letters from Dublin himself, and had seen several others which many of his acquaintance had received from persons, who were likely to have formed a very fair and impartial judgement on the transaction, and who stated it to have been so much a surprise, that if the insurgents had not been intoxicated, and had deferred the execution of their plan until a later hour of the night, it was probable that they would have gained, at least, a temporary possession of a part of the town, and of the persons of the government. Under these circumstances, he maintained, it would not be decent in the House to suffer the session to terminate without calling for information on so important and interesting a subject. He entreated gentlemen to bring the case a little nearer to themselves, and to suppose, for a moment, that the King's ministers in England had received intelligence of a conspiracy for the seizing of London, that secret powder-mills and prepared ammunition had been detected—the labourers of the counties of Kent and Surrey had been observed suddenly to quit their work, and to proceed in small parties towards the metropolis. He believed that, if after such a succession of intimations, the plot, instead of being anticipated, as in the instance of Col. Despard's foul treason, which had been frustrated by the vigilance and activity of the noble person (Lord Pelham) at the head of the home department, was permitted to burst in a surprize upon the town, Parliament when its first emotions of dismay and resentment at such disastrous supineness should have subsided, would be desirous of some detailed communication in respect to the transaction. If it would be the bounden duty of Parliament to require information in the case of London, was it less its duty to demand it in the case of Dublin? If Parliament suffered itself to go to a vacation in perfect ignorance on a subject so deeply affecting—the interest of Ireland, would Ireland, *could* Ireland think that she was justly treated?—Could, in truth, any member of the United Parliament feel, under such circumstances, that he had faithfully and conscientiously discharged the trust reposed in him? He was anxious that the House should have information in respect, not only to the late transactions in Ireland, but to the general state of that country, for experience had proved that no reliance was to be placed on the views which his Majesty's ministers seemed to entertain, of the situation of the affairs committed to their management. It could not be forgot that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the month of February brought down a message from the crown, proposing an in-

crease of the establishment of the Prince of Wales, he urged the period of peace as a conjuncture peculiarly proper for the introduction of that measure, and by his statement conveyed an impression to Parliament, to the public, and certainly to the Stock Exchange, that there was at that time no immediate prospect of any interruption of the public tranquillity. Yet a fortnight afterwards the right hon. gent. came down with another message, communicating to the House, that discussions of great importance were subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, and that very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, in consequence of which the militia was called out, and the country declared to be in imminent danger of invasion. A few weeks had only elapsed since the most captivating representation of the profound tranquillity of Ireland had been made by several gentlemen, and particularly by one honourable gent. (Mr. Archdall) who had lately described himself as a sort of monopolist of the independence of that House, but scarcely had the breath which uttered these statements, and the cheerings from the Treasury Bench which accompanied them, passed away, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted Parliament, by his Majesty's command, that a rebellious conspiracy had broken out in the metropolis of the country, which had so recently been asserted to have been in the enjoyment of perfect prosperity and harmony, and Parliament was called on to suspend the habeas corpus act and to pass a martial law bill. These were things, he said, which in former times would have been enough to have deprived an administration of the public confidence. They would have disgraced and blasted at least as far as its capacity was concerned, the reputation of a government: they would have excited an universal indignation against ministers, who should have thus aggravated the peril of their country by such a false estimate of its danger. When he first heard these flattering reports of the state of Ireland, he confessed he received them with distrust. Alterations in the temper and habits of a people were not the operation of enchantment, and therefore when he was told of so vast and sudden a change, he could not help looking for some cause proportionate to such an effect.—Now he knew of no important measures which had been adopted, in respect to Ireland, since the union, likely to have produced so fortunate and rapid an improvement. The peace he had always considered as a source of additional danger. It facilitated the intercourse between France and Ireland, and he had from the first been apprehensive that the disaffected, by being furnished through its means with more plausible pretexts, would carry on their machinations with more secrecy and consequently more security. But when he had learnt by the official correspondence on the table, that the French government had so early as the month of November been detected in the design of sending military spies to Ireland under commercial pretences (which was very justly described in his Majesty's declaration to have been decisive indication of the dispositions and intentions of that government) he had imagined that Ireland would have become the object of the perpetual vigilance of ministers, that their eyes would have been fixed upon it, that they would have watched it at every turn. He felt utterly at a loss to account for the torpor they had manifested. They really seemed to have been under the influence of some baleful spell, which had benumbed their faculties, and rendered them callous to all the warnings they had received. He said he should abstain from adverting to the topics upon which the hon. gent. who had introduced this discussion, had touched, because he could not enter upon them without taking up more of the time of the House than he upon the present occasion deemed himself at liberty to occupy. He repeated that he thought the House ought to have the information, which it was the object of the motion to procure, first, to justify itself for the measures it had lately passed; secondly, because there appeared to have been such supineness on the part both of the English and Irish government as demanded investigation; and thirdly, because it was the duty of Parliament to possess itself of a competent knowledge of the actual state of Ireland. And he concluded by earnestly exhorting the House to reflect, on the very disparaging and indecorous relation in which it would place itself to that part of the United Kingdom, if it should acquiesce in its present ignorance of Irish affairs.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he should submit to the House a very few words on the subject now before it. The speech of the hon. gent. who brought this matter forward was of a general nature, and embraced topics much too large for the present mode of discussing, for each of them would demand a separate discussion before justice could be done it; so that he should have little indeed to say if his hon. friend (Mr. Elliot) had not brought forward some topics of which it was his duty to take some notice. He thought the view his hon. friend took of this matter, divided itself into two points;

—one, that the executive government were bound to give more information on the affairs of Ireland than they had given relative to the late melancholy occasion. Where his hon. friend formed the principle or statesman-like motive for giving that information, he was at a loss to know; as little was the application for this information founded on precedent in the practice of the executive government of Ireland; and he did not think that the precedents to be found in the practice of the executive government were wholly unworthy of notice upon this occasion. He spoke of the executive governments of Lord Camden and Lord Cornwallis; no government of which he had ever known the history was placed in a situation more difficult and critical, and extricated itself out of its difficulties so well as those of the two noble lords whose names he had just mentioned, but certainly neither of these two governments furnished a precedent to support the motion now before the House. It was indeed true, that after the rebellion, when all treason was put down, when individuals were brought to justice, government came to Parliament with all the information they possessed, but not until all the individuals accused of being concerned in the rebellion had been brought to justice; this was after the danger was over, not like the present, where the danger was pending; and therefore, how a man of reasoning powers, and enlightened mind, could expect this motion to be agreed to, by which a full view was to be given of all that government knew with respect to danger, he was at a loss, since all reasoning was against it, and no precedent for it. There was manifestly in this motion great danger, if the House comply with it, for if government brought forward the information now called for, the statement would present to the House a partial account, upon which they would not endeavour to judge, because they could not judge fairly; it was therefore impossible that this information should be produced without either not being relied upon at all, or if relied upon, would conduce to an unfair decision. The House would therefore not require, because it would not determine, upon information that was imperfect, and he trusted he had now satisfied his hon. friend himself, that this inquiry was improper at the present moment. As to what was formerly done, his hon. friend had no ground for this motion by way of reference to former proceedings. On the former occasion the House had acted on his motion for the renewal of martial law in Ireland; the ground on which he urged that subject was, the pressing or immediate danger that was felt at that time, but he rested it on the foundation of a precautionary system. There was no argument at that time on the subject of the production of all information in the hands of government; the argument then was an argument upon the inconvenience of delay, and Parliament thought they best discharged their duty by granting that power to government for a short period, and leaving the matter to be afterwards reconsidered by Parliament when the time should expire. The proclamation in Ireland declared that treason had appeared in the open streets of Dublin, and if Parliament believed the fact, this was a foundation for their proceeding to provide for the safety of that country by declaring martial law; for certainly, in many cases, Parliament had acted on the notoriety of an evil, without any formal or specific communication from the executive government; and therefore, he trusted, his hon. friend would no longer persist in censuring government for bringing forward the measure of martial law, without laying more information before Parliament upon this occasion. Another part of the charge that day was, the criminality of the Irish government for not counteracting the measures of the rebels. Upon this his lordship said, he begged to be understood as not designing to impute to any one any improper views, yet he thought it was due to decorum, that, however willing the executive government might be to discuss all matters relative to their conduct, yet it was due to decorum, not to take it up collaterally or accidentally, but that question of their conduct should be made one large general question, capable of embracing the whole of that conduct. Now his hon. friend had accused the government of Ireland for not taking measures of precaution; he differed from his hon. friend upon that subject. The amount of the daily guard in Dublin was very great. As to the garrison not being ready to turn out immediately in the streets of Dublin—nothing appeared to make that a reasonable expectation in itself at the time: a body collected in that part of the town which was the scene of outrage, and in which unfortunately fell a venerable character, whose loss was much to be deplored, but it was a thing that might have happened to any other person who had become conspicuous for his virtue, and the object of hatred to the assassins; but if this event of the murder of this elevated person in the open street had not happened, the insurrection would not have been considered in the serious light in which it was considered in consequence of that event. It was a rebellion to be sure, for the men were in

arms committing a rebellious act; but they were soon dispersed; and there was no proof whatever that Dublin was not sufficiently guarded; and he would observe, that if the hon. gent. made this a charge against his majesty's government in Ireland, he would only observe that this was not the proper course to be taken for that purpose; but certainly there was nothing in the nature of the rebellion in Thomas Street that demanded more force than the government brought aganst the rebels. There was no proof that the arrangements made by government on that occasion were not adequate for the purpose of protecting the city. He had gone through the two points which had been stated against his Majesty's government in Ireland, namely, want of information from government to the House, under the present circumstances, and negligence, in not providing against the mischief. As to the general observations made by the hon. gent. he went into much too wide a field for him to follow on the present occasion, and therefore he should decline it for the present; but as to the censure which had been cast on the executive government or parliament of Ireland, he could not, consistently with the sense he had of his duty, sit silent. He considered that the Parliament of Ireland had shewn itself as jealous of public liberty as any body of men had ever been, under circumstances similar to theirs. He observed, that the clause which was inserted in an act of Parliament for the protection of the magistrates who had done their duty in suppressing the rebellion, was a very just and wise one. In some cases there had been excess of authority, and actions were brought by persons who had suffered by such excesses. Juries adopted in some cases a wrong rule of decision, which was, by calling on the defendant in such actions to shew the cause of his conduct, and find a verdict against him, if he could not do so to their satisfaction. This introduced a complication of hardships upon magistrates in many instances, from the very nature of the business in which they were engaged, from the death of witnesses, and a thousand other circumstances incident to a rebellion; and many magistrates who had acted with the purest love of their country, might have been ruined; Parliament therefore enacted, that instead of calling on the defendant in such actions, to shew that he acted *bonâ fide*, the court should call on the plaintiff to prove the *malus animus* of the defendant before a verdict should pass against him, and this his lordship maintained was an act of justice. The noble lord then proceeded to defend the government of Lord Camden and Lord Cornwallis in Ireland, which he praised highly, and observed that they had been so far from being rigorous, as some had imagined that they were remarkable for lenity; that the military power had never been employed, except in cases where the civil power had been tried in vain: that if there could be any defect imputed to them, it arose from too much disposition to lenity; but he was glad it had so happened, because in Ireland it was most essential that the current of public opinion should go with government, and that could not be the case unless rigorous measures were a good deal delayed; and, speaking in the abstract, rigorous measures had been delayed too long; but, considering all circumstances, it was wise. As to outrages, there had been many on both sides, but there never was a rebellion without them. He had no doubt that the hon. gent. who brought this subject forward was persuaded that the public interest demanded that these topics should be raked up, and all the evils of the late rebellion brought forth anew; but he differed from the hon. gent. on that subject. The distress of Ireland, which had been stated to have been general, was by no means the case: the statements of the distress of Ireland, as well as the disposition to rebellion, had been very much exaggerated: he would venture to affirm, no power in Europe had made more rapid strides in wealth and general happiness for the last fifteen years, than that part of the British empire had done. He was persuaded that its prosperity and its happiness were increasing still very rapidly, and that the treason which had lately been found there, and which had been so much lamented, arose from objects different from those which the hon. gent. recommended remedies for; most of the topics touched upon by the hon. gent. were of delicate discussion, on which, from the nature of things, it was unreasonable to expect uniformity of opinion; and, therefore, the last day of a session of Parliament was but ill adapted to their discussion, and that the more especially, when the hon. gent did not state, that, in his own mind, the proposition which should follow the discussion was made up; but even if he had, what practical means were there, at this instant, of carrying that proposition into effect. The hon. gent. felt himself justified in bringing this subject forward before the very few gentlemen who had the opportunity of hearing the discussion of it, or of listening to his statement. He had no doubt but the hon. gent. had satisfied his mind that he was performing a public duty by taking this course, but the noble lord said he thought it was calculated rather to distract the country to talk of grievances without proving what

they specifically are, where they are to be found, or what the remedies of them are; and that at a time when the vigour, the energy, the wealth, the honour of the empire are and ought to be embarked in the great contest in which we are engaged. Whatever questions may arise on the minute points which might be calculated to diffuse in time still greater wealth and happiness in Ireland, many of them disputable in theory, and on which a great diversity of opinion prevailed, and on which a disquisition would be long and tedious, because it must be minute; and, therefore, it should be suffered to sleep until one great previous question, namely, whether the British empire shall retain its wealth, its honour, and its happiness, or the whole shall be laid at the foot of a merciless foe? That was the question now for us to consider and to act upon, instead of dwelling on general points of supposed defects in our government, which was well calculated to oppose us to the enemy, and to preserve our glory.

Mr. *Windham* said, if the noble lord who had first spoken (Lord Hawkesbury) had objection to the proposed motion; that that was probably the last day of the session; that there was a thin attendance, and no time to deliberate upon the subject; so far as the objections applied, they were of considerable weight; but those objections applied much more to the speech of the hon. gent. (Mr. Hutchinson) than to the motion. That speech contained a variety of general topics, respecting which he must give a general opinion. The state of Ireland, improved as it had been of late years, wanted a great deal more to bring it to perfection. To use medical terms, that country was afflicted with a chronic complaint, attended with violent paroxysms; the former required the slow operation of a remedy, whilst the latter, when they occurred, required an immediate application: and out of the embarrasment which these circumstances occasioned, arose the difficulty of treating that country in a proper way. He thought, at the same time, that speeches like those of the hon. gent. (Mr. Hutchinson) tended to operate good, inasmuch as they shewed a disposition in the legislature to attend to those objects more immediately connected with the welfare of Ireland. The objections of the other noble lord (Lord Castlereagh) more immediately applied to the question. That noble lord had urged the general danger which would result from the information called for being laid before Parliament: the degree of danger to result depended upon government, as they might make such communication as they thought proper. No other information was asked for than should be considered compatible with the public interest and safety. With reference to this subject, as much had been said lately of parliamentary grounds, he would ask how much they knew of the affairs of Ireland upon parliamentary grounds? They knew, it was true, that the King's proclamation stated the existence of a rebellious insurrection, but what other information upon the subject was before Parliament when they suspended the habeas corpus act in Ireland, and enacted the martial law bill? If that insurrection was merely a sudden thing, why such strong measures? If it was permanent, why not information? Upon the discussion of the message relative to that subject, he was charged with calling out for delay; but what he proposed was either to defer the consideration of it till the next day, according to the established usage of Parliament, or to return an address, containing a general declaration of the sentiments of that House, and then to bring in the bill after a short interval. The noble lord had alluded to a message brought down to the Irish Parliament, May 22, 1798, but there was then this material difference, that it was stated that the insurrection then expected might break out that very night, and the whole of this transaction took place in the very city where the insurrection was expected to break out, and consequently where all were more competent to judge of the subject than we possibly could be in this country. Upon the message relative to sending the militia to Ireland some delay took place, in compliance with the usages of the House; and with respect to that subject, he recollected that an hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan) not only opposed delay, but opposed the measure when it was brought forward. He had stated that the Irish government were surprized, and that the capital was within an ace of being taken possession of; and the letter sent from Ireland to the government here actually left it in doubt what the issue of the contest would be. It had been triumphantly asked, upon what ground he stated this? and it had been denied that the government of Ireland were surprised, and said the capital was not in danger: if they could not agree upon this subject, the best way would be to bring in a special verdict, and state facts. Were there not powder-mills and other preparations? Were there not printed papers ready for distribution, and the country people coming in by preconcerted agreement? If all the circumstances were taken together, did they not prove the existence of a conspiracy of great

depth and breadth? The mere assassination of Lord Kilwarden might have been the sudden act of a few traitors; but combining all the circumstances together, no man could say that the government were not surprised, or that the capital was not in danger. It had been said that the guards were doubled, as a measure of precaution; but he was well informed on this subject, that that was not a measure of extraordinary precaution, but that it had been done, and was constantly done upon much more trifling occasions: besides, to say that a measure was equal to what was adopted upon such and such an occasion was nothing, the question was, was it enough? If the insurrection had broken out at midnight, instead of breaking out, as it fortunately did, three hours before, would any one say that the capital might not have been one continued scene of horror and massacre? Every one knew that the insurrection and the Castle were on one side, and the barracks on the other. If it had not been for the delay occasioned by the death of Lord Kilwarden, the next step would have been to the Castle, where he understood there was nothing like a sufficient guard. In one sense, the Irish government were not surprised, as they were continually receiving information upon the subject; but, as in this country, where the warning voice of the approaching danger was treated with disregard, and those who talked of that danger held out as alarmists, so in Ireland all information upon the subject of the intended insurrection was treated with disregard; and even a general, who gave some information, was treated in such a manner as to induce him to demand a court-martial upon his conduct, which, however, was not granted. The government of Ireland would not believe there was any danger whilst the mine was digging under their feet; they sat in the most serene tranquillity whilst the explosion was preparing, the consequences of which it was very fortunate were no worse. It had been said that he wished to make people feel their danger through the medium of their fears: he knew of no other way; they must take it as they chose, it might have a different effect upon a different people; but he believed the people of this country would fight most manfully against the danger which threatened them. The system, however, of hon. gentlemen, on the other side of the House, was quite the reverse; they said, do not tell them of their danger, for they will be frightened out of their wits, and at last they were obliged to confess the danger. Upon this subject they were much obliged to himself and those with whom he acted, for stating broadly and openly the danger to which we were exposed; it was like throwing school-boys into the water to make them swim. Ministers had decried him and his friends as a set of alarmists, and had then delayed the measures necessary for the defence of the country to so late a period, that it was to be feared they would come too late. The object of the motion was only to obtain information as to the state of Ireland. On the same principle that a council of war was wished for, so he thought a committee of that House might sit very usefully in the interval between the prorogation and their next meeting, for the purpose of considering what had been, and what was the state of Ireland. He was sure that such a committee, from the materials which might be afforded them, might make a report against the next meeting of Parliament, well worthy their attention. He therefore gave his support to the motion.

Sir *Robert Williams* said, he was now well convinced, that when the guards in Dublin were doubled, and the garrison under arms, that the government were not surprised. He had been seven years in Ireland, and had never, during that time, seen the guards doubled.

Colonel *Cole* said, that every Irish gentleman in the House must feel that the Irish government had been very remiss. He was sure that no man wished more than himself to support government at the present crisis, but the government of Ireland ought to have paid more attention to the information they received from the gentlemen of that country. As to the precaution of doubling the guards, it was wholly insufficient; and he knew it to be a fact, that when the yeomanry came to receive their arms there was no ammunition to give them: he thought that a government who sported with the lives of the loyal inhabitants of the country, deserved the censure of that House.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should almost have supposed that the right hon. gent. felt a little sore at the observations which had been made upon his conduct with respect to the message relative to Ireland. He might indeed suppose that the right hon. gent. was a little sore upon that subject, as scarcely a day passed that the right hon. gentleman did not make an attack upon government, and at the same time explain some former attack. The right hon. gent. was however aware that no practical purpose could ensue from agreeing to the present motion, and had then recommended a standing committee during a prorogation, a species of committee which it was well known could not sit without an act of Parliament, and for

which there was no precedent whatever. Before the bills were brought forward relative to Ireland, a statement was made out from his Majesty, which was a complete justification for the voting of those measures: a proclamation was laid on the table, stating the existence of a rebellious conspiracy against his Majesty's government; and he asked the House whether there was not a sufficient proof of the existence of a traitorous conspiracy? The House was then called upon to adopt measures for the safety of the loyal inhabitants of Ireland; the right hon. gent. who complained of being charged with attempting to create delay, then wished not only to postpone the measure, but to delay 24 hours even before they addressed his Majesty in answer to the message. The scruples urged then by the right hon. gent. were extremely ill-timed, and likely to be productive of the worst consequences; dispatch at that period might be the safety of the country, and delay might be its destruction. He would ask whether the decision of Parliament, on that occasion, did not give confidence to the people of Ireland, and more particularly to the inhabitants of Dublin. With respect to the message which had been alluded to, which was delivered to the Irish Parliament on the 24th of May, 1798, they did not take 24 hours to consider of it, but voted that it should be forthwith taken into consideration. The right hon. gent. had said, that the government of Ireland and of this country were taken by surprize. No opinion had ever been stated, by his Majesty's government, that Ireland was in a state of safety, he only stated that there was no necessity to recur to those measures which had been before adopted. Ministers were not so weak as to suppose that the contagion which had infected so large a mass of the people of Ireland was entirely dissipated, but when they considered how much, in the course of the last two years, the state of Ireland had been ameliorated and improved, even beyond the most sanguine expectation, and that the people of that country had had the opportunity of observing that in another country a military despotism had supplanted all those visionary ideas of liberty and equality which had been cherished by so many in Ireland, they were justified in imagining that those persons would take a lesson from what they had observed, and he was convinced that many of them had taken a lesson, and a very useful lesson. The government of Ireland were not taken by surprise, as had been alleged, and the measure of doubling the guards was fully sufficient as a measure of precaution. The right hon. gent. had said, that no other orders were given till midnight:—this was not the fact; what the orders were, it was not material to state, but they could have been acted upon if the continuance of the insurrection had rendered it necessary. Information had certainly been received by the government of Ireland, respecting the intended insurrection, but they had also received intelligence of a different nature, and they were to judge of what credit or weight was to be given to the information which came to their hands. The right hon. gent. had alluded to Colonel Despard, and had called it an insulated conspiracy; but the proclamation of the rebels in Ireland proved that it was not so, as they alluded to an attempt made in this capital which had failed. The government of Ireland would have been charged with credulity, if they had stated they believed what they knew to be true. That government had been charged with dilatoriness, but they were to consider how they could best carry into effect the great object of making an example of traitors: it was the great duty of government to consider when they ought timely to interpose, and when measures of vigour and energy ought to be resorted to. If they had not acted as they did, the calamity would have been ten times more dreadful; they did not disregard measures of precaution, for they took all those that were necessary. The right hon. gent. thought that the details respecting the state of Ireland should be laid before the House; he did not recollect that that right hon. gent. formed a part of his Majesty's government, or that he brought forward any details respecting the state of Ireland, notwithstanding the strong measures then proposed; and although repeated motions were made for that purpose, that right hon. gent. then resisted all motions of inquiry respecting Ireland—but it was not merely respecting Ireland, but many other circumstances relative to which the right hon. gent., during the seven years he held a seat in his Majesty's councils, resisted all enquiry whatever; disastrous expeditions, on which there might be on the face of them misconduct, were equally denied to be enquired into. Was not all inquiry resisted with respect to the expedition to Quiberon, in which the feelings of the country were so much interested and so much hurt? He did not say by any means, that the right hon. gent. improperly resisted inquiry in those instances, but he only adduced the conduct of the right hon. gent. upon those occasions to prove that the right hon. gent. was not exactly the person who ought now to call for inquiry. The right hon. gent. had said, that the Irish government was inert, which he denied, and that the government of this country refused

to listen to the coercing voice of danger, but measures had been taken from the moment of signing the treaty of Amiens to place the country in a state of security, and since the message of the 8th of March, measures had been adopted for the defence of the country which were completely unexampled in its history. The right hon. gent. had said he had only told truth with respect to the danger of the country; but there were different modes of telling truth, and certainly that was not the best mode of telling the truth, to magnify the resources of the enemy, and to depreciate our own. With respect to the motion itself, it has been said that this would probably be the last day of the session for business, and yet they were called upon to give information, from which no possible good could arise: not only that, but from the production of which great danger must arise, as it was impossible to garble it in the manner stated by the right hon. gent. The hon. gent. (Mr. Hutchinson) had himself stated the object of his motion to be prospective, and it was evident that a standing Committee, like that alluded to, could not be established without an act of Parliament, from whence no beneficial effects could arise. If the House thought the government of Ireland capable of taking measures for the safety of that country, let that government take those measures which it thought most advisable; and it should always be recollected, that in cases of conspiracy, measures of haste were not advisable, as they prevented the guilty from being brought to that punishment which they deserved. Being convinced that the House were satisfied that the present motion ought not to be carried into effect, he should give it his decided negative.

Mr. *Windham* explained several points in his speech, in which he conceived that he had been misunderstood by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he particularly alluded to the expedition to Quiberon; and said, that so far from depreciating any inquiry upon that subject, it was one upon which he had always called upon gentlemen, and dared them to enter into the inquiry.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* begged leave to state one fact which he had omitted in his former speech; it had been stated that military spies from France, under the title of commercial agents, had been arrested in Ireland; this was not the case, because government had prevented those persons from going to the place of their destination.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he did not know of this motion before he came into the House, but having heard it, he was determined to give it his support. He by no means agreed with the noble Secretary of State, that the motion was objectionable, because it could have no practical and immediate effect, it appeared to him that such a motion, as the present, was perfectly proper; and he also contended, that the hon. gentleman who brought it forward was perfectly justified in his opening speech in going into those general observations for which he had been so much censured. The hon. gent. then proceeded to enter at considerable length into a defence of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) particularly for his conduct on the day when the message was delivered respecting Ireland. He then adverted to the assertion of Mr. Windham, that the government of Ireland had suffered itself to be surprised: this he contended was strictly true, and they were the more culpable, because they had not only received information from different quarters, but they had the evidence of facts to warn them of their approaching danger. He, however, did not object to the measures which had been adopted with regard to Ireland, he only complained that they had been adopted without sufficient information having been laid before Parliament. He repeated the charges which he had before advanced against his Majesty's ministers of procrastination in their measures for public security, and he instanced a circular letter which was sent last week from the Admiralty to the captains of the sea fencibles on the coast, desiring them to transmit to the Admiralty an account of the soundings and bearings of the coast within their command: this was certainly very proper, but was information of which the Admiralty ought to have been in possession long ago. He denied that he, or his right hon. friend, had ever endeavoured to depress the spirit of the people; they had not indeed flattered them, but they had told them their real situation. They had never doubted the energy of the people; they had complained that the ministers had not taken measures to make them acquainted with the danger with which they were threatened. The hon. gent. then made a variety of comments upon the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, which he censured very strongly, particularly with reference to the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, and to the negotiation which terminated in the rupture of that treaty. He and his hon. friend had not taken the usual and popular ground of attack against ministers, viz. that they were extending the prerogative of the Crown; they only complained of them for not having displayed sufficient energy. With regard to

the motion before the House, if the information called for in this motion could be granted with safety, he sincerely hoped it would not be refused.

The *Attorney General* said, it certainly was not his intention to follow the learned gent. through the whole of his multifarious speech, because it seemed as if it had been the intention of the learned gent. in his speech, at the conclusion of the session to sum up the whole of the debates which had occurred during the session. There were a variety of subjects upon which the hon. gent. had commented, which appeared to him to have not even the most remote connexion with the question before the House, and upon these points he was not tempted to follow him. Nothing certainly could be more true than that when a rebellion was suppressed, it was desirable that the laws should revert as soon as possible to their antient channel: this principle was felt so strongly by his Majesty's ministers, that they wished, even in time of rebellion, to keep the laws in their usual channel, except only in cases of actual rebellion, and consequently, in the martial law bill which had been passed, there was no stoppage of the regular course of justice, except in those particular cases. A considerable part of this discussion had turned upon the manner in which the late measures with regard to Ireland had been passed, and the right hon. gent. seemed to support the motion with the view to enable ministers to justify themselves for their conduct upon that occasion. He was not of opinion that the conduct of ministers, or of Parliament upon that occasion, required any justification.—With regard to the motion before the House, the only practicable means of carrying it into effect would be to address the King not to prorogue Parliament, a measure which he did not suppose any gentleman would recommend at a period like the present, when the presence of gentlemen was so necessary in the country. But it had been said that a committee might be appointed to sit during the prorogation, for the purpose of examining into the state of Ireland. He wished to know whether the right hon. gent. meant that an Act of Parliament should be passed to appoint such a committee? [Mr. Windham said he had not stated how it was to be appointed, he had only recommended that it should be done.] The only way in which he was aware that such a committee could be instituted was, by an Act of Parliament, and he would venture to say, that there was not a precedent for such a measure on the Journals of the House. There were besides great constitutional difficulties in the way of such a measure; because a committee so constituted would be independent of the power of the House, and of the prerogative of the Crown. The hon. gent. had recommended this, in order to shew the people of Ireland the vigilance with which their affairs were attended to. But it would shew a strange kind of vigilance to agree to a measure of this kind on the last day of a session, when it could not be attended with any practical good effect; but he admitted it was not only the period of the session which induced him to oppose the motion, because he should equally oppose it if brought forward on the first day of the session. Indeed he did not think that secret committees ought to be appointed unless when applied for by government. Nothing could be more obvious, than that in the case of treasonable conspiracies the executive government ought to be left to itself, because the greatest possible mischief might arise from the institution of premature inquiry, because it might tend to prevent the punishment of the guilty, and to cut up the sources of future information. He was far from attributing any such motive to the hon. gent. who brought forward the motion, but certainly its adoption might have that effect. That hon. gent. had talked much of conciliating the people of Ireland, but it should be recollected, that in attempting to conciliate part of the inhabitants of that country, they might run the risk of alienating others. There was in that country some as loyal, affectionate, and tried subjects as any in his Majesty's dominions; and it was necessary to take care, that in endeavouring to conciliate those whose affections we had not, we did not alienate those whose affections we had, whose loyalty was tried, and whose energy and bravery had, in a most critical moment, saved that country. He could, if it were necessary, enlarge very much upon this subject, which however he should not do; he only thought it right to throw out this consideration to those who were constantly talking of conciliation. Convinced therefore as he was that this motion could have no practical good effect if adopted at this moment, convinced that it was a motion which ought not at any time to be agreed to, he should give it his decided opposition.

Lord *Temple* observed, that words had been attributed by some right hon. gent. to his right hon. friend, which he had never expressed: he talked much of precedents, without recollecting that his right hon. friend threw out the idea of appointing a committee in the way of suggestion, and not advanced in argument; and he lamented that

the learned gent. should exhaust so much time in endeavouring to refute what was never seriously meant to be proposed. He deprecated the idea of our alienating the affections of those who at present were favourably inclined to us, in the attempt to conciliate those who may feel differently. The rebellion was by no means a catholic one; the cottagers and others, of both religions, were equally the victims: it could not therefore be justly styled a catholic rebellion. He should support the motion, because he thought it important to know whether government was in possession of information sufficient to enable them to act decisively sooner than they had done. Adverting to the occurrences which took place in Dublin, he observed, if government had previous information, or were aware of what was going forward, they ought to be brought to a severe account for it. Had they in such a case speedily come forward with vigour and decision, the life of Lord Kilwarden, and many others, might have been saved. He censured the precautions taken by the government of Ireland for the security of the capital as inadequate and insecure. Having served on garrison duty in this city, he had an opportunity of understanding that part of the subject. The motion was one which he thought ought to be adopted as a means of learning whether government had those means of information which those who acted with him contended they had, and on account of which they should have acted very differently.

Lord *Castlereagh* spoke in explanation of some points which fell from him, and adverted to the equal responsibility, in a general sense, of all the members of his Majesty's government.

Lord *Temple* said a few words in explanation; as did

The *Attorney-General*, who vindicated himself from the charge of having aspersed the Roman Catholics of Ireland, a great number of whom he believed in his conscience, to be as faithful and loyal subjects as any in that part of the united kingdom.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained, that the reason of his going into a statement of many of the leading measures of his Majesty's government was, the assertion made by an hon. gent. that a kindred system of remissness and delay existed on the part of both governments. With a view, therefore, to obviate any unfavourable impressions that such assertions may give rise to, he had entered into such detail.

Colonel *Craufurd* thought the language held by some gentlemen in the House that night, would almost induce him, for the sake of Ireland, to regret that the union had taken place. He was astonished that at a time when a rebellion had recently broken out, when many people in Ireland imagined a degree of remissness on that part of government existed, and when the capital was nearly surprised; when, under such circumstances, a motion like the present was made in the United Parliament, they should be told that no useful purpose could be answered by it, and that the United Parliament could do nothing in it. Very different, he believed, would be the conduct of an Irish Parliament in such circumstances. He thought the subject should be inquired into. When he heard of a want of precedent objected to the appointment of a committee, he would ask where was a precedent to be found for the present situation of the empire? Adverting to the conduct of the Irish government, he observed, that the discovery of the secret powder-mill, and the carrying about of ammunition in the night, were two strong facts to induce a supposition that a serious attack was intended. The measure of doubling the guards was a paltry and inadequate precaution: he should like to hear the alleged part explained, that when the yeomanry of Dublin, with that zeal and promptitude which always animated them, applied for ammunition, they were told they could not get it. To answer this charge would not require much time. He thought great practical advantages would arise from the acceding to the motion – one of which was, it would tend to strengthen the confidence of the loyal and well affected people of Ireland in the government. The discomfiture of the rebels in their first attempt, was chiefly owing to the fortunate circumstance of some of them getting drunk, and commencing their operations too soon. It should be known what state of preparation the garrison was in at the time: the inquiry should go to exculpate the Irish government; were it, as was then contended, irreprochable, and which would be another advantage; for his part, the conduct of those who opposed the motion, had rather given him unfavourable impressions. He wished to say a few words respecting the state of Ireland—Much had been said of such discussions tending to unhinge the minds of the people of this country. He believed, however, that what fell from a learned gentleman would tend to that, more than any thing which fell from gentlemen at his side of the House. The present was by no means a catholic war, regarding it in a religious light—but much discontent might certainly arise from the consideration that four-fifths of the inhabitants of that country are deprived of

many of the advantages their fellow-subjects enjoyed. If ever that question should be agitated in the United Parliament, in his present views of the subject, he should support it. At the same time he was free to say, it would be proper to shew them, that any attempts to redress themselves by force would meet with punishment, and he hoped that Parliament would unanimously strengthen the hands of government to punish attempts of that description.

Mr. Serjeant *Best* observed, that certain topics which had been introduced into the discussion were unadvisedly done so: it should be considered that the proceedings alluded to might be productive of injurious consequences on this side the water: their effects would not be confined to Ireland alone; the civil institutions of this country were liable to be affected: at any rate, the subject was of extreme delicacy, and should be handled with the utmost caution. Were it held out as unfit the catholics in Ireland should pay tithes, the same question may be agitated in this country, and the English catholics and dissenters might claim exemption on similar grounds: this would go to strike at the very root of the constitution of church and state. The agitation of such questions were highly improper, the more especially on the very last night of a session, when no opportunity could offer of giving the subject a full and adequate consideration. With respect to the original motion, though it had supporters, not one of them supported the honourable mover on his own grounds; they argued it in a manner very different from him; and it was a matter of surprise to him (Mr. B.) that though three weeks had elapsed since the insurrection took place, no mention was made of the present motion till last Friday. Why was such an interval suffered to escape? and why did they come forward on the last night of the session? He deprecated the introduction of the catholic question into the discussion, more especially as it appeared great numbers of that body were eager to manifest their determination to support the government of Ireland. He attributed the present unhappy disturbances in Ireland to the machinations of the common enemy: to proceedings of that kind, which, among the happiest communities, and best regulated governments, would find some supporters, who, on account of their poverty or waywardness of disposition, were prone to insurrection and revolt. The motion should have his decided negative.

Mr. *Alexander* delivered his sentiments at some length. He deprecated the introduction of such a subject at that particular period, when gentlemen could neither be qualified to judge of its merits, nor have time to give it a full and deliberate discussion. He adverted to the paucity of the Irish members then present; when they returned from that country next session, with the advantages of personal information and inquiry, then would be the proper time for discussing the subject. He had the highest respect for the motives of his hon. friend, but he must deprecate the agitation of the subject at present. He spoke favourably of the political sentiments of the great majority of catholic proprietors; they were friendly to the British government and connexion: but among the lower classes appeared a rooted determination, to attempt at least to acquire the estates, which the course of events had wrested from those they called their ancestors. This he considered as one great cause of the continued ferment which prevailed in Ireland; but among the proprietors, even 99 out of 100 were radically attached to Great-Britain. After dwelling upon these points for some time, and adverting to the present state of parties in Ireland, he concluded by expressing his hearty negative to the motion.

Mr. *Hutchinson* spoke at considerable length in reply, and first, he wished to set those hon. gentlemen right, who had certainly very much mistaken him with respect to what he said on the measure of indemnity; it was by no means his wish to throw an indiscriminate censure upon the parties: no man was more deeply impressed with the conviction of the zeal and loyalty of great numbers of them; but he would still persist in contending, there were many acts of enormity committed under the colour of law, and that the bill brought in, operated as a screen to the offenders. With respect to his motion, it had a double tendency, the first was, to procure such information as government were in possession of respecting the late acts of rebellion: the second, such general information as had been received as to the actual state of Ireland. He was free to confess it was no part of his idea to induce unnecessary or improper disclosures, on the one hand, or, on the other, to throw a slur upon the government of Ireland. On the contrary, he thought the noble lord at the head of the government of that country had acted in a proper manner, and had ministers on this side of the water conducted themselves as properly, the present discussion would be unnecessary. He had, in the first instance, prepared an address to his Majesty on the general subject of the affairs of Ireland; but, afterwards, learning that it was

informal, he declined moving it, and shaped his proposition in the way which it was now before the House. The address he originally meant to propose went strongly to express the sense of the House, as to the present situation of Ireland, to implore his Majesty to take the same into his serious consideration, and to direct such measures to be adopted, as in his wisdom may seem best calculated to tranquillize that part of his dominions, and to strengthen its connexion with Great-Britain. The great object he had in coming forward, was to draw the attention of ministers and that House to the state of Ireland. It had been alleged against him, that he proposed his motion without sufficient notice, and that he neglected to come forward until the last day but one of the session: this consideration, however, did not lie with him, he insisted he had given timely notice of his intention; so long as a fortnight since, even the very day after the acts passed. He had said, if ministers did not speedily turn their serious attention to the affairs of Ireland, he should deem it his duty to bring forward the subject. Farther, he had no hesitation in saying, that if ministers had in their places the preceding night, or even then, told him they had no time, under the immediate circumstances, to pay due attention to the subject, and, self-moved, have pledged themselves to keep it in their contemplation: such a declaration would do more towards tranquillizing Ireland, than the adoption of any motion he could bring forward; more especially one, which, from its peculiar nature, could not, evidently, be carried into immediate effect. In acting as he had done, his view was to enforce upon the conviction of ministers the necessity of their taking up the subject with all that attentive consideration, which belonged to one of its importance, and with as little delay as possible. In making this observation, he must express his regret at having occasion to remark, that this great national question was treated of by some gentlemen, as if Ireland was in another hemisphere, or even as if that country had no existence. At the same time he would repeat, that he did not expect the remedy to be immediately applied; he only was anxious for an avowal of the determination of ministers upon the point. With respect to the insinuations that his wish was to unhinge the public mind, he regarded them with the contempt they deserved; however, he must deprecate a great deal of what fell from a noble lord, and express his decided disapprobation of the principles on which he seemed to consider the subject in question. These considerations were the more serious, when the situation in the government filled by that noble lord was recollected, and the correspondent degree of the royal confidence he must be supposed to enjoy. His conduct on this occasion almost reminded him of the words of the poet:

——— Proud man!
Dress'd in a little brief authority;
* * * * *
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heav'n
As make the angels weep!

He agreed, however, to a certain extent, with the noble lord, as far as he panegyrised the conduct and administration of a noble marquis in Ireland; but with respect to the administration of another noble lord, he could not say as much; and he must pronounce the noble lord, so far as that part of his speech went, to be a most unfortunate apologist: he hoped, however, his lordship would manage his present situation better than he did the affairs of his own country: a part of the world which the noble lord seemed completely to have forgotten so far, that any subject appeared to be the object of his care and sollicitude, in preference to the concerns of Ireland. The noble lord, however callous he may seem to be to the situation of his country, should recollect the important share he had in the arrangements under which it was now governed; he well knew the wants of his country, and it was peculiarly incumbent upon one, so circumstanced as the noble lord, seriously to attend to them. Adverting to the consideration of the catholic question, he was glad to hear, he said, that its merits were not thought to be implicated in the present subject of discussion; and after some allusions to the situation of the catholics in Ireland under the existing system, he observed that the last rebellion in Ireland, so far from being a catholic one, all its leaders were either protestants or presbyterians; the great majority of those who bore arms during the rebellion, numerically speaking, were undoubtedly professors of the catholic religion, but that was of necessity the case, because it was well known the great mass of the lower orders of the people in Ireland were of that persuasion; they were, therefore, used as the instruments of those who projected the rebellion, and by whom it was conducted; however, religion formed no part of the consideration. The first symptoms of sedition appeared in the north of Ireland, a part of the country where, com-

paratively speaking, very few catholics reside, and these symptoms of disaffection were, he thought, attributable to the conduct of orange-men in that quarter.—With respect to the proper line of conduct for Irish members in that House, he hoped the time was come when old prejudices no longer existed; he hoped the Irish part of the representation were as well disposed to support the general cause of the empire, as any other within those walls; yet he could not avoid putting it to them, that, under the present circumstances, the affairs of their own country should, in the first instance, be the objects of their anxious attention; though he advanced this proposition, he did not mean to say that they should in any degree neglect to strengthen the hands of government in the present crisis, with a view to the safety and honour of the empire at large. He must repeat his conviction, that, under the existing circumstances, ministers could not immediately come forward with an adequate remedy for what he complained of on the part of Ireland; they could not at once produce a system capable of restoring it to that degree of tranquil security which he so anxiously desired. Recurring again to the consideration of the Irish catholics, he observed, that the disposition of the body might so far be judged by the circumstance, that ever since they enjoyed the liberty of purchasing lands, they purchased as often under the forfeited claims as under the old catholic act. He then proceeded to animadvert upon various points in the speech of a right hon. gent. opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), who, he observed, had taken occasion to panegyrise the conduct of ministers, on the pretext of defending the dignity of the House; and he had particularly to congratulate the right hon. gent. on his novel measure of having a fleet ready for sea without a single man on board! a circumstance, which, however, his modesty induced him to pass over, while enumerating the services of ministers to the country. In concluding, he begged pardon of the House, for detaining them so long at that late hour; he had, however, been misconceived in almost every thing he said respecting Ireland, the situation of which country he implored the House to take into their speedy and serious consideration; should they not redress the grievances of Ireland and conciliate its inhabitants, it were humanity to annihilate it! The question was then put, and the motion was negatived without a division.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, August 12.

At three o'clock his Majesty appeared in the House of Lords, where the peers were assembled. His Majesty being seated on the throne, a message was sent to desire the attendance of the House of Commons. The Speaker, accompanied by several members, approached the bar of the House of Lords, and addressed his Majesty in these terms:—"Most gracious Sovereign, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, have at length completed the supplies granted to your Majesty for the service of the present year—a period memorable for the events which it has produced, and awful for those which may be yet to come.—In granting those supplies, your Majesty's faithful Commons have considered, that a crisis without example demanded unexampled efforts: and, by resolving to raise annually a large proportion of the supplies for the current year, so long as the war endures, they have given to all the world a solemn pledge of their inflexible determination to render public credit unassailable.—They have also proceeded to revise the system of your Majesty's permanent revenue. By consolidating the duties in each of its principal branches, they have simplified its operations, and at the same time they have endeavoured to render its pressure less burthensome, by regulating its mode of collection.—The commercial interests of this country, to which our attention was called by your Majesty's gracious commands at the commencement of the present session, have been maturely considered: and measures have been taken for affording material accommodations and facilities to mercantile transactions, by rendering our principal ports free for all nations to import, deposit, and re-export their merchandize, without toll or tax, unless voluntarily brought into our own market for home-consumption.—Nor have we forgotten to bestow our earnest and serious thoughts upon the safety and efficacy of our church establishment in every part of the United Kingdom. Upon this subject, as comprehending all that consecrates our rational hopes, morals, and policy, we have deliberated with peculiar care and anxiety; and we presume to believe, that the important laws which have been passed in aid of our church establishment, will materially strengthen

and gradually extend its influence through succeeding ages. — But, Sire, these were cares and objects belonging to times of peace. Wise, politic, and desirable as they might be, nevertheless, called upon now by your Majesty's commands, we have without hesitation turned all our thoughts and efforts to meet the renewal of war, persuaded that your Majesty's paternal care preserved to us the blessings of peace, so long as they could be retained with safety and honour, and confident that since they have been openly attacked, and the justice of our cause has been made manifest to the world, our appeal to arms will not be in vain.—This war we see and know to be a war of no ordinary character. We feel that our religion, laws, and liberties, and existence as a nation are put to the issue, and we have prepared for the contest accordingly. Besides the supplies of money, we have augmented, beyond all former example, every species of military force known in this country—we have met rebellion with prompt and necessary laws—and for the defence of a Sovereign endeared to us by long experience of his royal virtues, and commanding not our allegiance alone, but our hearts and affections, the whole nation has risen up in arms.—May then the God of our fathers go forth with us to battle, and bless our cause, and stablish with victory that throne which we revere as the bulwark of our liberties; and so shall other nations at length learn, that a free, valiant, and united people is unconquerable, and able to set lasting bounds to an empire of violence, perfidy, and unrelenting ambition. —To the Bills which I have now humbly to present to your Majesty, your Commons, with all humility, entreat your Majesty's royal assent."

His Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—" My Lords, and Gentlemen, I am at length enabled, by the state of public business, to release you from your long and laborious attendance in Parliament.—In closing the session, I have the utmost satisfaction in expressing the strong sense which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country, which has distinguished all your proceedings.—During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifested the just view which you had taken of our actual situation, and of the dangers against which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and since the recurrence of hostilities, you have displayed an energy and promptitude which have never been surpassed, in the means which you have applied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war.—Your proceedings, in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing my loyal subjects in that part of the united kiugdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are so justly entitled.—In the midst of the deliberations, which were occasioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects, to which I had directed your attention; and I have great satisfaction in observing that you have completed a system for consolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue; and that you have adopted measures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of my dominions.—Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I return you my particular thanks for the liberality and readiness with which you have granted the supplies for the public service.—It is painful to me to reflect, that the means of necessary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy pressure upon my faithful people; but I cannot sufficiently applaud that wisdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook considerations of temporary convenience, for the purpose of preventing a large accumulation of debt during the continuance of the war. You may be assured that there shall be as strict an attention to economy on my part as may be consistent with those preparations and exertions which will be best calculated to frustrate the designs and weaken the power of the enemy, by whose arrogant pretensions and restless ambition alone these sacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.—My Lords, and Gentlemen, I am fully persuaded that, during the cessation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the same spirit, which has been uniformly displayed in your councils. It will be your duty to assist in carrying into effect those important measures, which your wisdom has matured for the defence and security of the realm: and particularly to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm in the cause of their country, which animate all classes of my people. Justly sensible of the state of pre-eminence, in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, amongst the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that under

the continuance of his Divine protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power of this united kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which by their patriotism and valour, they will have preserved and ensured to themselves and their posterity."

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said, "My Lords, and Gentlemen, It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the 6th day of October next, to be then and here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 6th day of October next."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, August 12.

At three o'clock precisely, Sir Francis Molyneux, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, appeared in the House, and commanded them, in his Majesty's name, to attend him immediately in the House of Peers, which was of course complied with; and the Speaker went up, accompanied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all the other members then present.—On their return, in about half an hour,

The Speaker read to them his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, which closed the first session of the new Imperial Parliament.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into Great-Britain for Eighteen Years, ending January 5th, 1803; exclusive of Corn and other Grain, and exclusive of Importations from the East-Indies and China: together with the Difference between the official Value and the declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported, for as many Years of the same Period as such an Account can be made up.

Years.	Imports, exclusive of Corn and other Grain, and exclusive of Importations from the East and West-Indies.	British Produce and Manufactures exported.	
	Official Value.	Official Value.	Real or declared Value.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1785	12,939,536 16 10	11,081,810 16 5	
1786	12,053,839 13 5	11,830,372 18 11	
1787	13,761,945 10 5	12,053,900 3 5	
1788	13,897,708 8 9	12,724,719 17 9	
1789	13,879,465 9 11	13,779,506 2 6	
1790	14,924,222 15 8	14,921,084 9 7	
1791	14,463,725 18 11	16,810,018 16 4	
1792	16,005,657 18 7	18,336,851 6 11	
1793	14,165,443 1 4	13,892,268 17 7	
1794	16,482,673 10 11	16,725,402 16 2	
1795	16,010,233 8 —	16,338,213 2 2	
1796	17,441,036 19 10	19,102,220 3 11	
1797	15,803,883 7 8	16,903,103 6 1	
1798	18,862,188 13 7	19,672,503 — 9	33,148,682 — —
1799	21,386,250 17 10	24,084,213 — 10	38,942,498 — —
1800	22,720,664 11 8	24,304,283 13 6	39,471,203 — —
1801	24,145,500 12 —	25,699,809 6 1	41,770,354 — —
1802	24,436,481 14 11	27,012,108 3 10	48,500,683 — —

Inspector General's Office, Custom-House, London,
4th April, 1803.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great-Britain.

Abstract Statement of the PUBLIC INCOME of Great-Britain, for the Year ending on the 5th of January, 1803, taken from the Accounts laid before Parliament, and ordered to be printed on the 25th of March, 1803.

Branches of Revenue.		Gross Receipt. £.	s.	d.	Nett Produce. £.	s.	d.	Paid into the Exchequer. £.	s.	d.
Permanent Taxes.										
Customs	England	*9,577,325	14	7¾	6,865,955	12	6	5,730,326	13	11¾
	Scotland	*779,118	2	1¾	549,771	6	9¾	328,300	0	0
Excise (including Malt, Ann.)	England	15,517,290	16	8	13,832,086	2	4	13,774,158	8	10¼
	Scotland	1,246,520	8	2	1,095,452	1	8¼	870,000	0	0
Stamps	England	3,063,295	19	11½	2,981,821	18	0¾	2,860,139	16	5
	Scotland	182,100	0	3	187,541	14	2½	165,183	7	8
Land and Assessed Taxes	England	4,921,457	18	1½	5,071,358	10	10¾	4,600,047	9	9¼
	Scotland	196,097	17	5	246,768	2	5	183,000	0	0
Post Office	England	1,160,936	19	10	962,217	16	10¾	840,073	10	6
	Scotland	114,090	4	5½	133,135	14	4½	91,926	9	6
1s. in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	England	48,557	10	6	50,624	7	10¾	48,872	6	11
	Scotland	3,163	16	3	14,933	10	11	14,900	6	5
6d. in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	England	59,264	17	6½	58,190	5	7	58,189	9	8
	Scotland	2,554	9	9	2,538	10	4	2,538	10	4
Hackney Coaches		27,372	10	0	25,109	10	5¼	24,975	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars		8,211	3	8½	5,725	19	7½	5,279	0	0
Total Ordinary Revenue		36,907,358	9	5	32,083,231	4	11¾	29,597,910	10	0¼
Small Branches of Hered. Revenue.										
Alienation Fines		6,457	16	8	10,643	10	6	4,941	5	4
Post Fines		201	16	0	2,737	6	6¾	.....		
Seizures		62,073	3	7½	62,073	3	7½	62,073	3	7½
Compositions		1	13	4	1	13	4	1	13	4
Proffers		640	0	0	640	0	0	640	0	0
Crown-Lands		27,828	3	9¼	41,812	18	9½	966	13	4
Extraordinary Resources.										
Pd. on Acct. Interest Loans for Ireland.		890,281	2	8	890,281	2	8	890,281	2	8
On Acct. Com. for Issuing Exch. Bills.		16,500	0	0	16,500	0	0	16,500	0	0
On Account Redemption Land Tax		17,942	16	8½	17,942	16	8½	17,942	16	8½
Fees of Regulated Exchequer Offices		42,793	0	9	42,793	0	9	42,793	0	9
Magazines, &c. sold by Government		35,916	5	4	35,916	5	4	35,916	5	4
Monies paid to Public		36,569	4	9	36,569	4	9	36,569	4	9
Imprest Money from Accountants		44,711	7	2¼	44,711	7	2¼	44,711	7	2¼
Lottery Nett Profit		555,000	0	0	525,458	5	1	525,458	5	1
Aid and Contributions		5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0
Arrears under Aid and Contribution Act		48,996	4	11	48,042	12	3	47,125	11	7
Income Duty		3,233,567	3	7¾	3,375,858	18	1¼	3,232,856	15	7¼
Total		41,931,747	18	9¼	37,240,213	10	7½	34,561,687	15	4¼
Loans paid into Exchequer		26,005,345	14	0½	26,005,345	14	0½	26,005,345	14	0½
Grand Total	£.	67,937,093	12	9¼	63,245,559	4	8	60,567,033	9	4¼

Note.—On the 5th January, 1802, the appropriated balances in the Exchequer amounted to 8,899,278l. 14s. 10½d.—And on the 5th January, 1803, to 9,800,659l. 12s. 9¼d.—There was no unappropriated balance at either of the above-mentioned periods.——10,192,000l. were issued in Exchequer Bills, 413,861l. 9s. 5d. in Navy and Victualling Bills, and 129,448l. 19s. 4d. in Transport Bills, between the 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, and were not redeemed within that period.

* Of these sums, 7.722,677l. 3s. 5¼d. were received for Duties Inwards, 262,381l. 0s. 0¾d. for Duties Outwards, and 702,186l. 12s. 1¼d. for Duties Coast-ways.

At the end of each year, there are certain sums remaining in the hands of the Collectors and of the Receivers General, which have arisen from the revenues of the year: there are, also, bills, arising from the revenues of the preceding year, which have been transmitted to the Receivers General, but which, as they did not become due in that year, were brought to the account of the subsequent year. These two items constitute what are called the balances, and, together with the gross receipt of the revenues of the year, form the whole amount of revenue to be expended or otherwise accounted for, within the year. The balances which remained on the 5th Jan. 1802, and which form part of that amount for the year ending on the 5th Jan. 1803, were £283,264. 1. 7¼ in the hands of Collectors; £822,818. 3. 9¾ in the hands of the Receivers General; and £122,215. 19. 10¼ in bills arising from the revenues of the year 1801, but not due until after the 5th of Jan. 1802.

The gross receipt is the whole amount of the sums which have been collected, under each branch of the revenue, during the year. That received during the year ending on the 5th of Jan. 1803, amounts to £67,937,093. 12. 9¾; (*see second column*) and was collected at the average rate of £4. 17. 9. per centum.

From the joint produce of the balances remaining on the 5th Jan. 1802, and the gross receipts from that time to the 5th Jan. 1803, £3,920,920. 19. 3¾ were paid for re-payments, discounts, drawbacks and bounties of the nature of drawbacks, for the difference of exchange between Edinburgh and London, for allowances to the Universities for almanacks, and for paper and parchment to stamp; £16,832. 8. 3. for the packet establishment, with the allowance to Ireland in lieu of packet postage, and for Irish postage received in Great Britain; and £1,982,079. 5. 10¾. for the charges of management.

These sums, deducted from the amount of the balances and gross receipt, leave a nett produce of £63,245,559. 4. 8. (*see third column*) to be applied to national objects and to payments in the Exchequer. The average rate at which this sum was collected was £5. 15. 6. per centum.

From this net produce, £125,640. 11. 9½ were paid on account of militia and deserters' warrants, provisional cavalry, and the defence of the realm, and other objects connected therewith; £1,059,276. 4. 0¼. for bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c.; £37,313. 11. 10¾. for pensions out of the hereditary revenue, and perpetual pensions and stipends charged on the land revenue; £13,701. 1. 2¾. towards improving his Majesty's woods and forests; £131,004. 16. 5. by virtue of warrants from the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland, towards the support of the civil government of that part of the kingdom; and £74,365. 2 10½. for monies impressed in the hands of different persons, and advanced on account of the redemption of the land tax. £60,567,033. 9. 4¾. were, also, paid into the Exchequer. (*See fourth column.*)

All that remains after these expenditures should be paid into the Exchequer, but it generally happens that some portion of the revenues remains in the hands of collectors, and receivers, and some in bills which become due at a future period. The balances remaining on the 5th Jan. 1803, were £270,304. 17. 2¾. in the hands of collectors; £670,080. 6. 8. in the hands of Receivers General; and £296,839. 3. 2¾ in bills not due; the whole of which will be carried into the account of the revenues for the year ending on the 5th of Jan. 1804.

This general abstract is compiled from accounts presented to the Treasury from the Inspector General of Imports and Exports, Accomptant General of the Excise-Office, Excise Office of Edinburgh, the Comptroller of Stamps, Office for Taxes, Accountant General of the Post Office, Receivers of the duties on pensions for England and Scotland, Receivers General of the land tax, Receiver General of his Majesty's household, Hackney Coach Office, Office for licensing hawkers and pedlars, Receiver General of the Alienation Office, Green Wax Office, Auditors of the land revenue for England and Wales. Surveyor General of the Land Office, Exchequer, and the Treasury Chambers.

Account of the Consolidated Fund of Great-Britain for the Year ended 5th of Jan. 1803.

INCOME.	£.	s.	d.
Total Income of the Consolidated Fund, arising from taxes, which existed prior to the year 1793	14,686,909	19	1
Total of Duties imposed towards defraying Additional Charge created Anno 1793	310,412	9	2
Do. 1794	968,343	8	3½
Do. 1795	1,473,577	2	11¾
Do. 1796	1,376,892	9	7¼
Do. 1797	3,049,291	18	1½
Do. 1798	1,358,152	15	3¼
Do. 1799	932,125	16	2¾
Do. 1800	1,469,817	15	6¼
Do. 1801	1,908,465	19	11
Do. 1802	1,167,282	10	4¾
*	28,719,272	4	7
Money paid by Abraham Newland, Esq. on account of the Commissioners for the Issue of Exchequer Bills, pursuant to Act 35 Geo. III. cap.	16,500	0	0
Canal and Dock Duty, per Act 39 Geo. III. cap. 60, Anno 1799	1,739	15	7½
Arrears of Voluntary Contributions	5,000	0	0
Additional Assessed Taxes	47,125	11	7½
Income Duty Anno 1799	30,097	13	5¾
- - 1800	119,235	7	7¼
- - 1801	1,286,615	8	0
Goods and Shipping 1798	49,143	19	3¾
Brought to this Account from Supplies 1802 and 1803, to replace the like Sum paid out of the Consolidated Customs for Bounties on Corn, Meal, Flour, and Rice imported	2,166,875	8	10½
Total Income of the Consolidated Fund for the year ended 5th of January, 1803	32,423,605	9	0

EXPENDITURE.	Actual Payment out of Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1803. £.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1803. £.	s.	d.
Total Charge upon Consolidated Fund for National Debt, Civil List, and Parliamentary Grants, existing prior to the year - - 1793	10,820,109	2	5½	10,985,990	5	11½
Total Charge of Interest, Management, and 1l. per Cent. incurred Anno - - 1793	252,812	10	0	252,812	10	0
Do. - - - 1794	773,324	0	9½	773,324	0	9½
Do. - - - 1795	1,227,415	3	11	1,227,415	3	11
Do. - - - 1796	1,850,373	3	3	1,850,373	3	3
Do. - - - 1797	3,368,219	2	11½	3,368,219	2	11½
Do. - - - 1798	1,260,441	16	5½	1,260,441	16	5½
Do. - - - 1799	1,132,207	3	3	1,132,207	3	3
Do. - - - 1800	1,089,933	5	0	1,089,933	5	0
Do. - - - 1801	2,097,831	0	1½	1,990,544	10	0
Do. - - - 1802	*1,088,601	3	10¼	1,527,103	15	2¼
	24,961,267	12	0¾	25,458,364	16	9¼
Thomas Marsham, Esq. Sec. to Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills	1,500	0	0			
Rich. Clarke, Esq. Chamberlain of the City of London	35,000	0	0			
Additional Permanent Charge on Account of Grants, for which no additional Provision has been made	134,695	17	6¼	132,500	0	0
Additional Charge, for which no Provision has been made:—James Morrison, Esq. Fees, 2,298l. 1s. 8d.—James Wyatt, Esq. Lazaretto, 30,000l.—The Judges and Master of the Rolls to complete Salaries 5,151l. 19s. 9d.	37,450	1	5	Uncertain.		
Conditional Charge on Account of Loans to the Emperor, for which no additional Provision has been made	497,591	8	0			
Total of the actual Payment out of, and future Charge upon, the Consolidated Fund, for the Year ended 5th of Jan. 1803.	25,667,504	19	0	25,590,864	16	9¼

* There is an error in the addition here of £18,000.

The Consolidated Fund consists of the nett produce of all the permanent taxes, whether arising from customs, excise, stamps, letters, or assessments, including imprest monies, and monies repaid; which, indeed, make the whole of the usual public income of the country, except the produce of the annual land and malt tax, and the profits of the lottery. This consolidated fund is pledged for the payment of the interest, management, &c. of the national debt, and also of the civil list, and of the special grants made by Parliament. Whatever, therefore, is, in the course of the year, brought into the consolidated fund, more than is required to answer the permanent charges, is called the surplus of the consolidated fund, and is, together with the annual land and malt tax, the lottery, and any other temporary resources, applied to the purpose of maintaining the army, navy, and ordnance, and to the discharge of such miscellaneous expenses as may arise within the year.

In making out the account of the consolidated fund, it is the custom to state, first the income arising from the taxes collected within the year, and on the other side, the charge on account of the national debt, civil list, and parliamentary grants; after which are stated, on the income side, such heads of receipt as do not regularly occur; and, on the expenditure side, those payments for which no permanent provision is made, and also those which casually occur. The right hand column on the expenditure side, shews the payments which will be necessary for the year after that for which the account is made out, unless the debt or civil list be increased.

The first item consists of the whole amount of the income of the consolidated fund which is applicable to the payment of the charge existing prior to the year 1793. ——The second of duties which were imposed in the different years there specified, and were to be applied towards defraying the additional charges created in those years: these duties have been collected annually since the times when they were imposed.

Account of the Sums actually received by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, for the Year ending on the 5th of January, 1803.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
GREAT BRITAIN.						
Annual Issue by Act 26th Geo. III.....	1,000,000	—	—			
Annual Issue by Act 42d Geo. III.....	200,000	—	—			
99 and 96 Annuities.....	54,880	14	5			
Expired and Unclaimed Annuities.....	48,121	15	7			
Short Annuities, 1777.....	25,000	—	—			
Dividends on £.3 per Cent. Annuities.....	1,796,650	6	10			
Dividends on £.4 per Cent. Annuities.....	80,800	—	—			
£. 1 per Cent. on Capitals created by Loans from 1793 inclusive, to 1801 inclusive.....	2,434,047	8	11¼			
				5,639,500	5	9¼
IRELAND.						
£. 1 per Cent. per Ann. on Capitals created by Loans from 1797 inclusive, to 1802 inclusive..	211,536	3	4			
Dividends on £. 3 per Cent. Annuities.....	25,900	11	6			
				237,436	14	10
IMPERIAL.						
£. 1 per Cent. per Annum on the Capital created by the Imperial Loan 1797.....	36,693	—	—			
Dividends on Imperial £. 3 per Cent. Annuities.	9,348	19	5			
				46,041	19	5
Total..... £.				5,922,979	—	—¼

Account of the Interest paid on Exchequer Bills, for the Year ending on the 5th of January, 1803.

By what Acts raised:				£.	s.	d.
39-40 *Geo. III.* Cap.	33	Aids	Anno 1800	176,200	6	3½
39-40 ——	102	Supply	—— 1800	53,093	10	1
39-40 ——	104	Further Sum	—— 1800	17,900	3	3½
41 ——	4	Aids	—— 1801	318,485	5	5
41 ——	81	Vote of Credit	—— 1801	13,131	15	11
41 ——	82	Supply	—— 1801	4,489	9	4
41 ——	83	Supply	—— 1801, Bank of England	176,712	6	6
42 ——	9	Certain Sum	—— 1802	126,157	12	6
42 ——	17	Further Sum	—— 1802	71,460	2	9
42 ——	21	For raising £. 1,000,000	—— 1802	18,426	5	—
42 ——	41	Aids	—— 1802	832	8	—
Paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, on Personal Estates, and Malt Tax				129,046	14	5
			Total	£1,105,935	19	6

Account of the Sums paid towards satisfying the Charges of the Funded Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Imperial Loans, for the Year ending on the 5th of January, 1803.

		Interest.			Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years.			Charges of Management.		
Charges.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Permanent Funded Debt of Great-Britain		17,507,696	0	10¾	1,433,743	19	7½	246,178	4	8¾
Loans raised for the Service of Ireland		651,262	10	0	9,791	13	4	11,092	13	6
Imperial Loans		225,079	0	0	230,000	0	0	5,834	16	3½
		18,384,037	10	10¾	1,673,535	12	11½	263,105	14	6¼
		1,673,535	12	11½						
		263,105	14	6¼						
		20,320,678	18	4½						
Paid towards the Reduction of Debt.										
Annual Issue by 26 Geo. III.	1,000,000	0	0							
Do. 42 Geo. III.	200,000	0	0							
Annuities for Terms expired	79,880	14	6							
Annuities on Lives, expired or unclaimed for 3 Years	48,121	15	7							
	1,328,002	10	1							
Annuity of 1l. per Cent. for Reduction of Permanent Debts created since 5th Jan. 1793	2,682,276	12	3½							
				4,010,279	2	4½				
				24,330,958	0	9				

Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending on the 5th of January, 1803. Taken from the Accounts presented to Parliament, and ordered to be printed on the 25th of March.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest, charges of management, and other expenses of the national funded debt				24,330,958	—	9
Interest on exchequer bills				1,105,935	19	6
Civil list	898,000	—	—			
Other charges on consolidated fund.						
Courts of justice	47,629	16	—			
Mint	13,848	1	8			
Allowances to royal family, pensions, &c.	209,862	10	10¼			
Salaries and allowances	87,920	1	2			
Bounties	2,956	13	8			
				1,260,217	3	4¼
Civil government of Scotland				78,548	13	1
Other payments in anticipation of exchequer receipt.						
Bounties to fisheries, manufactures, corn, &c.	1,059,276	4	—½			
Pensions on the hereditary revenue	27,700	—	—			
Militia and deserters warrants, &c.	110,956	5	1¼			
				1,197,932	9	2¼
Navy.—Salaries to admiralty, navy, navy pay offices	54,000	—	—			
Wages, bounty, flag pay, half pay, pensions	2,592,992	13	1			
Dock yards, building ships, stores, pilotage, contingencies, &c.	5,298,976	8	10½			
Marine service on shore	219,000	—	—			
	8,164,969	1	11½			
Victualling department	2,224,952	2	6½			
Sick and wounded d°	265,000	—	—			
Transport - - d°, for transports	917,101	16	10			
prisoners of war in health	42,000	—	—			
Miscellaneous services	90,377	6	1			
	1,049,479	2	11			
				11,704,400	7	5
Ordnance				1,500,733	9	7½
Army.—Regulars, fencibles, militia, invalids, volunteers	5,933,928	19	10			
Barracks	429,461	—	—			
Staff officers, officers of garrisons	116,569	19	3			
Half pay	195,800	—	—			
Widows pensions	22,000	—	—			
Chelsea hospital	162,957	13	8			
Exchequer fees	46,037	3	11			
Pay of public offices	44,438	8	5			
	6,951,193	5	1			
Extraordinary services	2,635,064	5	—			
				9,586,257	10	1
Loans, remittances, and advances to Ireland				2,000,000	—	—
Miscellaneous.—At home	3,370,439	9	11			
Abroad	123,878	1	1¼			
				3,494,317	11	—¼
				*56,259,301	4	—¼
Deduct loan for Ireland				2,000,000	—	—
				54,259 301	4	—¼

The

* This includes the sum of 460,913*l.* 16*s.* 3½*d.* for interest paid on Imperial loans.

The first item in the preceding account includes all the expenses of the funded debt of Great Britain, during the year ending on the 5th of January, 1803. These expenses consist of interest upon the different sorts of stock which together constitute the debt, and of the sums which have been applied to aid in the reduction of the debt, during that period, together with all the charges which have arisen for the management of the whole.

The civil list expenses are those which have arisen for the support of his Majesty's household. The pensions, salaries, allowances, and bounties which have been charged on the consolidated fund, are those which have been granted by Parliament. There are various others which are payable out of the proceeds of the taxes, before they are received into the treasury, and the amount and nature of which may be seen by referring to the general abstract statement of the public revenue, at pages 1471 and 1472.—The bounties which have been paid in anticipation of the exchequer receipts were on corn, on cotton and linen manufactures, on the British, Southern-Whale, Newfoundland and White-Herring fisheries, on slaves, for the encouragement of seamen, and on beer, British spirits, fish and salted provisions exported.

Of the sums paid by the ordnance office, £1,246,282 0s. 1½d. were for services at home; and £254,451. 9s. 6d. for services abroad.

The remittance to Ireland was part of the supplies of the year 1802, which was appropriated to that part of the United Kingdom by an act of the 42d of his present Majesty.

This account is compiled from the accounts of different offices in the English and Scotch exchequers, and the treasury, and from those of the accomptant general of the post office, the excise office, the office for taxes, and the navy, ordnance and pay offices.

An Account of the NUMBER *and* TONNAGE *of* VESSELS *built and registered in Great Britain, in the three Years ending 5th January,* 1793, *in the three Years ending 5th January,* 1802, *and in the last Year; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Ports of London, Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Newcastle, Sunderland, Glasgow, and Leith.*

	1790.		1791.		1792.		1799.		1800.		1801.		1802.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
LONDON	40	9,743	58	6,673	51	11,003	32	4,830	56	19,973	50	5,845	41	15,129
LIVERPOOL...	27	4,737	18	2,392	30	3,509	24	5,708	23	4,430	27	4,584	16	2,030
BRISTOL.....	12	1,677	18	2,278	13	1,364	12	1,617	6	1,266	8	1,744	11	709
HULL.....	20	1,894	36	4,668	27	3,844	38	4,818	59	8,301	77	9,922	69	9,294
NEWCASTLE..	29	6,144	30	6,346	20	4,998	43	10,285	43	10,207	51	11,068	57	12,432
SUNDERLAND	18	2,755	7	1,230	15	2,507	36	7,207	48	9,728	51	9,311	56	8,867
GLASGOW, AND GREENOCK	20	1,046	27	3,296	34	2,821	16	1,427	27	1,980	18	1,905	19	1,140
LEITH.....	16	1,228	15	1,431	13	1,363	5	934	10	929	7	1,492	11	1,666
OTHER PORTS	182	29,224	209	28,314	203	31,409	206	36,826	272	56,814	289	45,871	280	51,267
TOTAL.....	577	57,137	624	58,760	655	66,951	689	83,658	845	115,349	918	110,206	967	104,789

J. DALLEY,

Assistant Register General of Shipping, 8th March, 1803.

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	Tons.	
	15,129	1
	2,030	6
	709	1
	9,294	59
	12,432	7
	8,867	66
	1,140	19
	1,666	11
	51,267	80
	104,789	67

1805.

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT *of Great Britain, at 1st February, 1803:—Distinguishing the Capitals of the several Funds, and specifying how much of each has been redeemed by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt since 1st August, 1786; the Average Price of Stock, and the Sums Annually applicable to the Reduction thereof: Likewise, what further Annuities will fall in; and also the Capital of the Debt that has been transferred to the Commissioners on Account of Land Tax Redeemed.*

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Commissioners, from 1st August 1786 to 1st February, 1802.	TOTAL Sums paid.	Average Price of Stocks.	Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of the Public Debt.		Annuities that will hereafter fall in, and become applicable to, the Reduction of the Public Debt.	
	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d			£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Consolidated 3 per Cent. Ann..	319.996,558 4 5¼	29,599,210	18,368,020 6 11	62	Annual Charge	1,000,000 — —	Exchequer Annuities, 2 and 3 Annæ, expire, in Part, at April 1803, and the Remainder at January 1805 ..	53,654 11 6
Reduced - - D°	108,437,811 6 4	28,784,305	18,051,456 11 7	62⅞	Usual Grant	200,000 — —	D°–4 Ann.–expire A° 1806 .	7,776 10 —
Old South Sea Ann. ..... } New - D° ..... }	24,065,084 13 11½	5,615,000	4,097,324 8 —	73, 72⅞	{ Annuities for 99 and 96 Years expired	54,880 14 6	D°–5 Ann.—D° A° 1807 .	14,891 10 —
3 per Cent. Ann. A° 1751	1,919,600 — —	640,000	478,659 5 —	74¾	{ Life Annuities expired or unclaimed	49,151 — 7	Bank Long Ann.–D°–A° 1860	704,740 5 —
£	454,419,054 4 8¾	64,638,515					Bank short Annuities, Annis 1778 and 1779, expire A° 1808., ...	418,333 — 11
Consolidated 4 per Cent. Ann..	49,425,084 17 2	2,617,400	2,278,402 1 3	87	Short Annuities 1777 ..	25,000 — —		
D° - - 5 per Cent. D° ..	28,125,582 19 7	.....	.....		Dividend on 64,638,515*l.* at 3*l.* per Cent.	1,939,155 9 —		
5 per Cent. Ann. 1797 and 1802	22,352,456 5 —	.....	.....					
3 per Cent. Ann. 1726	1,000,000 — —	.....	.....		Dividend on 2,617,400*l.* at 4*l.* per Cent.	104,696 — —		
D° Bank Ann.....	11,686,800 — —	.....	.....					
£	567,008,978 6 5¾	67,255,915	43,273,862 12 9		Annuity of 1*l.* per Cent. upon Part of Capitals created since 1st February, 1793	2,462,103 2 1		
Transferred to the Commissioners by reason of Land Tax redeemed 1st Feb. 1803	19,180,587 5 2				£	5,834,986 6 2		
Debt existing 1st Feb. 1803..	547,828,391 1 3¾							
Redeemed by Commissioners..	67,255,915 — —							
Debt unredeemed 1st Feb. 1803 ..... £	480,572,476 1 3¾							

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *of Great-Britain, and Demands Outstanding on the 5th Day of January, 1803; under the Heads of Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, Navy, Civil List Advances, and any other Head of Public Service; specifying the same: — Distinguishing under each Head respectively the Particulars of which such Debts or Demands consisted; and also what Part of the said Debt or Demands was then provided for, and in what Manner, and what Part thereof was unprovided for.*

EXCHEQUER BILLS:

By what Acts raised.	On what Funds charged.	Amount Outstanding. £.	£. s. d.
39 and 40 Geo. III. cap. 28.	Aids	A° 1806 for extension of Bank charter 3,000,000	
41.....cap. 4.	Aids.....	A° 1801..... *2,585,000	
41.....cap. 7.	Malt Tax	A° 1801..... **119,000	
42.....cap. 1.	Malt Tax	A° 1802..... 750,000	
42.....cap. 110.	Supply..	A° 1802..... 5,000,000	
42.....cap. 41.	Aids.....	A° 1802..... **1,940,600	
42.....cap. 111.	Supply...	A° 1802 (Bank of England)..... 1,500,000	
43.....cap. 4.	Personal Estates	A° 1803..... 484,000	
43.....cap. 3.	Malt Tax	A° 1803..... 750,000	
43.....cap. 5.	Aids.....	1803..... 327,400	
			16,456,000 — —

Treasury:	£.	s.	d.	
Miscellaneous Services.....	363,006	13	—½	
Warrants for Army Services.....	234,550	12	7	
Treasury Bills accepted previous to and on 5th January, 1803, due subsequent to that Day.....	126,264	5	5½	
				723,821 11 1
Army:				
Ordinary Services.....	771,185	—	—	
Extraordinaries.....	Nil.			
				771 185 — —
Barracks				179,818 — —
Ordnance				348,956 10 5
Navy				3,105,648 1 9
Civil List advances				Nil.
				21,585,429 3 3

* Paid since 5th January, 1803.
** Paid in Part..... D°..... —The remaining sums to be discharged by the funds on which they are respectively charged.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
25th March, 1803.

N. VANSITTART.

An Account of the Progress made in the REDEMPTION *of the* PUBLIC DEBT *of* IRELAND, *funded in Great-Britain, at 1st February, 1803.*

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Commissioners to 1st February, 1803.	Total Sums paid.	Average price of Stocks	Sums Annually applicable to the Reduction of Debt.	
	£.	£	£ s. d.			£. s. d.
3 per cent. Consol[d] Ann[s]	15,389,250	515,790	336,264 15 4	65½	1 per cent. on Capitals created	224,732 8 4
3 per cent. Reduced D°..	6,658.750	607,625	377,604 19 6	62½		
	22,048,000	1,123,415	713,869 14 10		Dividend on £.1,123,415 3 per cent. Ann[s]	33,702 9 —
4 per cent. Consol[d] D°..	300,000					258,434 17 4
	22,348,000					
Redeemed by Commis[s]...	1,123,415					
Unredeemed 1st Feb. 1803	21,224,585					

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Imperial Loan, at 1st Feb. 1803.

FUND.	Capital.	Redeemed by the Commissioners to 1st February 1803.	TOTAL SUMS Paid.	Average Price of Stocks.	SUMS Annually applicable to the Reduction of PUBLIC DEBT.	
	£.	£.	£. s. d.			£. s. d.
Imperial £.3 per Cents.....	3,669,300	375,137	217,862 13 4	58⅛	£. 1 per Cent. on Capital created.....	36,693 — —
Redeemed.....	375,137				Dividend on £. 375,137 at £. 3 per cent.	11,254 2 2
Unredeemed at 1st February 1803..... £.	2,294,163				£.	47,947 2 2

Exchequer, the 25th Day of March, 1803. JAMES FISHER.
Office for Reduction of National Debt, the 25th Day of March 1803. G.T. GOODENOUGH.

An Account of the Permanent Charges on the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, as they stood on the 5th of January 1803; *as far as the same can be ascertained.*

	Irish Money. £. s. d.
Interest, Annuities, and Sinking Fund.....	2,040,201 — —
Civil List.....	145,000 — —
Pensions.....	109,433 — —
Annual Payments under several Acts of Parliament.....	286,693 3 11
JAMES CROFTON. £.	2,581,327 3 11

An Account of the TREASURY BILLS *of* IRELAND *Outstanding, that will become payable in the Year* 1803.

Treasury Bills due and payable 25th March 1803.....	£.	386,250
Do. .....24th June 1803		600,000
Do. .....24th July 1803		100,000
JAMES CROFTON.	£.	1,086,250

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *which have been built and registered in the several Ports of* IRELAND, *between the 5th of Jan.* 1802 *and the 5th of Jan.* 1803.

No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.
37	2,324

FRANCIS L. MORGAN,
31st April 1803. Dep. Reg.-Gen. of Shipping.

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, *with the Amount of their* TONNAGE, *and Number of* MEN *and* BOYS *usually employed in navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of* IRELAND, *on the 30th September* 1802.

Ships.	Tons.	Men and Boys.
1,031	56,510	5,058

FRANCIS L. MORGAN,
21st April 1803. Dep. Reg.-Gen. of Shipping.

An Account of all BOUNTIES *paid on the Importation of Corn and Rice, in the Years ending the 10th of October* 1801 *and* 1802 *respectively; distinguishing each Quarter.*

			£.	s.	d.
Quarter ending	5th Jan...	1801	44,836	13	0¾
——— ending	5th April..	1801	30,429	11	9
——— ending	5th July..	1801	41,205	16	9
——— ending	10th Oct...	1801	416,815	17	11¾
Year ending 10th Oct.		1801	533,287	19	6¾
Quarter ending	5th Jan...	1802	931,839	17	9¾
——— ending	5th April..	1802	270,018	3	9¾
——— ending	5th July..	1802	321,737	12	11¾
——— ending	10th Oct...	1802	109,991	14	10¾
Year ending 10th Oct.		1802	1,633,587	9	4¾

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.
Inspector General's Office,
Custom-House, London,
29th November 1802.

An Abstract of the RECEIPTS *and* ISSUES *of the* TREASURY *in* IRELAND,

REMAINS on 5th Jan. 1802.					
Appropriated Funds.	£.	s.	d.		
Linen	490	10	9½		
Improving Dublin	1,194	1	0		
King's Inns	600	0	0		
Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	114	14	6		
Voluntary Contributions	14,036	1	4½	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
				16,435 7 8	
Consolidated Fund				394,668 5 7	
					411,103 13 3
Consolidated Fund. RECEIPTS.					
Revenue				3,030,686 15 0½	
Quit Rents				69 9 3½	
Casualties				4,597 2 2	
Dismissed Collectors				1,111 9 5	
Stamps	£. 181,616	18	10		
Do. (from Bank of Ireland in lieu of Stamp Duties)	1,500	—	—		
				183,116 18 10	
Postage				40,676 9 3½	
Duty on Wrought Plate				1,976 5 11	
Public Coal Yards				1,780 — —	
Wool Licences				358 18 8	
Four Shilling Tax on Salaries and Pensions, to 25th March, 1801				963 6 8	
Ditto ..... on Profits of Employments, to same Time				2,017 18 5½	
Poundage Fee in One Year, to 5th Jan. 1803				44,072 1 1¼	
Pells Fee..... same Time				8,814 5 9	
From the Commissioners of the Navy in Great Britain, on Account of the Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland, for Seamen's Wages				22,236 17 6	
Sales of Quit Rent				20 10 —	
From sundry Persons, on further Account of Rice, India Corn, &c. sold for Account of Government				7,106 15 7½	
From Commissioners of Wide Streets, Interest on £. 6,023 6s. 8d. in Exchequer Bills, at £. 5 per Cent. per Ann. for Half a Year to 25 Dec. 1801, issued to them pursuant to Act of Session 1800				150 11 8	
From Corporation of Paving, to complete £. 2,500 an Overpayment of the Proportion of Grant to them in Session 1800, pursuant to Act of Parl. Session 1801, disappropriating so much thereof as was applicable to the Period from 1st Jan. to 31st March, 1801				588 — —¼	
From Barrack Master General, Amount of Sale by Auction of Guard Houses, &c. erected by Government at different Avenues leading to and round Dublin				99 — 10½	
More, for Amount of Sale by Auction of Wooden Huts of temporary Barracks at the Rere of Kerry House, Stephen's Green, Dublin				35 10 1½	
From Board of Works, Net Produce of Sale by Auction of old Furniture, in Dec. 1802				513 1 11	
From 21st Regt. of L. Dragoons, Amount arising from Sale of certain Horses sold in August, 1802				67 15 6	
From 23d ditto, Money arising from Sale of Horses of said Reg. from 1 August to 24 Sept. 1802				2,928 7 5	
Gain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain				34,780 13 9¼	
From Great Britain, being One-Third of Profit on Lotteries for the Year 1802, £. 185,000 British				200,416 13 4	
From Great Britain, a Loan to pay Lottery Prizes, £. 276,000 British				299,000 — —	
From Great Britain, a Loan of £. 2,000,000 British, by which a Debt is created of £. 2,639,250 British, making £. 2,859,187 10s. Irish at £. 3 per Cent. per Ann. from sundry Dates				2,166,666 13 4	
On Debentures, a Loan of £. 1,625,000, by which a Debt is created of £. 1,770,232 17s. 1d. at £. 3 10s. per Cent. per Ann. from 25 Dec. 1801				1,625,000 — —	
On Exchequer Bills, from 24 June, 1802, at £. 5 per Cent. per Ann., and payable 24 June, 1803				600,000 — —	
On Exchequer Bills, from 24 July, 1802, at £. 5 per Cent. per Ann. and payable 24 July, 1803				100,000 — —	
					8,379,351 11 8
Appropriated Funds.					
Linen				2,929 13 9½	
Lagan Navigation				1,997 10 —	
Improving Dublin				8,444 4 10	
King's Inns				3,050 — —	
Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings				1,516 2 4½	
					17,937 11 —
					£. 8,808,891 15 11

in One Year, from the 5th Jan. 1802 to the 5th Jan. 1803, together with the REMAINS.

		s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated Fund.	ISSUES.					
Civil List	.....			131,760	6	6½
Pensions	.....			118,076	4	8½
Permanent Parliament Payments.						
Public Infirmaries	3,125	—	—			
Public Coal Yards	1,386	16	1½			
Army Baggage	21,533	1	7			
Lottery Expenses	7,045	4	3½			
Police Establishment	15,521	8	8½			
Inspector General of Prisons	200	—	—			
Transportation of Felons	22,826	19	6½			
Fees on Auditing Treasury Accounts	1,477	6	4½			
Imprest Office	3,100	—	—			
Secret Service in detecting Treasonable Conspiracies	6,701	—	7			
Annuities and Compensation Allowances	96,991	14	1½			
Judges Additional Salaries, &c.	27,175	17	4½			
Disembodied Militia	78,787	14	5			
Prizage	4,123	14	2½			
				289,995	17	4½
Military Purposes.						
Army, including Garrisons and their Incidents	839,231	19	1½			
General Officers and Medical Staff	38,682	5	2½			
Muster-Master General, &c.	7,479	19	4½			
Recruiting Contingencies and Extra Forage	86,255	6	5½			
Half-Pay Officers, Reduced Chaplains, &c.	23,703	8	2½			
Officers' Widows	5,569	3	10½			
Ordnance	155,000	—	—			
Barracks	267,712	18	1			
Royal Hospital	38,142	4	8½			
Military Hospitals and Royal Military Infirmary	13,092	2	11			
Fencibles and Militia	714,912	8	3			
Volunteer Corps	196,836	4	9½			
Marching Allowances	6,283	6	3			
Army Extraordinaries	319,651	7	10½			
				2,712,552	15	—½
Annual Grants.						
Public Officers, for several Services	2,430	—	—			
Public Hospitals and Schools	81,044	8	6½			
Public Boards	53,100	—	—			
Miscellaneous Services	101,107	14	6½			
Civil Contingencies	51,019	13	11½			
				288,701	17	1½
Discount on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposits, &c.	.....			15,687	11	7½
Relief of Loyalists	.....			30,363	13	—
Compensation for Losses by the Union	.....			760,132	19	1½
Inland Navigations	.....			12,000	—	—
Lottery Prizes	.....			300,044	—	—
Principal of Exchequer Bills	.....			1,094,400	—	—
Interest, Annuities, and Management on Funded Debt	.....			1,527,945	8	1
Sinking Fund and Management	.....			396,563	16	2
Interest on Exchequer Bills	.....			91,768	6	—
				7,769,992	14	9½
Appropriated Funds.						
Linen	490	10	9½			
Improving Dublin	7,720	1	1½			
King's Inns	960	—	—			
Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,251	10	9			
Voluntary Contributions	10	—	—			
				10,432	2	8
				7,780,424	17	1½
REMAINS on 5th Jan. 1803.						
Appropriated Funds.						
Linen	£. 2,929	13	9½			
Lagan Navigation	1,997	10	—			
Improving Dublin	1,918	4	8½			
King's Inns	2,690	—	—			
Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	379	6	1½			
Voluntary Contributions	14,026	1	4½			
	23,940	16	—			
Consolidated Fund	1,004,527	2	5½			
				1,028,467	18	5½
				£. 8,808,892	15	12

Treasury, Ireland, 3d Feb. 1803.

C. CAVENDISH.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *of* IRELAND, *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING, *on the 5th January* 1803, *under the Heads of—Loan Debentures, Exchequer Bills, Lottery Prizes, and Loan from Great-Britain for paying the Prizes of the Irish Lotteries of* 1801;—*distinguishing, under each Head respectively, the Particulars of which such Debt or Demand consisted, and also what Part of said Debt and Demand was then provided for, and in what Manner, and what Part thereof was unprovided for.*

LOAN DEBENTURES.

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Residue of Debentures bearing £.4 per cent. interest to the year 1788, provided for by 27th and 28th Geo. III, but not claimed by the proprietors; viz.			
Old Loan		675 0 0	
Loan by Lottery 1780		1,250 0 0	
Loan by Lottery 1781		750 0 0	
			(a) 2,675 0 0

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

Outstanding Exchequer Bills, provided for by several Acts of Parliament, but not claimed by the proprietors; viz.			
Payable 24 June, 1783	8 6 8		
24 June, 1790	50 0 0		
24 June, 1791	100 0 0		
24 June, 1794	200 0 0		
24 June, 1795	300 0 0		
25 Dec. 1798	400 0 0		
24 June, 1801	250 0 0		
25 Dec. 1801	5,200 0 0		
25 March, 1802	100 0 0		
24 June, 1802	2,400 0 0		
			(a) 9,008 6 8
EXCHEQUER BILLS, not in course of payment till after the 5th January, 1803:			
37 Geo. III. payable 25 Dec. 1802	(b) 29,750 0 0		
38 Geo. III. 25 Mar. 1803	(c) 30,000 0 0		
40 Geo. III. 25 Mar. 1803	386,250 0 0		
40 Geo. III. 25 Mar. 1803	(d) 6,023 6 8		
40 Geo. III. 24 June, 1803	(e) 600,000 0 0		
40 Geo. III. 24 July, 1803	(e) 100,000 0 0		
		1,152,023 6 8	
			1,161,031 13 4

LOTTERY PRIZES.

Outstanding lottery prizes of the several lotteries, from the year 1782 to the year 1801	(a) 29,981 0 0
Loan from Great-Britain, for paying the prizes of the Irish lotteries of 1801	299,000 0 0
Total	£. 1,492,687 13 4

(a) Provision has been made for these sums by several acts of parliament.
(b) Provided for last session.
(c) To be provided for by the Grand Canal Company to whom they were issued.
(d) To be provided for by the commissioners of wide streets.
(e) Have been for some years past replaced from year to year by other exchequer bills to a similar amount.

The remaining sums to be provided for.

Treasury Chamber, Dublin Castle,
28th April, 1803.

G. CAVENDISH,

An Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE *of* IRELAND *for the Year ending 5th January, 1803.*

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.

SEPARATE EXPENCE OF IRELAND.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
For Interest on the Funded Debt of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years; also £. 1 per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital created by Loans since 1797	1,842,317	0	3						
For Charge of Management thereon				14,556	15	8			
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt, the Annual Issue of	67,635	8	4						
	1,909,952	8	7						
Whereof was applied, towards the Reduction of the National Debt	464,198	16	7						
Total on Account of Interest	1,445,753	12	0						
Ditto, for Charge of Management	14,556	15	8						
Ditto, on Account of the Reduction of the National Debt	464,198	16	7						
							1,924,509	4	3
The Interest on Echequer Bills							91,768	6	0
Issues for Purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union							2,212,628	3	8¾
Issues from Appropriated Funds for Local Purposes							10,432	2	8
							4,239,337	16	7¾

JOINT EXPENCES WITH GREAT-BRITAIN.

Civil List				131,760	6	6½			
Pensions				118,076	4	8½			
Other permanent Charges				289,995	17	4½			
							539,832	8	7½
Payments in Anticipation of Exchequer Receipts; viz.									
Bounties				34,932	10	7			
Militia and Deserters Warrants				1,579	1	6			
							36,511	12	1
Ordnance							155,000	0	0
Army.—Ordinary Service; viz.									
Regulars, Fencibles, Militia, Invalids, and Volunteer Corps	1,850,208	0	5						
Barracks	267,712	18	1						
Staff Officers, and Officers of Garrisons	45,085	12	6¾						
Half Pay Officers, and Reduced Chaplains	23,703	8	2¾						
Officers' Widows	5,569	3	10¾						
Royal Hospital	38,142	4	8¾						
Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and Incidental Expences	7,479	19	4¾						
				2,237,901	7	2¾			
Extraordinary Services				319,651	7	10½			
							2,557,552	15	0¾
Miscellaneous Services							288,701	17	1¼
									3,577,598 12 10¾
								£.	7,816,936 9 6¾

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle,
21st April, 1803

G. CAVENDISH.

An Account, shewing how the MONIES *granted for the Service of the Year* 1802, *for that Part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called* IRELAND, *have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads.*

SERVICES.	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
FORCES:									
Army, with Garrisons and their Incidents, including £. 23,156. 2. 6½ being One Third of the Grant for Small Beer for the Forces	855,573	18	2½	839,231	19	1¼	16,341	19	1
General and Staff Officers, and Officers of the Hospitals	38,695	1	4½	38,682	5	2½	12	16	2
Recruiting, and Contingencies for the Army, Extra Forage, and Watch Coats	243,284	13	6¼	86,255	6	5¼	157.029	7	1
Militia and Fencible Infantry £.659,323 2 4½									
Contingencies for Ditto 90,500 — —	715,135	7	6	714,912	8	3	222	19	3
Two Thirds of £.69,468. 7. 7½. granted for Small Beer for the Forces 46,312 5 1									
Muster Master General, &c.	7,490	18	3¼	7,479	19	4¼	10	18	11½
Marching Allowances	25,600	0	0	6,283	6	3	19,316	13	9
Half Pay and Reduced Officers	41,750	19	6½	23,703	8	2¼	18,047	11	4¼
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham	43,703	0	1¾	38,142	4	8½	5,560	15	5½
Officers Widows	5,569	3	10¼	5,569	3	10¼			
Volunteer Corps, Cavalry and Infantry	224,567	18	1	196,836	4	9¾	27,731	13	3¼
Barrack Department	308,955	18	8¾	267,712	18	1	41,243	0	7¾
Hospital Contingencies, including Royal Military Infirmary	23,560	0	2	13,092	2	11	10,467	17	3
Extraordinaries for the Army	325,000	0	0	319,651	7	10½	5,348	12	1½
Full Pay to Supernumerary Officers	1,300	0	0	.....	...	...	1,300	0	0
Ordnance	219,999	19	11¼	155,000	0	0	64,999	19	11¼
	3,080,186	19	4¾	2,712,552	15	0¾	367,634	4	4
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES:									
Pratique for the Port of Dublin	1,047	10	2	1,047	10	2			
Civil Buildings	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0			
Apprehending Offenders	2,500	0	0	1,336	0	1¾	1,163	19	10¼
Criminal Prosecutions	25,000	0	0	22,846	19	7½	2,153	0	4½
Printing Proclamations	7,026	9	10½	7,009	6	7½	17	3	3
Printing Statutes	942	1	7¾	942	1	7¾			
Printing and Stationery for Public Offices	19,680	9	6	19,651	1	7½	29	7	10½
Treasury Incidents	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0			
Building Law Offices	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0			
Working Gold Mine in the County of Wicklow	2,000	0	0	1,685	11	3¾	314	8	8¼
Cloathing Battle Axe Guards	740	0	0	740	0	0			
Printing Journals of Irish House of Lords	2,517	18	4	2,517	18	4			
Ditto ..... of Irish House of Commons	10,331	5	1	10,331	5	1			
Civil Contingencies	54,166	13	4	51,019	13	11¾	3,146	19	4¼

PUBLIC BOARDS:

Printing Journals of Irish House of Lords	10,331	5	1	10,331	5	1			
Ditto ..... of Irish House of Commons	54,166	13	4	51,019	13	11¾	3,146	19	4¼
Civil Contingencies									

PUBLIC BOARDS:									
Linen Manufacture	21,600	0	0	21,600	0	0			
Board of First Fruits	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0			
Dublin Society	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0			
Farming Society	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0			
Commissioners for Paving, &c.	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0			
Commissioners of Wide Streets	4,500	0	0	4,500	0	0			
PUBLIC HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS:									
The Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools	19,562	16	7	19,562	16	7			
The Foundling Hospital	17,500	0	0	17,500	0	0			
The Hibernian Marine School	2,160	13	8	2,160	13	8			
The Hibernian Military School	4,500	0	0	4,500	0	0			
Lock Hospital	6,186	0	0	5,833	10	2¾	352	9	9¼
Roman Catholic Seminary	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0			
House of Industry	18,487	8	1	18 487	8	1			
The Society for discountenancing Vice	675	0	0	675	0	0			
The Female Orphan House	500	0	0	500	0	0			
Penitentiary for young Criminals	2,025	0	0	2,025	0	0			
Fever Hospital	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0			
Secretary to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations	300	0	0	300	0	0			
PUBLIC OFFICERS for several SERVICES:									
Accountant General	340	0	0	340	0	0			
Deputy Accountant General	240	0	0	240	0	0			
Paymaster of Corn Bounties	800	0	0	800	0	0			
Examinator of Corn Bounties	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Inspector General of Imports and Exports	250	0	0	250	0	0			
First Clerk to ditto	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Examinator of Excise	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Clerk in the Auditor of the Exchequer's Office	200	0	0	200	0	0			
£.	3,376,066	5	8	3,001,254	12	2	374,811	13	6
Treasury Bills	403,150	0	0	369,000	0	0	34,150	0	0
£.	3,779,216	5	8	3,370,254	12	2	408,961	13	6

G. CAVENDISH.

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT *of* IRELAND *as the same stood on the 5th January* 1803, *in which it is invested, the Amount of the Capital Stock of each Fund, the Annual Interest and Management, and the Annual Charge for the Reduction of the said Debt.*

By what ACTS created.	Payable in DUBLIN, £. 3 10 s. per Cent. per Annum.	£. 4 per Ct. per Annum.	£. 5 per Ct. per Annum.	Payable in LONDON: £5 per Ct. per Annum, (British Currenc.)	£. 3 per Ct. Consol. Annuities, (British Currency)	£. 3 per Ct. Consol. Annuities, from 5th Jan. 1803. (Brit. Cur.)	£3 per Ct. Reduced Ann. (British Currenc.)
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
13 Geo. III.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 Geo. III.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Geo. III.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Geo. III.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Geo. III.....	200,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 Geo. III.....	918,240	..	..	..	..	..	..
27, 29, and 31 Geo. III.....	..	174,200	..	..	..	..	..
33 Geo. III.....	..	..	200,000	..	..	..	..
Vote of Credit 11th June 1793	..	..	150,000	..	..	..	..
34 Geo. III.....	..	..	487,983	500,000	..	..	..
35 Geo. III.....	..	..	400,000	1,100,000	..	..	..
36 Geo. III.....	..	..	640,000	..	..	..	..
Vote of Credit 18th Oct. 1796	..	..	..	300,000	..	..	..
37 Geo. III.....	..	..	635,000	..	1,875,000	..	750,000
38 Geo. III.....	..	..	2,043,950	..	3,000,000	..	1,000,000
39 Geo. III.....	..	..	2,011,000	..	3,750,000	..	1,500,000
40 Geo. III.....	..	..	2,500,000	..	2,200,000	..	940,000
41 Geo. III.....	..	..	41,985	..	3,125,000	..	1,268,750
42 Geo. III.....	1,770,232	..	..	..	1,300,000	139,250	1,200,000
BANK of IRELAND.							
22 and 37 Geo. III	..	..	600,000	..	..	..	..
37 Geo. III.....	..	..	500,000	..	..	..	..
	2,888,472	174,200	10,209,919	1,900,000	15,250,000	139,250	6,658,750
Irish Currency.....				2,058,333	16,520,000	150,854	7,213,645

Total principal Debt, on the 5th January 1803

An Account of the Value of all IMPORTS *into and all* EXPORTS *from* IRELAND, *in the Year ending the 5th January* 1803, *distinguishing the Value of Irish Produce and Manufacture exported, together with the Difference between the Official Value and the Real Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported.*

		Official Value. £.	s.	d.	Real Value. £.	s.	d.
Exports	Irish Produce and Manufactures.....	4,876,070	19	8¾	8,276,817	18	9
	Foreign Articles	212,208	17	11½	—		
Imports		6,087,741	—	—¼	—		

Inspector General's Office,
Dublin, 1st April, 1803.

R. MARSHALL.

distinguishing the Years in which each part thereof was created;—Distinguishing also the different Funds Annuities, and the several Portions thereof payable in London and Dublin respectively, the Charge of

£. 4 per Ct. Consol. Annuities, (Brit. Cur.)	Annual Interest.	Annuities on Lives or Terms of Years.	Charge of Management.	ANNUAL CHARGE for Redemption of NATIONAL DEBT. Pursuant to Act of 37 Geo. III. for Redemption of Debt then existing.	ANNUAL CHARGE for Redemption of NATIONAL DEBT. By Acts providing £. 1 per Ct. for Redemption of Debts created since 1797.	TOTAL of Annual Expense.
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£	£.
..	..	15,900	..	..	..	15,900
..	..	10,500	..	..	..	10,500
..	..	22,500	..	..	..	22,500
..	..	..	..	2,250	..	2,250
.. } ..	39,138	..	..	..	..	39,138
..	6,968	..	..	..	..	6,968
.. } ..	17,500	..	..	..	..	17,500
..	51,482	10,296	346	..	..	62,125
..	79,583	18,058	655	..	..	98,297
.. } ..	48,250	23,437	319	..	..	72,007
300,000	130,062	5,281	1,366	67,635	38,714	243,060
..	232,197	5,326	1,896	..	64,466	303,886
..	271,175	..	2,463	..	76,875	350,513
..	227,050	..	1,492	..	59,016	287,559
..	144,896	..	2,125	..	47,598	194,620
..	143,208	..	1,218	..	46,294	190,721
..	30,000	..	..	..	..	30,000
..	25,000	18,125	..	..	5,000	48,125
			† 1,778	..	..	1,778
300,000	1,446,511	129,425	13,663	69,885	337,965	1,997,451

325,000
7,213,645
150,854
16,520,833
2,058,333
10,209,919
174,200
2,888 472
39,541,258

† Management on so much of the Debt, payable in Dublin, as has been converted into Stock, transferable at the Bank of Ireland. The Remainder is not chargeable with Management.

G. CAVENDISH.

*** In the above account, the fractional parts of the pound sterling are omitted.

PUBLIC ACTS.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent in the Course of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, commencing on the 16th Day of November, 1802, and ending on the 12th Day of August, 1803.

DEC. 17, 1802.

An act for continuing and granting to his Majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year 1803.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, for the service of the year 1803.

For raising the sum of 5,000,000l. by loans or exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been, or shall be granted by Parliament, for the service of Gt. Britain for the year 1803.

For further suspending, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, the operation of two acts, made in the 15th and 17th years of the reign of his present Majesty, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum, within that part of Gt. Britain called England.

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and to indemnify justices of the peace and others, who have omitted to register or deliver in the qualifications within the time directed by law; and for extending the time limited for those purposes until the 25th Dec. 1803; to indemnify members and officers in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped according to law, or, having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them until the 25th December, 1803, to provide admissions duly stamped; and to permit such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas, 1803.

For the more speedy and effectual enrolment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling up vacancies therein.

DEC. 29.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Gt. Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof, until the 15th Jan. 1804.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland, and for allowing, until the 15th Jan. 1804, other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

To amend an act made in the 37th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to provide for the more speedy payment of all navy, victualling, and transport bills, that shall be issued in future."

For appointing commissioners to inquire into any irregularities, frauds or abuses, which are, or have been, practised by persons employed in the several naval departments therein mentioned, and in the business of prize agency, and to report such observations as shall occur to them; for preventing such irregularities, frauds, and abuses; and for the better conducting and managing the business of the said departments, and of prize agency, in future.

To amend so much of an act, made in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia," as relates to the exemption of licensed teachers of any separate congregation from serving in the militia.

To rectify a mistake made in an act the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of Ireland, until the 25th March, 1803; and for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied;" relative to the pay of serjeants, corporals, and drummers.

For continuing until the 1st July, 1803, an act made in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for regulating until the 15th Feb. 1803, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Gt. Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Gt. Britain;" and for permitting, from and after the passing thereof, until the 1st July, 1803, the exportation of seed-corn from Gt. Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Gt. Britain from Ireland.

To continue until the 1st Jan. 1804, so

much of an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

To continue until the 1st Jan. 1804, several laws relating to the prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty; to the relief of captors of prizes, with respect to the bringing and landing certain prize goods in this kingdom; and to the regulating the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta.

To facilitate and render more easy the transportation of offenders.

For reviving and continuing for five years from the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, certain acts passed in the Parliament of Ireland, for regulating the baking trade in the city and county of Dublin; and for indemnifying all persons who have acted in pursuance of any of the provisions of the said acts, or any of them.

FEB. 28, 1803.

To amend and continue until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, the restrictions contained in several acts of the 37th and 38th years of the reign of his present Majesty, on payments of cash by the Bank.

MARCH 24.

For enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to continue until the 5th July, 1806, and for repealing so much of an act, made in the 35th year of the reign of his present Majesty, as directs the annual payment of 13,000l. out of the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, to the Commissioners appointed by the said act.

For granting to his Majesty several duties therein mentioned, to be levied by the Commissioners for managing the stamp duty in Ireland.

For granting to his Majesty certain duties upon certificates with respect to killing of game in Ireland.

For granting to his Majesty certain duties on licences to persons selling hats, and on hats sold by retail in Ireland.

For continuing until the 25th March, 1804, several acts for granting and continuing duties to his Majesty in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

For the regulation of his Majesty's Royal Marine forces while on shore.

To authorize the training and exercising the Militia of Gt. Britain, for 28 days.

For better securing the freedom of elections of members to serve in Parliament for any place in Ireland, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his Majesty's revenues in Ireland from giving their votes at such elections.

APRIL 7.

To repeal certain parts of an act, passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act for the more speedy and effectual enrolment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling vacancies therein," and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

For allowing vessels employed in the Greenland Whale Fishery to complete their full number of men at certain ports, for the present season.

To intitle Roman Catholics taking and subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to relieve, upon condition, and under restrictions, the persons therein described, from certain penalties and disabilities to which Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, are by law subject," to the benefits given by an act of the 18th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for relieving his Majesty's subjects professing the Popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by an act, made the 11th and 12th years of the reign of King William the Third, intituled, an act for the further preventing of the growth of Popery."

To continue until the 8th July, 1803, an act made in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to continue until the 8th April, 1803, an act passed in the last session of Parliament for staying proceedings in actions, under the statute of K. Henry VIII., for abridging spiritual persons from having pluralities of livings, and of taking of farms; and also to stay proceedings in actions, under an act of the 13th year of Q. Eliz. touching leases of benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings with cure."

For establishing certain regulations in the office of surveyor-general of his Majesty's woods, forests, parks, and chases.

For vesting certain lands and hereditaments in trustees, for further promoting the

service of his Majesty's ordnance at Woolwich.

For raising the sum of four millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1803.

To enable his Majesty to grant a certain annuity to Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, Bart. and Knight of the most Hon. Order of the Bath, in consideration of the eminent services which he has performed on various occasions.

To provide, until the 25th March, 1804, for the more speedy and effectual completion of the establishment of officers in the militia of Gt. Baitain, and for facilitating the filling up vacancies therein.

For appointing commissioners for distributing the money stipulated to be paid by the United States of America, under the convention made between his Majesty and the said United States, among the persons having claims to compensation out of such money.

MAY 17.

To continue, until the 29th Sept. 1804, several acts of Parliament, for the better collection and security of his Majesty's revenues in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

To amend and continue, until three months after any restriction imposed by an act of the present session of Parliament on the Bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease, an act made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 37th year of the reign of his present Majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the Bank of Ireland.

To continue, until the 25th March, 1804, so much of an act, made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to certain duties on sugar and coffee exported, for permitting British plantation sugar to be warehoused, and for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported, as relates to repealing the duties on sugar and coffee exported, and allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused.

For enlarging the period for the payment of part of certain sums of money, advanced by way of loan, to several persons connected with, and trading to, the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

For the more effectually preserving the peace, and securing the freedom of election, in the town of Nottingham, and county of the said town.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers.

MAY 27.

For consolidating and amending the several laws for providing relief for the families of the militia men of England, when called out into actual service.

To enable the East India Company to defray the expenses of certain volunteer corps raised by the said Company.

To amend so much of several acts passed in the 6th and 7th years, and in the 7th and 8th years of the reign of K. William III., as relates to the exportation of silver bullion.

For the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests and suits, and to authorize the levying of poundage upon executions in certain cases.

JUNE 11.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose.

To render more effectual an act passed in the 42d year of his present Majesty's reign, for consolidating the provisions of several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax.

For more speedily completeing the militia of Gt. Britain, raised under two acts, passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, and for amending the said acts.

To render the process of his Majesty's Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in personal actions, in Ireland, more beneficial; and also to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests, and to repeal so much of an act, passed in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 21st and 22d years of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for enlarging the time for trials by *nisi prius* in the city and county of Dublin, and for making the process of the Court of Exchequer more effectual," as relates to compelling the appearance of defendants in personal actions.

For indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in issuing, or carrying into execution certain orders of Council for the prevention of the exportation of gunpowder, naval stores, and saltpetre, and the permission of the exportation of seed corn to Norway.

For making better provision for the parochial schoolmasters, and for making further regulations for the better government of the parish schools in Scotland.

JUNE 24.

For raising the sum of twelve millions by way of annuities.

To repeal the duties of customs payable in Gt. Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

For remedying certain defects that have occurred in issuing certain exchequer bills.

For transferring to the Royal Navy such seamen as are now serving in the militia of Gt. Britain.

For the better protection of the trade of the United Kingdom, during the present hostilities with France.

To explain and amend an act, passed in the 39th year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for regulating the manner in which the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, shall hire and take up ships for their regular service;" to continue until the 25th March, 1806.

For regulating the vessels carrying passengers from the United Kingdom to his Majesty's plantations and settlements abroad, or to foreign parts, with respect to the number of such passengers.

For further prevention of malicious shooting, and attempting to discharge loaded firearms, stabbing, cutting, wounding, poisoning, and the malicious using of means to procure the miscarriage of women; and also the malicious setting fire to buildings; and also for repealing a certain act made in England, in the 21st year of K. James I., intituled, "An act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children," and also an act made in Ireland, in the 6th year of the reign of Q. Anne, also intituled, "An act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children," and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

For the better supply of mariners and seamen to serve in his Majesty's ships of war, and on board merchant ships, and other trading ships and vessels, during the present hostilities.

For the relief of soldiers, sailors, and mariners, and of the wives of soldiers, in the cases therein mentioned, so far as relates to England.

For vesting in trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Charlton, in the county of Kent, for further promoting the service of his Majesty's Ordnance.

For vesting in trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Weedon Beck, in the county of Northampton, for erecting buildings thereon, for the service of his Majesty's Ordnance.

For remedying certain defects in the laws relative to the building and repairing of county bridges, and other works maintained at the expense of the inhabitants of the counties of England.

JULY 4.

For granting to his Majesty, during the present war, and until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares and merchandize, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels in Great Britain.

For granting to his Majesty the sum of 20,000l. to be issued and applied towards making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, and for enabling the proprietors of land in Scotland to charge their estates with a proportion of the expenses of making, and keeping in repair, roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland.

To repeal the duties of excise payable in Gt. Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

To amend an act, passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to repeal an act, passed in the 25th year of the reign of his present Majesty, for granting stamp duties on certain medicines, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof, and for making effectual provision for the better collection of the said duties."

For making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the Militia of Gt. Britain while disembodied.

For augmenting the number of Field officers, and other officers of Militia, within Gt. Britain.

For further regulating the administration of the oath or affirmation required to be taken by electors of members to serve in parliament, by an act passed in the second year of K. George II, intituled, "An act for the more effectually preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament."

For making more effectual provision within Ireland for the punishment of offences in wilfully casting away, sinking, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies.

For continuing until the 1st July, 1804, an act passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for regulating until the 15th Feb. 1800, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Gt. Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Gt. Britain;" and also, an act made in the present session of parliament, for continuing the said act, and for permitting the exportation of seed corn from

Gt. Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Gt. Britain from Ireland.

For transferring to the Royal Navy such seamen as are now serving in the Militia of Ireland.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

To authorise the sale or mortgage of the estates of persons found lunatic by inquisition, in England or Ireland, respectively, and the granting of leases of the same.

To extend the provisions of two acts, passed in the 39th, and 40th, and in the 41st years of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the use of horse-hides in making boots and shoes, and preventing the damages of raw hides and skins in the flaying thereof, and to alter and amend the same as to the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and liberties thereof, and all places within fifteen miles of the Royal Exchange of the said city of London.

For raising and securing a fund for making provision for the widows of the writers to his Majesty's Signet in Scotland.

JULY 6.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble in England, an additional military force for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Scotland, an additional military force for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

JULY 7.

To amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England.

JULY 11.

For granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Ireland, an additional military force for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

For defraying, until the 25th March, 1804, the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

To continue, during the restriction on payments in cash by the Bank of Ireland, and to amend an act, made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 39th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to restrain the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange under a limited sum;" and also an act, made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 40th year of his present Majesty's reign, to continue and amend the said act.

For providing relief for the families of militia-men in Scotland, when called out into actual service.

For enlarging the limits of the southern whale fishery.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen, artificers, journeymen, and labourers, in Ireland, and for other purposes relating thereto

JULY 13.

For raising the sum of five millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Gt. Britain, for the year 1803.

For granting to his Majesty certain duties on the importation of goods, wares, and merchandize, into, and on goods, wares, and merchandize, exported from, Ireland; and also certain duties of excise on spirits and malt distilled and made in Ireland.

For defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia in Gt. Britain, for the year 1803.

To revive, and further continue until the 25th March, 1804, and amend so much of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present Majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of Parliament.

To authorise the advancement of further sums of money out of the consolidated fund, to be applied in the improvement of the port of London by the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled; and to empower the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to purchase the legal quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London.

JULY 27.

For raising the sum of one million, Irish currency, by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1803.

To amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act to enable his Ma-

jesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose;" and to enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative in requiring the military service of his liege subjects in case of invasion of the realm.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the same.

To amend several acts of Parliament for the better collection and security of his Majesty's revenue of customs and of excise in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein; and to make further regulations relating thereto.

To amend the acts now in force for securing the collection of the revenue upon malt, and for regulating the trade of a distiller in Ireland.

To rectify a mistake in an act, made in this present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act for enlarging the period for the payment of part of certain sums of money advanced by way of loan to several persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent."

To permit Portugal wines to be landed and warehoused in the United Kingdom without payment of duties, under certain restrictions, for a limited time.

To permit the exportation, for two years, of a certain quantity of corn, grain, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, or pulse, to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney, from other ports of England, as well as the port of Southampton, under certain restrictions.

To render more effectual two acts, made in this present session of Parliament, for the more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, and for raising an additional military force for the better defence of the United Kingdom.

For raising in the city of London a certain number of men, as an addition to the military force of Gt. Britain, for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

For the more effectually providing for the punishment of offences in wilfully casting away, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies, and for extending the power of an act, made in the 33d year of the reign of K. Henry VIII. as far as relates to murders, to accessories to murders, and to manslaughters.

For effectuating certain parts of an act, passed in the 2d and 3d years of the reign of her late Majesty Q. Ann, intituled, "An act for the making more effectual her Majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her Majesty to grant in perpetuity the revenues of the first fruits and tenths, and also for enabling any other person to make grants for the same purpose," so far as the same relate to deeds and wills, made for granting and bequeathing lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, to the governors of the bounty of Q. Ann, for the purposes in the said act mentioned, and for enlarging the powers of the said governors.

To rectify a mistake in an act, made in this present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England," and to remove a doubt respecting the title of the statute of the 21st year of K. Henry VIII. therein mentioned.

To promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing of churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of ministers, and the providing of church-yards and glebes.

To enable the commissioners of first-fruits in Ireland to lend certain sums of money, interest free, to incumbents of benefices there, for the purpose of enabling them to erect or purchase glebe houses and offices convenient for their residence, glebe lands fit and convenient for the erection of such houses and offices, and to make provision for the repayment of all loans so to be made by the said commissioners.

To explain and amend an act, made in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act, made in the 22d year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor," so far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-house.

For enabling friendly societies, intended to be established under an act, passed in the 33d year of the reign of his present Majesty to rectify mistakes made in the registry of their rules.

For the better preservation of heath fowl, commonly called Black Game, in the New Forest, in the county of Southampton.

To explain and amend two acts, made in the 2d and 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present Majesty, for preventing the commission of thefts and frauds, by persons

navigating bum-boats and other boats upon the river Thames, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations thereon, so far as relates to the seizure of exciseable commodities.

For the further improvement of the port of London, by making docks and other works at Blackwall, for the accommodation of the East India shipping at the said port.

For establishing a free market in the city of London for the sale of coals, and for preventing frauds and impositions in the vend and delivery of all coals brought into the port of London, within certain places therein mentioned.

JULY 29.

For the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the protection of the persons and property of his Majesty's faithful subjects there, to continue in force until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

To empower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against his Majesty's person and government, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

To render more effectual an act passed in the 5th year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the discovery of the longitude at sea, and for continuing the encouragement of persons making certain discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or other useful discoveries and improvments in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto, and for discharging certain debts incurred by the commissioners of the longitude, in carrying the acts relating thereto into execution.

For improving the funds of the chest at Chatham, and for transferring the administration of the same to Greenwich Hospital, and for ameliorating the condition of the pensioners on the said funds.

AUGUST 12.

For granting to his Majesty, until the 6th May next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices.

For enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of two millions, for the use and purposes therein mentioned.

For raising the sum of 1,500,000l. by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain, for the year 1803.

For granting to his Majesty certain duties on receipts.

For enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of 16,000l. on the House of Orange, during his Majesty's pleasure.

For charging an additional duty on Lignum Quassia imported into Great-Britain.

To enable the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury of Great-Britain, to issue exchequer bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been, or shall be granted by Parliament for the service of Gt. Britain for the year 1803.

For consolidating the duties on stamps, vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great-Britain.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the said acts so far as the same relate to Scotland.

For rectifying a mistake in an act of the last session of Parliament, for better collecting the duties on auctioneers.

For the further regulation on the collection of the duties of customs in Great-Britain in certain cases.

To amend so much of an act made in this session of Parliament, for granting additional duties on excise, as relates to the exportation of tea to Ireland; for regulating the granting of permits for the removal of coffee, tea, and cocoa-nuts, out of warehouses; and for the more effectually securing the duties on coffee.

For the more effectually securing certain duties on malt, and for preventing frauds by makers of malt from bear or bigg in Scotland.

To amend an act made in this present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act to amend an act, and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled, an act to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose; and to enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in requiring the military service of his liege subjects, in case of invasion of the realm."

For extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America, adjoining to the said province.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

During the Second Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great-Britain the Nineteenth, appointed to meet at Westminster, the Sixth Day of October, 1803, and from thence continued, by several Prorogations, to the Twenty-second Day of November, in the Forty-fourth Year of the Reign of King GEORGE the Third, Annoque Domini, 1803.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

November 22, 1803.

This day, at a quarter past three o'clock, his Majesty came down to the House of Peers in the accustomed state, and being seated in his royal robes upon the throne, Mr. Quarme, the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod, was dispatched with a message from his Majesty, commanding the attendance of the House of Commons, who forthwith appeared at the bar, with the Speaker at their head. His Majesty was then pleased to deliver the following most gracious speech from the throne:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

Since I last met you in Parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the United Kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have proved that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native and hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the Kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture. —Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal security, no opportunity has been lost of making an impression on the foreign possessions of the enemy. The Islands of St. Lucia, of Tobago, of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, have surrendered to the British arms. In the conduct of the operations by which those valuable acquisitions have been made, the utmost promptitude and zeal have been displayed by the officers employed on those services, and by my forces acting under their command by sea and land. —In Ireland, the leaders, and several inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy, have been brought to justice; and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope, that such of my deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free Constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French Government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of my United Kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have a perfect reliance on your public spirit for making such provision as may be necessary for the service of the year. The progressive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to persevere in the system which has been adopted, of defraying the expenses of the war, with as little addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the State. —I lament the heavy pressure which, under the present circumstances, must unavoidably be experienced by my people; but I am persuaded that they will meet it with the good sense and fortitude which so eminently distinguish their character, under a conviction of the indispensable importance

of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the safety of the Empire.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have concluded a convention with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting all the differences which have arisen on the subject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention should be laid before you; and you will, I trust, be of opinion that the arrangement, whilst it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on those principles of reciprocal advantage which are best calculated to maintain and improve the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries.—In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute as becomes me, the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest.—Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them, discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that our's will not only be the glory of surmounting present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources."

After his Majesty had left the House, Lord Hawkesbury was introduced by the Earl Marshal and Lord Great Chamberlain in their robes, between Lords Hobart and Auckland, on being created Baron Hawkesbury, and took the oaths and his seat in the House. Lord Westmoreland then moved the first reading of a bill, according to ancient usage, before they proceeded to take into consideration his Majesty's speech. Their Lordships then adjourned during pleasure After a short interval, the House was resumed, and his Majesty's speech was read, first by the Lord Chancellor, and afterwards by the Clerk at the table.

The *Marquis of Sligo* then rose to move an Address to his Majesty, on his most gracious Speech from the throne, which their Lordships had just heard read, and spoke as follows: My Lords—In calling your Lordships' attention to the speech which has been delivered from the throne, I trust I shall not be considered as arrogating to myself an extraordinary claim to your consideration. Little in the habit of addressing you on such occasions, and not, perhaps, suited to it on any, I shall require much of your indulgence, while I endeavour to express those sentiments to which that speech has given rise; though I am persuaded I feel them only in common with your Lordships, and with all those who have had the opportunity of attending to it. The importance of perfect unanimity at this moment, I feel most strongly, and I trust nothing will fall from me to stand in the way of that most desirable object. We must recollect that we have to contend with an overbearing and vindictive enemy, avowing, as his object, our destruction, and one who we know, by the melancholy experience of Europe, will stop at no means to effect his purposes. If ever there was a period of more importance in the annals of history than another, this is the period. If ever there was a moment for peculiar pride in the name of Briton, more than another, it is at the present moment. If ever there was a period when this nation, long the envy and admiration of the world, could more properly be looked up to for imitation, it is now, when every individual, born to the protection of equal laws, stands forward, without distinction of rank, class, or situation, to shed his blood in defence of that invaluable inheritance. The measures which the prudence of his Majesty's ministers has suggested for the defence of the empire, and which the wisdom of Parliament has adopted, have been outdone by the zeal and patriotism of its inhabitants, and Great-Britain offers itself to the admiration of the world in a novel attitude, a nation of soldiers, not brought together by the terrors of revolutionary laws, not assembled by the unbridled power of a despotic government, not invited by the hopes of plunder, from the destruction of neighbouring nations, but voluntarily stepping forth on the noblest and wisest principles, the possession of an unequalled form of government, a proper sense of its value, and a determination to die in its defence.—France, assisted in her views upon other

nations, by their internal dissentions, may have the same expectation here, but she will find, that, however the wisest may differ in political opinions, or however we may be divided in another part of the United Empire by distinctions of religion, there are points and principles in which we shall be actuated by one mind; we will not be invaded by a foreign enemy; we will not be dictated to by any one; we will live as an independent people, as our forefathers have done, or we will not live at all.—But, though much of the attention of the King's ministers must have been bestowed on our extensive preparations for home defence, their labours have not been confined to that only. Enterprizes for conquests abroad have been planned, and several colonies of considerable commercial value wrested from the enemy and added to the dominions of Great-Britain, opening new markets for our manufactures, and, at the same time, cutting off the last remnant of foreign trade from France. She is effectually deprived of the means for the restoration of her naval power, the remnant of which, still smarting under the recollection of former defeats, confined to her own harbours, remains blockaded in one of her naval arsenals by the persevering vigilance of Admiral Cornwallis, and in the other, by a noble admiral, with whose exploits in the same quarter, she has had some former acquaintance.—With respect to the recent events which have taken place in Ireland, I can address your Lordships on that subject with a considerable degree of confidence, having been there previous to the breaking out of the insurrection, pending it, and for many months after it was put down. A conspiracy, fomented by the intrigues of France, was formed, having for its avowed object the overthrow of the government. The energy, the firmness, the vigilance, and the moderation with which it was followed up by the King's servants there, gave universal satisfaction to all the loyal inhabitants. It was traced to its very source: not only every ring-leader, but also every conspicuous person concerned in it, was discovered and brought to punishment, after being allowed the fullest benefit of those mild, just, and lenient laws, which, in their madness, they wished to have overturned. I will also further assure your Lordships, that French fraternization is now appreciated in Ireland, at its just value, and if, by the misinformation of their emissaries, the enemy should direct their meditated attack to that quarter, they will find, I here pledge myself to your Lordships, a vigorous resistance from every rank and every persuasion of the inhabitants.—A continued perseverence in the wise system of defraying the weighty charge of war, with the least possible permanent burthen on the public, cannot be too much commended. It is by that only our national credit can be preserved, and that France will learn, that the plans she may have formed for exhausting our resources, are as vain as any others she may have in view for our destruction.—With respect to the Convention concluded with the King of Sweden, when the papers on that subject are before your Lordships will be the properest time for examining the merits of that convention; I will, however, take leave to say now thus much: in all I have seen, and all I have read, treaties between independent nations are lasting and beneficial, in proportion as they convey equal and reciprocal advantage to both parties: if, therefore, our just rights are obtained, and all indispensably necessary to us is secured, without infringing on the rights of another independent kingdom, all that could be wished for is accomplished.—I come now, my Lords, to the concluding paragraph of the speech; in which his Majesty, in language never to be forgotten, declares, that, embarked in one common cause with his brave and loyal people, he confides to them the honour of his crown, determined in his own person to share with them their exertions and their dangers. The feelings to which such sentiments give rise, it would not be easy to express; I could dwell on them with pride and pleasure: but I have trespassed already too much on your Lordships' indulgence, and, in truth, I have nearly exhausted my own strength, and, therefore, though I could have wished to have added a few words more, I must conclude with a fervent prayer, that the beloved Sovereign, who has reigned in the love and admiration of his subjects for nearly half a century, may long continue to fill that throne! Whatever calamities hang over us, may danger be far from him! And, when taken from us to another and a better world, may the remembrance of his unexampled virtues be lastingly impressed on his successors, as the highest ornament to this nation in its prosperity, and the best pledge to it for the Divine aid, under any of those dangers or calamities from which nothing human is exempted.—His Lordship then moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty," which address was as usual, an echo of the speech from the throne, and nearly the same as that which we insert in the proceedings of the House of Commons of this day. (See page 15).

The *Earl of Limerick* rose to second the Address. Though he fully coincided in the sentiments expressed by the noble Marquis who had just sat down, yet he hoped the House would pardon him, if he felt it necessary to trespass upon their patience, by a few observations upon the speech itself. Their Lordships would observe, that in the subject at present before them, no questions were involved, as to the fitness or unfitness of ministers for the councils of their Sovereign; the topics before them were not matters of party consideration; they were of a comprehensive, general and important kind, and presented themselves to the attention of their Lordships in such a point of view, as induced him to trouble them with a very few observations thereon. The opening part of the Speech from the throne, very properly adverted to that impregnable state of protection, which the unprecedented vigour, energy, and unanimity of the population of the country held forth to an aggressive and unprincipled foe. This was such, (and it was with exultation he had to remark it,) as must make the enemy ever feel what he had to expect, in case he should provoke, by an attack upon its territory, the just vengeance of a nation, armed in defence of its independence, its liberties, and its invaluable constitution. A voluntary armament like the present could not be paralleled in the history of any country; not only with respect to the amount of numbers, but in the instance of the sense, nay, the feelings of the people being so clearly and forcibly expressed. As danger threatened, our spirits had increased; and never had energy more conspicuously distinguished any nation, even during the most arduous emergencies, than in the present contest. He was confident, that should the opportunity offer, of those patriotic bands signalizing themselves in action, they would evince themselves the genuine descendants of those who had so gloriously carried the terrors of the British arms into the heart of France, and bore away the palm of signal and complete victory at Cressy and Poictiers. When had there such a number of voluntary defenders stepped forward to vindicate the cause of their country? If he was rightly informed, there was at least half a million of men in arms, prepared and eager to meet the boasting foe. Indeed the country appeared to him as one vast camp, filled by armed myriads, who, instead of feeling a particle of dismay or apprehension, instead of evincing themselves a "nation of shopkeepers," as they had been tauntingly called by the enemy, ardently wished for nothing so much as to be brought to the test of action. When we came to cope with our enemy in war, we displayed the same superiority, as when we contended with other traders in mercantile effort. We were not mere merchants who could traffic, but could not fight; not mere soldiers who could fight, without excelling in other arts; but in whatever we undertook we were superior. Greatly as he admired the volunteer-corps, yet, there was one circumstance which he wished to see different from what it now was; he wished that every corps of that kind, and also the militia, should have been engaged to serve in any part of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, where occasion might require a large portion of the national force: not only that the volunteers and militia should march to their own coasts, but also to the sister island, reciprocally and respectively, if they be wanted. Meritorious as were their services, and momentous, even under the present tenure, yet he thought they would be still more valuable, if they were more extensive as to place; and he wished a clause to that effect had been introduced into that part of the defensive system, which recommended the formation of volunteer corps. With such a numerous and effectual force, some persons asked, why were our operations almost entirely defensive? Why did we make no attempt at offensive efforts? Our first and grand object was defence; the defence of our King, country, constitution, laws, religion, property, families, liberty, and lives, from the most cruel enemy that had ever annoyed the human race; and who was inflamed with peculiar hatred against this country, which alone had effectually resisted and repressed his lawless ambition. Unless we had made defence our principal and almost sole object, we could not have provided for our security and independence. Even now, though we had in a great measure ascertained our security by our strength, the vigilant hatred of our enemy would admit of no relaxation of our defensive exertions. He trusted, however, that in a short time we should be so secure, in point of defence, as to admit of offensive warfare. He could not withhold his just tribute of praise from that respectable board, to whose department more particularly belongs the arming of the troops and volunteer force of the country, for their almost miraculous exertions, within the short period of a few months, which had enabled them to issue, if he was rightly informed, above 300,000 stand of arms. Such exertions, though they merited peculiar com-

mendation, were only, he was well assured, a specimen of the vigour and alacrity which universally pervaded every department connected with the public force.—The next point of the speech to which he would advert, was that in which his Majesty stated, that while every exertion was directed, in the first instance, to provide for our internal safety at home, yet his arms abroad had been directed to the attainment of new and important acquisitions of territory in the West-Indies. To the wisdom of such conduct, every praise was due. Until our security at home should be placed out of all possible risk, it would be quixotism to direct our arms to projects of foreign conquest; but that security once effected, it became the wisdom and vigour of his Majesty's councils, to seek every means of annoying the enemy abroad; and the new acquisitions in the West-Indies his lordship hailed as an omen of new triumphs to our arms, to which, the state of forwardness in number and equipment of our public force, unparalleled at so early a period of the war, must enable us speedily to make many valuable additions.—His lordship next adverted to that part of his Majesty's speech which alludes to the concerns of Ireland. He had, on a former occasion, feelingly to lament, the misfortunes which had then arisen in that part of the United Kingdoms: with respect to these, on the present view of that subject, much matter for satisfactory consideration was afforded; the principal leaders in that wicked and flagitious insurrection had since met that fate they so justly deserved. The numbers of those who were embarked in that wretched cause, were certainly contemptible; yet their attempts were matter for precautionary consideration. He had, since the period alluded to, resided in Ireland, and had taken some pains to be correctly informed upon the subject; he had reason to think, that several of those who were deeply engaged in traitorous machinations against the constitution and unity of these kingdoms, differed materially among themselves as to the plan most expedient to be pursued. Some urged the expediency of an immediate rising, while others preferred waiting for the assistance or co-operation of France. The explosion, therefore, had prematurely broken forth. He sincerely wished, however, that the hopes held out in the speech, that those who had been unhappily misled into the paths of treason and rebellion, would, by comparing the effects of that mild and lenient system of government under which they had the good fortune to live, with those of that tyrannical and unprincipled usurpation to which they were about to commit their country, would be induced to return to their allegiance, and to habits of tranquillity. Added to this consideration, he trusted the disaffected in that country would be kept down by the strength and vigilance of the Irish Volunteer force. Of that body of men, he could speak in terms of well founded panegyric: he had seen them, and steadier and better disciplined troops were no where to be found: they were confidently to be relied upon: it was not for review and parade alone that they were cal culated, they had been weighed in the balance of actual service, and proved themselves not to be deficient. Here the noble earl adverted to the militia force of the United Kingdom, and avowed himself convinced, as he had done on a former occasion, of the superior policy of reciprocal service. After viewing the effects of the militia system as it now stood, he expressed his wish that these forces, of every part of the United Kingdom, were enabled by law reciprocally to volunteer their services. With respect to the militia of Ireland, he argued for the superior policy of employing them partially, at least, in this country. Such a measure would be, he seemed to think, in strict consonance with the spirit of the union. There might exist an aversion on the part of the English and Scotch militia to crossing the sea; but he repeated his opinion, that with respect to the Irish militia, they would, if brought to this country, behave as well as any troops possibly could. —His lordship then entered upon the consideration of the remaining topics of his Majesty's speech. In regard to the pecu-pecuniary part of it, he must anticipate the most perfect unanimity, with respect to the affording the necessary supplies under the present circumstances.—In regard to the convention lately entered into with the King of Sweden, it had his hearty approbation, conceiving it was grounded on principles, which would tend to do away those embarrassments which heretofore obtained on the trade of the respective countries; and, further, he was of opinion it would have the desirable operation of counteracting the effects of the armed neutrality. In former contests Great Britain had been greatly annoyed by disputes about the maritime law, and the rights of neutral nations trading with belligerent powers; but this convention adjusted every difference that had arisen, concerning the interpretation of the treaty which defined our maritime right in these cases.—He had to apologize to their

lordships for trespassing so much upon their attention. Yet, there was one other point, respecting which he could not possibly refrain from offering a word or two; namely, that part of his Majesty's most gracious speech, wherein he expressed his determination personally to come forward in defence of the honour of his crown, and the liberties and independence of his faithful people. To a communication of this nature, he trusted there was no heart so cold, or feelings so deadened, as not to beat responsive to the intimation, or feelingly to appreciate, in its full extent, its magnitude and importance. Well may his Majesty rely upon the zeal and services of his people. Should such a contingency ever arise, the whole population of the island would rush forward, and interpose its myriads between his sacred person and danger: though an attack should be made by hosts gorged with the spoils and blood of Europe, the result would be, not only security, but triumph to our beloved Sovereign and those who have the happiness to live under his auspicious government. Upon the whole, he was induced to think, that, from the present favourable appearance of the national affairs, and the system adopted by government, that such effects would ensue as must tend to the establishment of a real, permanent, and honourable peace, because founded on the genuine balance of power in Europe, and duly regarding the liberties and independance of the various states concerned, and above all, on the broad principle of reciprocity of benefit and advantage. The noble earl concluded with expressing his hearty concurrence with the address.—The question was put, and the address was immediately voted *nem. diss.*—A committee of their lordships then retired formally to prepare the address, and on their return the Marquis of Sligo reported from the same, when the House ordered that the lords with white staves should wait upon his Majesty to-morrow with the said address.

[Committee of Privileges]—Lord *Hawkesbury* moved that Lord Walsingham be appointed chairman of the committee of privileges for the present session.

The *Lord Chancellor*, in seconding the motion, took an opportunity to pay an handsome compliment to the talents and assiduity which the noble lord, who was the subject of the motion, had displayed during so long a period, in his official capacity of chairman of their lordships' committees.—The question was put, and the appointment forthwith ordered by their lordships, *nem. diss.*

Lord *Walsingham* then rose, and observed, that he was not in the habit of trespassing upon the attention, or taking up the valuable time of their lordships; but, after what had just fallen from the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, he could not avoid saying a word or two on the occasion. He had to return his thanks to the House for this additional manifestation of their lordships' favourable opinion of his official conduct; he trusted he should persevere in that line of conduct which had met their lordships' approbation, which principally consisted in a strict and uniform adherence to the rules and orders of the House, without which the business could not be conducted duly to the honour of the House, or to the advantage of the public.—It was then ordered, on the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, that Lord Walsingham be appointed chairman of the committees of their lordships' House, except in cases where it shall be otherwise directed; and also that his lordship be appointed chairman of the private committees during the present session.—The usual order respecting the committee of privileges was then made, on the motion of Lord Walsingham; as were the several routine orders usually made at the commencement of a session; after which their lordships adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, November 22.

The House met this day, pursuant to his Majesty's proclamation, for the dispatch of public business. About three o'clock the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod appeared within the bar, and delivered a message from the Lords, desiring the attendance of the House in the House of Peers to hear the speech from the Throne. The Speaker, accompanied by the members present, accordingly attended, in obedience to his Majesty's command. On their return, the Speaker took the chair, and acquainted the House, that, by virtue of the acts authorising him so to do, he had issued his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, directing him to make out a new writ for the election of a member to serve in parliament for the Borough of Yarmouth, in the County of Southampton, in the room of J. Murray, Esq. deceased; and also another for the County of Gloucester, in the room of the Marquis of Worcester, called to the House of Peers.—Seven members were introduced and took the usual oaths and their seats; among whom were Mr. Yorke, Mr. Bragge, and

Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones.—The Speaker informed the House, that the clerk had, according to custom, prepared a bill for preventing clandestine outlawries. The bill was brought up and read a first and second time.

[KING'S SPEECH.]—The *Speaker* acquainted the House that the House had, in obedience to his Majesty's command, attended in the House of Peers, to hear his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne; of which, to prevent mistakes, he had himself obtained a copy. He then proceeded to read the Speech from the chair, for which we refer to our account of the proceedings of the Lords. (See p. 1.) After the Speaker had finished reading the Speech,

The Hon. *Cropley Ashley* rose and spoke as follows. Sir; after having heard the sentiments expressed, and the statements contained in the Speech which has just now been read, it cannot appear out of season for me to congratulate the House on the state of the country as described in that Speech. The spirit, zeal, and unanimity of all classes, and the voluntary exertions of every branch of the community, are unexampled in the annals of any country, and have so effectually provided for the defence and security of the kingdom, as to set all attempts of the enemy to make any impression on our coasts at defiance. I congratulate this House and the nation in general, that the prosperous state of our manufactures, and the great improvement of the public revenue, will enable the government to adhere to that excellent system of carrying on the war without any material addition to the permanent debt of the nation; a system which, if closely pursued, will infallibly disappoint the hopes of our foe, and render abortive every attempt of the enemy to destroy this country by delay, and to keep it in a constant state of alarm.—From the exertions that every where appear around us, I think the country in a situation of the greatest security; and it is with conscious pride I have observed, that, notwithstanding the extensive and vigorous system of internal defence that has been adopted, our arms have been carried abroad against the foreign possessions of the enamy. The valuable islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo, have been added to the British empire. The vigilance and wisdom of the administration which planned the expeditions against them, and the zeal, bravery, and spirit of the forces, by which such valuable acquisitions have been made, are entitled to the gratitude and acknowledgments of the country. In the short space of four months such advantages have been gained, as, in every former war, would have been reckoned glorious achievements for a whole campaign.—It is with the highest satisfaction I learn, that a convention has been concluded with Sweden, founded on the firmest basis of all treaties, the reciprocal advantage of both the contracting parties. —It is also matter of satisfaction and congratulation to know, that the affairs of Ireland now appear to wear a favourable aspect, and that the change has been brought about, without the necessity of employing those extraordinary means, which the difficulties of the times render it indispensably necessary to place in the hands of the Irish government. Such conduct must necessarily impress the deluded insurgents of that country, with a just sense of the blessings of the happy constitution, which it was the object of their wishes to destroy. The impartiality and regard to public justice, with which the several trials of the persons engaged in the rebellion, have been conducted, reflects the highest honour on those to whom the administration of the affairs of Ireland have been committed, and entitles them to the respect and gratitude of the country. His Majesty has expressed his hope, that such of his deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error, and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of the United Kingdom. If after such a comparison, any man can be backward or lukewarm in the cause of his country, let him call to his recollection the example of his Majesty, whose whole life has been devoted to the improvement and advantage of his subjects, and who has this day come forward and declared to his people his determination, to share with them the danger and the toil. This is not a war merely for military glory, for extended dominion, or for powerful allies; but a war forced upon us by an insolent foe, in defence the constitution, the laws, the religion of this kingdom; in defence of every thing dear and valuable to a people. Our conduct this night, will, I trust, shew, that whatever may be the differences which prevail amongst us in other respects, it is our

unanimous resolution to stand firm in the defence of our Sovereign, and of our own civil and religious privileges. This is a resolution worthy of a free and generous people, fully sensible of the distinguished blessings which they enjoy; a people magnanimous enough to drop all party interests, when the welfare and security of the nation is at stake. I therefore beg leave to move "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty—To return his Majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious speech from the throne.—To assure his Majesty that this house is deeply sensible of his Majesty's paternal care and attention to the safety and interests of his faithful people, in carrying into effect such measures as Parliament has adopted for the defence of the United Kingdom, and the vigorous prosecution of the war.—That it is highly gratifying to this house to reflect, that in those preparations his Majesty has been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of his people, in a manner which his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to declare, has, if possible, strengthened their claims to his confidence and affection.—That they feel with just exultation, that the measures of the enemy have only served to rouse the native and hereditary spirit of the nation; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture.—They beg leave humbly to congratulate his Majesty on the impression which, notwithstanding the necessity of principally attending to the great object of internal security, has been made on the foreign possessions of the enemy, by the capture of the Islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and of the Settlements of Demerara and Essequibo; and they are fully sensible of the promptitude and zeal displayed by the Officers employed in the conduct of the operations, by which those valuable acquisitions have been made, and by the forces acting under their command by sea and land.—That they have great satisfaction in reflecting, that the leaders, and several of the inferior agents in the late traiterous and atrocious conspiracy in Ireland, have been brought to justice, and that the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption; and they earnestly participate in the hope which his Majesty has so graciously expressed, that such of his deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and, comparing the advantages they enjoy under the protection of a free constitution with the condition of the countries under the dominion of the French Government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt, that may be made against the security and independence of the United Kingdom.—They assure his Majesty that he may rely on the readiness of his faithful Commons, to make such provision as may be necessary for the service of the year, and that they are fully sensible of the importance of persevering in the system which has been adopted, of defraying the expenses of the war with as little addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the state.—They feel a perfect confidence that their fellow subjects will meet with fortitude, the pressure which the present situation of the country renders unavoidable, under a conviction of the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the safety of the empire.—They return their thanks to his Majesty, for his gracious intention of laying before them the Convention which his Majesty has concluded with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which have arssen on the subject of the 11th Article of the Treaty of 1661; and they trust that it will be found at once to uphold our maritime rights, and to produce the effect of maintaining and improving the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries.—That they are most deeply convinced that it will be, as it ever has been, his Majesty's first object to execute, as becomes his royal dignity, the great trust with which he is invested; and they receive with the strongest feelings of veneration and dutiful attachment the expression of those paternal sentiments which induce his Majesty to consider himself as embarked in one common mon cause with his people, and which have determined his Majesty, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence.—They beg leave humbly to assure his Majesty, that these sentiments will not be lost on an affectionate and grateful people, but will animate and invigorate the activity and valour of his fleets and armies, and the zeal and determination of his faithful subjects, to which his Majesty, under the protection of Divine Providence, may safely confide the honour of his crown and all those important interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest.—Partaking of these his Majesty's sentiments, and joining with his Majesty in humbly imploring the blessings of Divine

Providence, they look forward with a firm conviction that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of his Majesty's fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading the coasts of the United Kingdom, the consequences will be to them discomfiture, confusion and disgrace. and that the exertions of this kingdom will be rewarded, not only by the glory of surmounting present difficulties and repelling immediate danger, but by the solid and permanent advantage of fixing its safety and independence on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources."

Mr. *Burland*.—Sir, In rising to second the motion of my honourable friend, I find a considerable degree of embarrassment; not proceeding so much from the apprehension of addressing this House, whose indulgence I have before experienced, but from the momentous crisis in which I am permitted to address you. A crisis, Sir, which whether we consider the general situation of the continent of Europe, sunk and depressed as it is by the predominant influence of one power to the rank and level of a petty German State, or whether we consider the particular situation of this kingdom rearing its head above those clouds of anarchy and despotism which have in succession shed their noxious influence on the globe: in whatever light we view it, I believe it is a crisis unparalleled in the history of antient, and I am confident unequalled in that of modern times.—At a period like the present, Sir, when preparations are making, the avowed object of which we know to be the destruction of this country, when even at the moment in which I am now speaking, the meditated attack may possibly have commenced on our coasts, I am sure I need not call upon the members of this House for that unanimity on which our salvation depends. Small indeed, I am well aware, is the influence which any argument of mine would produce, but I rely with confidence on the unanimous vote of the House in support of the motion of my honourable friend, because the experience of the last session of Parliament has taught me, that whatever shades of difference there might be in political opinions on speculative or theoretical points, however gentlemen might disagree in their sentiments of past measures, or of proposed plans of defence, yet, whenever the welfare of the King, the country, or the constitution, was at stake, this House possessed but one opinion and one voice.—Let us, then, at the commencement of a session, during which it is probable the fate of this country will be decided, set an example of unanimity to the British empire; let us not by dissentions here paralyze the efforts which a generous and patriotic enthusiasm is making for the preservation of the country.—If, Sir, any argument was necessary in favour of unanimity, from what source could I deduce it better, than from the disunion, the selfish politics, and the lust of partial aggrandizement, which have deluged Europe with blood, and involved the innocent and guilty in one common ruin.—But, Sir, I feel no apprehension of the want of unanimity, either within these walls or without. The moderation which his Majesty invariably shewed throughout the whole of the last war, the disposition which he at all times manifested to conclude a peace on fair and honourable terms, and the opportunity of which he availed himself to accept proposals of peace as soon as they were offered, have convinced the people of the necessity of the present war, and have united them in the prosecution of it. I fear not the want of courage in the people, or of vigour in the Government; but there is a circumstance from which I confess I do entertain some apprehension; because, if the threatened attack is postponed to a more distant period, it may diminish the energy of the people, and may induce them to despise that danger, which I wish them to view alike without contempt or without dismay; it is from that improvident and overweening security which pervades many parts of the country. There is a language which I frequently hear used, which is in my opinion of so pernicious a tendency, that I have always thought it my duty, both as a magistrate and a man, to reprobate and refute it. It is a very common phrase in all parts of the kingdom, to which I think every gentleman who now hears me can bear witness, that our present alarms are imaginary, that Buonaparté is as well convinced of the impossibility of invading this country as we are, that his preparations are only meant to alarm us, and to involve us in a ruinous expense. Now, Sir, if those who hold this language would consider the character of the enemy with whom we are to contend, if they would recollect that he invaded Egypt, and carried his arms further in that country than European troops had ever penetrated before, at a time when he was engaged in a war with all Europe; if they would consider the armament which covers the coast of France from the Texel to the Bay of Biscay; if they would recollect that he has hitherto invariably attempted whatever he has threatened; that humanity, which forms a barrier to the ambition of other men, is no obstacle to his views; that of so small

estimation is life itself in his mind, that the sacrifice of thousands, nay of whole armies, is no impediment to his progress; if they would reflect on these circumstances, I think they could not for a moment doubt, that he will attempt the invasion which he has threatened. What the event of that attempt will be, it is not for human wisdom to foresee, but this it may be fair to predict; that if, like the Swiss, the Dutch, or the Hanoverians, we wait, in a torpid or too confident security, until the enemy is at our gates, we shall share the fate of those unhappy countries; but if, on the contrary, we go forth with the spirit and the souls of Britons, to meet him on our coasts; if we unite with one heart, and one hand, in defence of our country, we shall drive him back, with disgrace and discomfiture, to those who have raised him to the tyranny he usurps; where, like the Arch Fiend of old, he will return to his Pandemonium, and hear,

> On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
> A dismal, universal hiss—the sound
> Of public scorn.

But, Sir, whatever may be the final issue of this contest; however glorious its termination may be to Great Britain, I shall always regret the revolution which it has produced in the manners and constitution of every state in Europe. For, Sir, the habits, perhaps the prejudices, of my education, have taught me to look with a jealous eye on every increase of military power; and I grieve to think, that while the military despotism of France exists, every nation must rely, for the protection of its liberties, not on its civil constitution, but on its military force. But, Sir, while this evil does exist, for I must call it an evil, though, I admit it to be a necessary evil, I rejoice to see the hands in which arms are placed. I rejoice to see a rank and file of property, I rejoice that arms are intrusted to those who will be induced by interest, as well as by principle, to use them in support of the laws and constitution of their country. Let me, Sir, draw a contrast between the military force of the two nations: in the one I see the wretched conscript dragged in chains to fight the battles of his tyrant; in the other I see free and independent volunteers rushing in such numbers, that it is necessary to restrain their ardour, and impossible to supply all of them with arms, to the defence of whom? Of the father of his people, the King of a free country, of the sovereign who comes forth on this day, and pledges himself to his people, that, in the hour of peril, he will share their exertions and their dangers with them, in defence of our constitution, in defence of our religion, in defence of the laws and independence of his dominions.—Sir, I have purposely avoided entering into a detail of the different subjects touched upon in his Majesty's speech, because my hon. friend has dilated upon them in so ample and so clear a manner, that I am apprehensive of weakening the effect of his argument, by endeavouring to illustrate them. Gratitude, however, forbids my passing over in silence, the conduct of the British Navy. Of splendid achievements, indeed, the enemy has given them no opportunity; but the patience and perseverance with which they have continued to block up the ports of France, and the vigilance with which they have watched the motions of the enemy, so that I do not believe the smallest boat has escaped their notice, deserves our highest commendation. The conduct of the hon. Admiral, who commands the Channel fleet, in persevering to hold his station on the coast of France, in defiance of the storms and tempests incident to the season of the year, is above all praise.—I regret, Sir, that I cannot look back to the events which have taken place in Ireland with equal satisfaction. But though the seeds of rebellion have again germinated in that country, yet they have sprung from so weak a root, they have been cultivated by so unskilful a hand, and have been cut down at so early a period, by the vigilance of government, that I would willingly flatter myself the time is approaching when they will be finally eradicated. If, Sir, we may believe the dying declarations of the leaders of the insurrection, even they were not sunk so low, as to wish for a connection with France, or to be insensible to the horrors of French fraternity; and the trials have evinced, that the deluded people who joined them, were influenced more by former engagements, and oaths imposed on them, than by any conviction of the justice or advantage of the cause they espoused.—I have already occupied so much of the time of the house, that I will not enlarge on the wound which we have inflicted on the foreign possessions of the enemy; while we have detained their fleets, blockaded in their own harbours, and scarce suffered a single gun-boat to skulk from port to part. At any other period those conquests would have been considered as an adequate compensation for the

expenses of a war; but the splendor of these victories is, in some degree, lost, by the very circumstance which ought to make it more grateful to us, because they have been gained without bloodshed; and because the people of these colonies have voluntarily sought the protection of a government, whose mild and beneficent sway, they had before experienced.—Sir, I am now to thank the house for the indulgence which they have shewn, and the patience with which they have permitted me to state my reasons for supporting an address, which I trust will meet the unanimous approbation of this house, because I believe it speaks the feelings of every subject of the British empire.

Mr. *Fox*.—Sir, I do not rise with the intention of objecting particularly to the proposed address in consequence of the speech which his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to make to both Houses of Parliament; nor am I disposed to dispute the soundness of the arguments employed by the honourable mover, and seconder of the address. I rise merely to advert to two points; one of which is omitted in the speech, and the other particularly alluded to. The point omitted in the speech is the mediation of Russia: a subject on which I cannot help thinking, the house had a fair right to expect some communication. In the course of the last session of Parliament, when I called the attention of the house to the mediation of the court of St. Petersbourg, a noble Secretary of State (Lord Hawkesbury), not now in this house, did, as strongly as language can express, pledge ministers as not only ready to accept of the mediation of Russia, if offered, but, if not offered, directly to solicit it. The noble Lord distinctly pledged himself, that Ministers were not only willing to hear the ideas of the court of Russia, as to the best mode of bringing about an accommodation of the differences betwixt this country and France; but ready to state what their own ideas were of the most practicable means of restoring a good understanding betwixt the two countries.*

From all that I have seen, heard, or observed, I have every reason to think that the noble Secretary was sincere in the pledge which he then gave, and that ministers have acted on that declaration. One would have naturally thought, then, that in a speech from the Throne, at the opening of a new session, and after such an interval has taken place, as might afford some grounds of ascertaining how far the application was likely to be successful, his Majesty would have referred to the subject, and put the House in possession of the means of determining how far any negotiations were likely to lead to the result which was in view. I am sensible that this is not the particular day for taking up the consideration of the success or failure of these negotiations; but the information, the want of which I complain of in the speech, will be very necessary, when, on a future day, it may come to be discussed. —The other point to which I wish to allude, is one particularly referred to in the speech. In that part of the speech which refers to the situation of Ireland, the House are congratulated on the suppression of the late rebellion in that country, and a confident hope is held out of the permanent continuance of tranquillity. From past experience, I cannot easily flatter myself that such a hope will be realized. I can see no reason to think that permanent tranquillity will be established in Ireland while the present system is pursued. In the speech it is asserted, that the leaders of the late rebellion had in view the introduction of French dominion into Ireland, and that the whole plan of the insurrection was founded on the co-operation of a French force, destined to overthrow the British constitution as now established in Ireland. Whatever be the crimes of the men who were the authors of the late rebellion, I wish, in speaking of them, to be guided by justice. But, Sir, have not the leaders of the insurrection most unequivocally disclaimed all idea of a connection with the French Government? Have they not avowed, that they reprobated such a connexion, even with an idea of promoting their own views? Whatever atrocities the rebellion exhibited, and certainly no man

* "On this ground (said Lord Hawkesbury), ministers had not only expressed their willingness to receive any proposition from the court of St Petersburgh, but they had gone much beyond this assurance. They had declared their readiness to explain, in the most frank and explicit terms, the views which they entertained on the points in dispute, and the mode which to them appeared the best calculated to bring about an amicable arrangement. No question of etiquette would stand in the way; the whole declaration of ministers had been given in the true spirit of peace. In aid of his Majesty's declaration, an express assurance was given of his readiness to listen to any proposal for restoring rhe blessings of peace; and he had now to assure the honourable gentleman and the house, that ministers were ready to receive any offer of mediation on the part of Russia, or to offer to the mediation of that power rhe points in dispute betwixt the two governments"—See Political Register, vol. iii. p. 1730.

can think or hear with greater horror of those atrocities than I do: I must contend that it is not just to stigmatize the authors of the rebellion with at all leaguing themselves with the French government, in their views of destroying all connection with this country. A *hope* is also expressed in the speech, that those who had swerved from their allegiance, were now convinced of their error. It is plain, Sir, that the word here ought to have been *wish*, and not hope. Under the present system of government in Ireland, it is impossible that any such hope can be rationally entertained; for, without a totally new system of managing the affairs of Ireland be adopted, a hope of the Irish being convinced of their error can hardly be expected. It is not said that another system is to be pursued, but we are only told, that a hope is entertained of the rebels being convinced of their error; thus shutting our eyes to the fate of that country, and the real state of the case. This, I allow, Sir, is not the day on which the consideration of the affairs of Ireland can come fairly before tho house, but I should feel that I was not doing my duty to my country, if I were even now to let it be supposed, that there can be any rational hope ot the continuance of permanent tranquillity in Ireland unless some measures are resorted to, of a nature very different from those now employed. When we recollect the description given of the general loyalty of the people of Ireland; when we recollect the representations given in the speeches of gentlemen in this house, we shall be careful of attaching much weight to any general representations of the state of that country. On a subject so important as this is, I cannot think it either wise or safe to trust much to general words. I hope and trust, that gentlemen will keep their minds open for any future discussion which this subject may create. I trust they will not be so far influenced by representations now given, or confide so implicitly in general assertions, as to think future enquiry unnecessary. It is the duty of every man to revolve the matter deeply in his mind, and not to forestall any measure or any decision which may hereafter take place. The members of this house could not feel themselves otherwise than guilty, if they suffered themselves to believe in the continuance of Irish tranquillity, because the country is represented as now contented, and because hopes are held out that this contentment is permanent.—Mr. Fox sat down with declaring, that he should not disturb the unanimity which there seemed every reason to think would be maintained in the vote for the address.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—I rise, Sir, for the purpose of replying to the observations which have been made by the hon. member, on the speech with which his Majesty has been pleased to address his Parliament this day. Although the hon. member is not inclined to oppose the address, and is disposed to entertain a favourable opinion of the sentiments which generally pervade it, yet it would, he declares, have afforded him more unqualified satisfaction, if the mediation of the court of Russia, whether successful or not, had been explicitly mentioned in the speech from the Throne; and that the allusion to the insurrection in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, had been couched in other or more guarded expressions.—Sir, the hon. gentleman has stated, with accuracy, the general import of that pledge, which, during the last session of Parliament, was made by my noble friend, the Secretary of State, whom it has pleased his Majesty to promote to a seat in another assembly. My noble friend did certainly declare, as the hon. gentleman has fairly stated, that his Majesty's ministers were ready to accept, not only now, but at any future time, the mediation of the Emperor Alexander, towards terminating the unhappy and unprovoked hostility in which the British empire was involved; and that for the purpose of convincing all Europe, of the equity of their cause, and the pacific nature of their intentions, they would not only accept it if offered, but that they would even condescend to solicit it. Sir, for the information of the hon. gentleman, I will communicate to him and to this house, that that mediation was offered by the court of Russia, and accepted with readiness and gratitude, on the part of his Majesty's servants; and although discussions of the greatest moment were consequently commenced, yet I am sorry to say, that in their progress they did not assume such a shape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France. No man can be more concerned than I am, that the interference of that court has not been attended with that success which the hon. gentleman, on a former occasion, seemed so zealous in his expectation of. I am not, however, at all astonished to find, that the hon. gentleman expresses surprise at not receiving more information relative to this subject, nor do I think the regret he has shewn at finding any account of the issue of the negotiation omitted in his Majesty's speech at all un-

reasonable. I can assure the hon. gent and the house, that his Majesty's servants have no wish whatever to withhold all the information in their power respecting the discussions which have taken place. The fact is, however, that circumstances of a nature which I hope may be temporary, but which I will not positively pledge myself will turn out to be of that nature, did prevent ministers from making a communication to the house. Their wish was to conceal no information which could at all throw light on the subject, but they did not wish that the communication which they made should be imperfect, as it necessarily must have been if made under existing circumstances Though I will not absolutely pledge myself to make a communication, even if the obstacle arising from the circumstances to which I have referred were removed, yet I can have no difficulty in saying that I should not be unwilling to gratify the house with the information in question, if it appeared to be the general wish of the house that this information should be granted. What I have said on this topic is, I trust, sufficient to convince the house, that the omission of the mediation of Russia in the speech was perfectly justified by circumstances. I will now, Sir, advert to what the hon. gent. said on the manner in which the speech notices the late insurrection in Ireland, and the actual state of that country. In his Majesty's speech a hope is expressed, that such part of his deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error, and that having compared the advantages they enjoy from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of the United Kingdom. I admit, with the hon. gent., that even to the worst of traitors justice is a debt which is due, but do not see how, in this instance, any injustice has been done to the leaders of the late rebellion in Ireland. The hon. gent. contends that it is unjust to attribute to the leaders of that rebellion any design of introducing French dominion into Ireland. I cannot admit that the passage in question will fairly admit of such a construction. It is merely intended to convey this idea, that the deluded part of the population of Ireland, who might be disposed to employ French aid in destroying their connection with this country, would be diverted from their views by contemplating the contrast betwixt the condition of their own country and the countries now groaning under the miseries of French domination. I have heard it said, and I see no reason to doubt it, that the leader in that insurrection, previous to the judgment of the court being pronounced on him, expressly declared his abhorrence of any alliance with the French government, and advised his deluded countrymen to consume the grass under the invader's feet, rather than suffer their native land to be polluted by the footstep of a French soldier. It may be allowed that some of the persons making such declarations were in circumstances which lead us the less to doubt their sincerity. I will even concede to the hon. member, that some of the declarations might be true, but if it be meant to assert that none of the leaders of the late Irish rebellion were inclined to court an alliance with France, I must be permitted most peremptorily to deny such a position. I have the best means of knowing that such assertions are founded in gross falsehood. Let it be recollected too what happened during the rebellion. Let it be recollected that many of the leaders, though they had no idea of introducing a French government into their country, were not indisposed to admit French aid to enable them with more prospect of success to prosecute their own views. They were willing to admit this at the hazard of what they considered as a contingent, but what I must ever consider as a certain evil, the evil of being compelled to contend against French dominion, even after they had succeeded in separating themselves from this part of the empire. But let this be as it may, let the views of the Irish be as separate as possible from any notion of French alliance, my position is, that the contrast of their own condition, and that of those nations which the French government has subjugated, would induce them at all events to resist the common enemy of the civilized world. This contrast would, I am persuaded, operate as the strongest inducement for them to abstain from the prosecution of views which can only expose them to destruction. The hon. gent. says, that in the speech, instead of the *hope* expressed of such an event, it would have been better if the word *wish* had been introduced. Sir, I will tell that hon. gent. and also this house, that the persons whom his Majesty has called to his government, have not barely the *wish*, but a rational and well-grounded *hope* of the establishment of general and permanent tranquillity in that

country. Sir, I state with the strongest satisfaction, and with no little exultation, that the conduct of his Majesty's government has operated a very salutary and material alteration in the sentiments of the majority of the people of that country. But the hon. gent. says, it is impossible to expect the continuance of tranquillity in Ireland without attending more particularly to the real situation of the country, and unless some plan of removing existing grievances is resorted to. Whether it would be fit at all to argue the question of the state of Ireland in the present state of affairs, I shall leave to the wisdom of the house to discover. For my own part, I am not aware of the possibility of such a discussion at this moment being productive of one solid advantage. On the contrary, I am thoroughly persuaded that the agitation of the question in the present crisis of affairs, could only tend to aggravate those evils which I am sure the hon. member must as sincerely as any man deplore, without producing any one of those advantages which the hon. gent. is so anxious to accomplish. The hon. gent. has recommended to members to keep their minds open for future discussion, to avoid the formation of prepossessions, to be ready for the consideration of the question whenever it occurs, with moderation and impartiality. It is hardly necessary for me to give any pledge to the house, if the subject is ever brought regularly under discussion, what conduct I may think it my duty to pursue. I shall studiously endeavour to keep my mind unbiassed and unprejudiced by any previous statements or antecedent representations. The hon. member will find me ready to enter on the discussion temperately and gravely, and to be guided in my judgment by what appears most consonant to the principles of justice, policy, and humanity. I trust that the house will be content with this declaration, as to the second objection of the hon. gent. on the opposite bench, and that the unanimity which is likely to prevail this night, may experience no interruption; but that we may carry our expression to the foot of the Throne, with that ready and universal zeal, which the sentiments contained in his Majesty's most gracious speech so justly demand.

Sir Francis Burdett.—I do not rise, Sir, for the purpose of disturbing the unanimity of the House upon the present occasion. I shall vote for the Address. But there is a matter of the greatest importance, connected with that volunteer system which has been so highly complimented in it; which I think it my duty to mention. And in so doing, I beg that I may not be misunderstood, nor misrepresented. In what I am about to say, I mean not the smallest censure upon the volunteers at large, nor even upon the system: however I may doubt, whether that system be or be not the least expensive, or the most eligible and effectual military force, either for the purpose of defence or offence. Neither do I intend the slightest censure even upon that particular corps, whose conduct in one particular I disapprove. I can easily believe, that they may have been actuated by the best motives. The necessity of the times, the novelty of their situation, zeal for the service in which they have embarked, may all have prompted them to speedy and vigorous measures, the consequences of which they had not maturely considered.—But, Sir, I hold in my hand a paper, which purports to be an Address from the St. Giles's and St. George's Bloomsbury Volunteer Association,* directed to be carried

* The following is a correct copy of the Address to which Sir Francis alludes. "The Committee and the Commanding Officer of the St. Giles and St. George, Bloomsbury, Volunteer Association, most earnestly request your attention to the within paper.—St. Giles and St. George Bloomsbury Volunteer Association.—The Committee find themselves under the necessity of laying before the inhabitants of the united parishes, a state of the fund of the Association; and of requesting their particular attention to a few considerations of much importance to the country and to themselves.—From the statement hereto subjoined, of the subscriptions and the expenditure already made, and of the necessary current outgoings, it manifestly appears that the fund (notwithstanding the utmost economy has been used) is in no degree adequate to complete the establishment, much less to continue it.—A great number of persons enrolled, extremely zealous, but not opulent, are at this moment non-effective, because the fund is unable to furnish them with clothing.—It is unnecessary to state many considerations in order to excite the zeal of the inhabitants to supply a sufficient fund by further subscriptions.—The danger to which the country is at this moment exposed is too imminent and alarming to require to be dwelt upon.—The time may possibly be drawing near when the inhabitants would gladly sacrifice one-half of their property to be secure in the enjoyment of the remainder. It will be too late, when the enemy may be approaching the metropolis, to supply the means of training and disciplining those who have the courage and zeal to defend it.—Few districts, if any, have stronger reasons from local circumstances, which need not be pointed out, to wish for a strong volunteer force to be ready in it, in case the regular troops should be sent to the coast.—Few districts are better able, from their opulence, to bear the necessary expense of a Volunteer Association, either for the public defence, or for local protec-

from house to house throughout those parishes; calling upon those who had already contributed, as well as upon those who had not; giving their opinion of the ability and wealth of the different inhabitants; and advertising them of an intended domiciliary visit to each house by two of the corps; threatening to publish their names at the close of the year; and particularly pointing out the aged, the infirm, and the women, whose fears may be supposed most easily excited.—Sir, it is more especially my duty to notice this, as it has passed in a county, which I have the honour to represent in this House. It is impossible to foresee to what extent this practice may be carried. That an armed corps should be a deliberative assembly was never thought advisable; but that we should have parochial parliaments through the land, raising money at their will upon the inhabitants, could not be borne for a moment: especially when it is considered, that these same persons undertake to determine the gross amount of the sum to be raised, and the quota of the individuals, and that these same persons are to receive it, to dispose of it, and to partake of it.—Sir, it is the duty of this House

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tion.—The Committee, from viewing the present state of the subscription, as it respects either the whole amount, or the sums given by individuals, are satisfied that many of the inhabitants were not aware of the extent of the necessary expenditure, or of the claims upon them for furnishing the means of it.—Striking examples of pecuniary exertions have occurred in almost every part of the kingdom —Many individuals have singly expended several thousand pounds in raising and supporting Volunteer Corps.—Even towards a general Subscription in one county a Nobleman subscribed 2,000l. a Prelate 2,000l. several 1,000l. many private Gentlemen 500l. 400l. and 300l. each; while, in these parishes, the highest subscription (except in two instances) has been 50l. That sum, however, standing even as the highest subscription, though small, in comparison with the sums above-mentioned, would have produced an ample fund, if others of the parishioners had subscribed proportionably.—Ten different persons have each subscribed 50l. making up above a sixth of the whole subscription; while many others, known to be of great opulence, either have not subscribed at all, or have given sums so comparatively small, that the Committee is most sincerely convinced they have acted under misconception. —The Committee abstain at present from publishing the subscriptions, until every person has had a full opportunity of reconsidering the matter. Before the end of the year they will be published.—The crisis admits of no false delicacy—the present application is not to the liberality of persons—it is a call upon their patriotism and their duty, to come forward upon no less an occasion than that of rescuing their country from destruction, and of defending the very existence of themselves and their families.—It is, therefore, fit that the country should know who the persons are that are zealous in its defence, and who those are that at such a moment can decline to supply liberally the pecuniary means necessary to military exertions.—Those who are unable from age, infirmity, sex, or other cause, to render personal service, should particularly recollect the great inconveniencies and sacrifices submitted to by those who are performing military duty—they should endeavour to balance their account with their country by more extensive pecuniary aid.—Even those inhabitants who are serving or subscribing elsewhere, should remember that they have a stake to protect in this district.—The Committee will, in a few days, depute some of its members to apply to the inhabitants from house to house for their further subscriptions, and are confident that the application will not be in vain.—The inhabitants need only pay, at present, such part of their subscriptions as may be convenient, leaving it to the Committee to call upon them proportionably for the remainder, by instalments, as it shall be wanted.—By order of the Committee,

Nov. 1, 1803. JOHN WRIGHT, Secretary.

State of the Fund of the St. Giles and St. George Bloomsbury Volunteer Association.

Amount of Subscriptions, from the 25th of July to the 1st of Nov. 1803.....				3005	0	0
Expended.						
Clothing.....	1398	6	0			
Accoutrements	562	10	0			
Drill Serjeants, Advertisements, Drums, Music, &c. &c. &c..	609	4	0			
				2570	0	0
Further Expenditure necessary to complete the Establishment.						
Clothing for 300 Men and Drummers	1800	0	0			
Great Coats, 600	630	0	0			
Knapsacks, &c.....	1050	0	0			
Pickers, Brushers, Drivers, &c.....	165	0	0			
Accoutrements, 300..	450	0	0			
Grenadiers' Extras ..	200	0	0			
Light Infantry Ditto..	100	0	0			
Sentry Boxes	100	0	0			
Armoury and Magazine	250	0	0			
Orderly Room	150	0	0			
Printing, Stationary, &c.	100	0	0			
Pioneers	90	0	0			
Erecting Abutment for Ball-firing, &c.	150	0	0			
				5235	0	0
Current Expenses.						
Ammunition	600	0	0			
Armourers	600	0	0			
Drill Serjeants	600	0	0			
18 Drummers.....	400	0	0			
Secretary.....	—	—	—			
Casual Clothing	200	0	0			
Incidental Expenses ..	600	0	0			
Clerks, Messenger, &c.	200	0	0			
				3200	0	0
Total Amount necessary				11005	0	0
Total Amount of Subscriptions				3005	0	0
Deficiency				£8000	0	0

especially to meet, in the very beginning, a principle so dangerous: and, of all persons, the administration of the country ought to be the most alarmed at it; since the principle of this measure goes directly and immediately to the destruction, not only of this, but of every kind of government, and tends to the introduction of that anarchy, of which so much has been said to be apprehended. The motive may excuse the individuals; but it does not at all abate the malignity of the principle: for it is well known that many of the most ruinous practices to nations have been begun from good motives and for good purposes.—I have thought it my duty to take the earliest opportunity of noticing and reprobating this measure; and am persuaded ministers will take care, that it shall not be necessary for me to trouble the House hereafter on the subject.—The question was then put upon the Address, and agreed to *nem. con.*, and a committee appointed to prepare the same. —Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, November 23.

The house met at half past two o'clock, in order to proceed to St. James's with the address to his Majesty.—Lord Ashburton took the oaths and his seat; after which their lordships ajourned until Wednesday, and proceeded to St. James's.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, November 23.

[Minutes.]—The *Speaker* informed the house that certain petitioning burgesses, complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Great-Grimsby, in the county of Lincoln, had failed to enter into their recognances within the period prescribed by the act of parliament, and that, consequently, their petition could not be attended to.—The house then proceeded to vote the usual standing orders of the house for grand committees on religion, courts of justice, trade, &c. &c.—Mr. Vansittart moved an instruction to the committee upon expiring laws, that they do inquire what specific laws of a public and general nature have been made by Great Britain or Ireland, or by the parliament of the united kingdom, and which of them have expired from September, 1802, to the 22d of November 1803, &c. and which of them are fit to be continued, &c. Ordered.—Mr. Jarvis gave notice that he should on Friday next move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the desertion and escape of petty officers, seamen, and others, from his Majesty's service, by means or under colour of any civil or criminal process. He should have given this notice for to-morrow, had he not understood that the house was to have the honour of waiting on his Majesty with the address to-morrow, on which occasion it was not usual to do any other business.

[Waterford election committee.] —Mr. *Dundas* reported at the bar, from the committee of the Waterford election, that two of the members of that committee, Mr. Ward and Mr. F. W. Grant were absent, and that the other members, after waiting one hour, ajourned.

The *Speaker* informed the house, that since the nomination of the committee Mr. Ward had ceased to be a member of that house, and therefore there could be no further proceeding by the house with respect to him. With respect to Mr. Grant, there was a provision in an act of Parliament for ordering his attendance in the house, to offer his excuse for his absence, or to undergo the censure of the house: a motion might therefore be made for his attendance in the house on a given day, which, of course would not be a distant one.—Mr. Dundas therefore moved, "that Francis William Grant, Esq. do attend in his place on Friday next."—After a few observations from the chair, upon the regularity of the motion, and the usual practice of the house on similar occasions, the motion was put and carried.

[Boston election petition.]——Mr. *Ellison* adverted to the petition of John Ogle, Esq. complaing of an undue election and return for the borough of Boston, in the county of Lincoln, against Mr. Fydell, the present sitting member. He desired that the entry on the journals respecting this petition, might be read; which was accordingly done. He then desired that an entry on the journals in the year 1744, relative to the case of a petitioner who had been allowed seven days time to give in his qualification, on account of his being beyond seas at the time he was served with notice to do so, which he said was precisely the case of the present sitting member, Mr. Fydell; which entry being read, he moved, "that Mr. Fydell be allowed seven days from this present day, in order to prepare and lay before the house, a particular account of his qualification to be admitted as a member."

The *Speaker* entered into a full explanation of the case. He reminded the house of the jealousy with which they were always actuated in matters of this nature. Yet he was well aware that laudable as that jealousy was, it would never stand in the way of justice and equity when they could be fairly attended without prejudice to either party. It was determined, by an order of the house, that when the qualification of candidates was called in question, the particulars of that qualification should be produced by him within fifteen days after the complaint of his wanting it, was made against him. The usual notice, it appears, had been sent to Mr. Fydell, in the present case, but not complied with; and the reason adduced for his non-compliance was his indispensible absence beyond sea. A precedent, similar to the present case, occured in the year 1744. It respected also a naval officer who was necessarily absent on the service of his country; and the house then judged it fit to extend the time. Should the house be now inclined to grant the same indulgence, they would agree to the motion made by the honourable gent. ——Mr. Ellison's motion was then put and agreed to.

[Renewed Election Petitions.]—The *Speaker* called the attention of the house to the renewal of petitions respecting contested elections, and intimated that they should be brought forward in the order of their priority, as they stood last session. Those of the fifth class were then brought forward; among the first of which were the petitions for Middlesex, Midhurst, and the Borough of Southwark.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose to suggest the propriety of deferring the considerations of these petitions till after the Christmas recess. Should it be the pleasure of the house to adopt that suggestion, it should be his wish to pursue the same plan as that adopted last year, viz. that an order should be made for a call of the house, and that two petitions should be ballotted for on two days of each week. The house must be sensible how inconvenient it might be to enforce a call of the house at the present moment, and under the present circumstances of the country. Under that impression he had no doubt but that they would see the propriety of postponing the consideration of those petitions till the 2d of February, after the usual recess. The business which was likely to call together a full attendance would most probably be brought forward at that period; neither would the arrangement he was anxious for, interfere in the least with the time of the usual recess. He should therefore move, that the petitions for Middlesex and Midhurst be brought forward on Thursday, the 2d of February, and that for the Borough of Southwark on the following Tuesday, the 7th of February. These motions were put and agreed to.

[Address.]—The Hon. *Cropley Ashley* brought up the report of the address proposed to be carried by the house to the foot of the throne, in return for His Majesty's most gracious speech delivered yesterday to both houses of parliament. The address was read a first time, and on the motion that this address be now read a second time,

Mr. *Windham* rose and addressed the chair as follows:

Sir; I offer myself to day to your notice, not with a view of retracting in any degree the assent which I gave yesterday in a former stage of this address, but simply for the purpose of marking more distinctly the grounds of that assent, and obviating a misconstruction which might be liable to arise upon it. I wished the question to pass unanimously yesterday, for the same reasons which make me wish it to pass unanimously to day; namely, that nothing may seem to call in question the unanimity of our determination to give to his Majesty unbounded support, and to maintain the cause of the country through every possible trial, and to the last extremity. I should be sorry that any thing should appear on the face of our debates, which, in the mind even of the most rude observer, could create a doubt upon that subject. But while we are guarding against an error of this sort, let us take care not to incur one of an opposite tendency; that, namely, which would suppose, that unanimity in support of the country was unanimity in support of the ministers. There may be some possibly, who think, as there are many, undoubtedly, who wish to have it thought, that the greater the dangers and difficulties of the country are, by whatever causes brought on, the greater must our acquiescence be in the ministry of the time being, and the more complete our forbearance of all that is usually called opposition. And if by opposition is meant a captious and vexatious opposition, an opposition on things of doubtful nature or inferior consequence, an opposition for the purpose of impeding ministers and making the government difficult to them, the opinion is certainly well founded. What it would be hard to justify at any time, must be wholly unjustifiable in circumstances such as those supposed. But

if there are persons, who think that of the danger here alleged as a reason for supporting ministers, the ministers themselves form the principal part; that the preparations of the enemy, however menacing, would have little terror, if met with wisdom and ability; that the seat of the evil is here rather than abroad; that it is the weakness of the defence, and not the vigour of the attack that constitutes the danger; that Buonaparté and his legions, however terrific, are not half so terrific as the little band which we see before us on the Treasury Bench; if there are persons who hold these opinions, to such persons it would be idle to say, that, for fear of exposing the weakness or lessening the authority of ministers, they were to stand quiet spectators of what was passing, and were neither to attempt to prevent the mischief, nor point out the source from which they conceived it to proceed. Such is the situation in which I feel *myself* to stand. I have no wish, and in one view certainly have no right, to speak with slight or disparagement of the abilities of the hon. gentlemen. Individually considered, they are all men of cultivated minds, of liberal education, of good natural endowments, not unread in the history of their country, not unpractised in its business, not unprovided with those talents and acquirements which are necessary for the conducting of business in this House. But if I am to speak of them collectively, as men forming the council which is to guide the affairs of a great empire, which is to rule the world in a crisis like the present, I must say, from whatever causes it arises, that they are weakness itself. I really believe the country will perish in their hands. I believe the hon. gentlemen will fairly see us out; that we shall not outlive their administration; that they will prove, as I believe, I once before took the liberty of remarking to them, the *Angustuli* in whose hands the empire will fall. There is an old joke which we may remember, of Cicero's, who when some person had ceased to be Consul on the same day on which he had been made, observed, that the person in question might tell of a prodigy which few of his predecessors could boast, for, that the sun had never set during his consulate. I wish that something equally prodigious may not be found in the history of the hon. gentlemen, and that it may not be to be said of them hereafter, that their administration lasted as long as the country.—It is now just two years and a few weeks since I felt myself compelled to say to them in this place, and upon something of a similar occasion, namely, the first day of the meeting of Parliament, "that they had signed the death warrant of their country."* The affairs of the country have been in their hands, without interruption, from that day to this. And can we venture to say, that the gloomy forebodings then expressed have made no progress towards their accomplishment, or that the hon. gentlemen do not bid fairer to put the finishing stroke to the work which they were then supposed to have begun? With these impressions, it is childish to talk of forbearing opposition, in cases where opposition would otherwise be proper, for fear of impeding the exertions of the hon. gentlemen, or exciting a belief that the country was not safe in their hands. Were I to forbear any opportunities of so doing, I am sure it must be from motives far different from those of regard for the safety of the country.—With respect to the address itself, notwithstanding the care which has been taken, and properly taken, to avoid any occasion of difference, objections to it would not be wanting, were this the moment for insisting upon them.—In point of taste, I could have wished, that less even had been said, than has been, of the conquests in the West Indies, and the impression thereby made on the enemy. Wretched, indeed, must be our view of things, if, at a moment like the present, we can amuse ourselves with such objects, and not see, that to the contempt in which the enemy holds them compared with the immense projects which he is meditating, we owe, in great measure, the facility with which they have fallen into our hands.—Upon the subject of Ireland, I agree entirely in the remarks made yesterday by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), that the hope expressed is too sanguine, either for the nature of the thing, or for any confidence to be reposed in the testimony, on which we receive it. I agree with him also, in the fears which I understood him to express,—fears very far from being allayed by what we have heard subsequently,—that the views entertained respecting Ireland, and seeming in some degree to

* The following is the passage to which Mr. Windham alludes.—"Sir, I speak in perfect plainness and sincerity, from the bottom of my heart, and with the solennito of a death-bed declaration (a situation much ressembling that in which we all stand), when I declare, that my honourable friends, who in a moment of rashness and weakness, have fatally put their hands to this treaty, have signed the death warrant to their country. They have given it a blow, under which it may languish for a few years, but from which I do not conceive how it is possible for it ever to recover." See Political Register, Vol 2, p. 1093.

be indicated in the speech, were far from being of a sort which promised tranquillity or safety to that kingdom. But the part perhaps of the address most objectionable, is that concluding paragraph, which speaks of the issue of the present contest. The language there held has too much tendency to countenance a notion, than which nothing can be more false and foolish, that by the issue of the present contest is to be understood only the issue of the invasion; which once past and decided in our favour, all beyond is to be security and glory. We know how readily the minds of men out of doors, will run into such a notion, and we may suspect even some of a higher description within these walls; but nothing could be more disgraceful or fatal than that such a notion should appear for a moment to be recognized by the house at large. This is all that I wish to say upon the subject of the present address, either generally or in detail.— One word more only, upon a matter of a different sort, and which I am tempted to introduce to day, principally because it is the first occasion that offers, and because no man can say, in our present circumstances, whether the first occasion may not be the last, nor how soon we may be called away, as was observed by an honourable gentleman yesterday, to the performance of duties more active at least, if not more important, than those which we have to discharge in this house—It will equally with the other subjects which I have touched upon, lead to no debate, nor require from the honourable gentlemen opposite to me, even an answer.—— I am come, in common with many other gentlemen, from a residence of some time in my own country: and upon the result of that residence, what I have to declare is, that should any great stroke be struck in the county of Norfolk, of the sort that has been pointed out to the honourable gentlemen, and for want of those precautions, which have likewise been pointed out to them; I shall, certainly, think, that there will be grounds of serious criminal charge against the honourable gent. and should the case not be such as, by the very magnitude of the evil, to put an end to all proceedings, to sweep away both accuser and accusation,

'To take at once the poet and the song,'

I shall probably feel it my duty to stand forward as the bringer of that charge.—More than this upon the present occasion need not be said, nor could, perhaps, be said with propriety. I had prepared, before I left Norfolk, a representation upon the subject, and proposed it to a meeting of gentlemen assembled for other county business, wishing to have transmitted it to government with the advantage of their signatures: but, for reasons, which they, of course, thought satisfactory, which were not explained, as in fact no discussion was invited, and which I shall not presume to guess at, they declined to join in the representation. It was my duty to afford them the opportunity; as I conceive it to have been my duty now to mention the subject in the way that I have done.—The honourable gentlemen will not consider me as bringing a charge against them, at least not one of which it is necessary for them to take notice, as it must rest for the present solely on the authority of the individual who brings it, unsupported by any proof. As a menace even, the honourable gentlemen will be entitled to hold it cheap, if they are confident that no blame can be imputed to them, but that every thing has been done, that can or ought to be done. It is as a menace, however, that I intend it; as the only means which I now possess of compelling attention to objects, which, in my apprehension at least, require to be attended to.—— This is all that I have to say upon this point. Upon the general topick, I trust I have sufficiently explained myself, and shall therefore no longer detain the house from voting the present address, with that unanimity, which, under the explanation now given, I shall be happy to see it received.

The address was then read a second time, agreed to, and ordered to be presented to His Majesty by the whole house; and those members who were of His Majesty's most honourable privy council were ordered humbly to know His Majesty's pleasure when he would be graciously pleased to receive the same.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, November 24.

[Minutes.]—This day the Speaker came to the house at half past two, according to the adjournment of the preceding day. Very few members, however, gave their attendance, and at twenty minutes past three, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer arrived, there were not above thirty members present. The despair of making a house was at this time very great. At length, about a quarter before four, Mr. Serjeant, who had been sent in quest of members, arrived with the member necessary to enable the speaker to take the chair, several of whom had been called out from the drawing room for that purpose.—Lord Charles Somerset appeared at

e bar, and announced that His Majesty having been waited upon to know when it would be his pleasure to receive the address voted the day before, had appointed that day at half past three o'clock —The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for taking into consideration His Majesty's speech from the throne. That part of His Majesty's speech which expressed a reliance on his faithful commons for making provision for the expenses of the ensuing year, being read, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "that a supply be granted to His Majesty; and that the house should to-morrow resolve itself into a committee to consider of that motion." Ordered —The house then adjourned, and, preceded by the Speaker, went up to St. James's with the address.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, November 25th.

[MINUTES]—As soon as the house met, the Speaker stated that he, accompanied by several members, waited yesterday on His Majesty, to present the address voted by the house in reply to His Majesty's speech: to which His Majesty was pleased to give the following most gracious answer:—"Gentlemen, I return you my warmest thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. Such a declaration of your sentiments at the present moment cannot fail to afford me the highest satisfaction. I have the most perfect reliance on the continuance of your support and on the zealous exertions of my faithful subjects, to bring the contest, in which I am engaged, to a successful and honourable issue."—— This answer was ordered to be entered on the Journals.—A new writ was ordered for the election of a representative to serve in parliament for the town of Rye, in the room of Lord Hawkesbury, called up to the house of peers; and a writ was also ordered for the Royal Boroughs of Inverness, etc. in the room of Cumming Gordon, esq. who. since his election, has accepted the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a committee for granting a supply to His Majesty, and that so much of His Majesty's most gracious speech as referred to his reliance on his faithful commons for a supply, be referred to said committee.—The house having resolved itself into the committee, Mr. Hobhouse in the chair, that part of His Majesty's speech was read, and the committee came to a resolution that a supply be granted to His Majesty.—The house was then resumed, and the report of the committee of supply ordered to be brought up on Monday.—Petitions were presented, complaining of undue returns for the boroughs of Windsor, Weymouth, and Ilchester. The two former were ordered to be taken into consideration upon Thursday the 9th of February, and the latter upon Tuesday the 14th—Mr. Manning presented a petition from the directors of the London dock company, praying that they might be allowed to raise a further sum of 500,000l., in addition to the sum of 1,200,000l. already raised. Referred to the consideration of a select committee, which was appointed.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house, an account of the net produce of all the permanent taxes in the years and quarters, ending on the 10th of October, 1802, and 1803 respectively. Ordered.

[WATERFORD ELECTION COMMITTEE.]—Mr. *C. Dundas*, at the bar, reported from the committee appointed to determine the merits of the petitions complaining of an undue election and return for the city of Waterford, that, pursuant to the permission of the house, that committee had adjourned from Wednesday to this day. That they had met consequently at three o'clock, when, finding that Francis William Grant, Esq. did not attend, they had set for an hour, and then adjourned to half past four, directing the chairman to report the same to the house——The report was ordered to be brought up.—Mr. C. Dundas, as chairman of the committee, then moved, that the said F. W. Grant, Esq. be discharged from further attendance on that committee. In laying the grounds for this motion, he hoped the house would excuse him for stating briefly the circumstances of the case. It would be in the recollection of the house, that previous to the recess, a commission had been sent to Ireland for the purpose of taking evidence, which commission had been returned with the minutes of the evidence taken before the commissioners; upon a due consideration of which the committee was to decide the merits of the petitions. It would also be in the recollection of the house, that towards the close of last session, an application had been made to the house, by the consent, and for the convenience of all parties, for permission to adjourn all further proceedings till the second day of the present session; which permission the house had thought fit to grant, and the committee had adjourned accordingly. This was a point upon which any member of the committee could not be ignorant, as it must have been equally known to all. On the second day of

this session the committee had met, with the exception of the honourable member, who was the object of the motion, when, on reporting his non-attendance to the house, they had obtained permission to adjourn further to this day, in the hope that the hon. member would attend in his place, and that they should have the benefit of his advice in their proceedings. He, however, had neglected to attend, and in consequence the chairman thought it his duty, for the furtherance of justice, and in order that the committee might be enabled to proceed, to submit the motion he had made to the house, particularly as the provisions of the election laws authorised a committee, on an Irish petition, to proceed, though it should be reduced to nine members.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* hoped the house would not accede to the motion, unless very cogent reasons should be assigned for the absence of the hon. member. To discharge a member from his attendance on a committee, was an indulgence which the house never granted but upon very substantial grounds, and unless some conclusive reasons should be assigned in the present instance, he should feel himself under the necessity of dissenting from the motion.

Mr. *Charles Grant* begged to be indulged, while he stated in justification of the hon. member what he knew of the cause of his absence. The hon. member was at present on duty with his regiment, which having been lately raised, required all his care and attention. He had not been aware of the order of the house which authorised election committees to continue, notwithstanding a prorogation of parliament, and had neglected to attend under an impression that such committees were necessarily dissolved at the end of a session. This was a fact which he could confidently state, as he had himself received a letter some weeks since from the hon. member desiring to be informed on the subject, which information he was not at that time competent to give.

The *Speaker* observed that there were two distinct questions for the house to consider: first, whether it should be its pleasure, for the furtherance of justice, to enable the committee to proceed, by discharging Mr. Grant from further attendance; secondly, what conduct it would be its pleasure to adopt, wish respect to the hon. member who had absented himself from his duty. These questions were wholly distinct, and it would be for the house to determine in what manner it should think proper to dispose of them. There was a case in point on the journals. It was the case of Mr. Booth Grey, who, removing from town on urgent business pending the sitting of a committee, of which he was a member, wrote a letter to the chairman, stating the circumstance, and requesting him to communicate the same to the house. On the letter being produced, he was discharged from further attendance on the committee, but ordered to attend in his place on a certain day, and account for his absence.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* concurred with the sentiments that had fallen from the chair. He had no objection to discharge the hon. member from further attendance, in order to enable the committee to proceed, provided it could not operate to limit the discretion of the house, as to the conduct it may think proper to adopt with respect to the defaulter. He, however, submitted, whether the object of the motion might not be attained as well by wording it differently, that is, "to enable the committee to proceed, notwithstanding the absence of this member."

Mr. *Ward* concurred in the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and observed that the object of the hon. chairman would be fully effected by so wording his motion, which had been drawn up in the other form with an unintentional inaccuracy.

Mr. *Tierney* did not think the case of Mr. Grey applicable in the present instance. In that case Mr. Grey had appeared by letter before the house, in the present there was no appearance whatever: and he trusted that for the regularity of the proceedings of the House, they would not suffer such a resolution to be placed on their journals, without being accompanied by a good and sufficient reason for the ground on which they had adopted it.

Mr. *Bragge* agreed with his hon. friend (Mr. Tierney) that such a proceeding should not appear on their journals without some document to shew why it had been adopted. He submitted to the hon. member (Mr. Charles Grant), whether he might not put what he had already stated in that form to the house, whereby it would be justified in agreeing to the consequent preceedings.—Mr. C. Grant's statement was then entered on the journals, as the ground on which the house assented to the following motions: 1st. That F. W. Grant, Esq. be discharged from further attendance on the committee. 2d. That the committee be enabled to proceed notwithstanding his absence; and, 3d. That F. W. Grant, Esq. be ordered to attend in his place on Wednesday tha seventh day of December next.

[DESERTION OF SEAMEN.]—Mr. *Jarvis* rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the desertion and escape of petty officers, seamen, and others, from his Majesty's service, by means or under colour of any civil or criminal process. He should detain the house, but a very short time, in stating the grounds and principles of the measure he proposed to bring forward. There were too many convincing proofs, that the processes of law had been frequently perverted, for the purpose of enabling individuals to escape from the naval service, in which they had been employed. It would not be necessary for him to trespass on the attention of the house, by enumerating the various instances of fraudulent arrests for civil actions, or the many pretended criminal charges, under colour of which, seamen had been removed from the authority of their naval officer, and then set at large, to the manifest injury of his Majesty's service. The measure, he proposed, would correct this abuse altogether; and he felt great satisfaction in assuring the house, that it would not interfere with the rights, nor infringe the privileges of any description of men. It would leave the seaman, who might be improperly impressed, in the same situation as to his habeas corpus, in which he now stands; and it would not weaken the claim of creditors, nor trench upon their just and legal rights. It would leave the arrested seaman, in the same situation precisely, as to service, in which he stood before the arrest as its principal object would be to secure his return to the service to which he may have belonged, as soon as the action should be satisfied. The principal object of the measure he meant to introduce, was to make sheriffs responsible for the return of such seamen as should be arrested under their authority, to the service, instead of being left at large on their release from the arrest. It was to be obligatory on the sheriff, in such a case, to convey the seaman, within a reasonable time, and for an adequate compensation, to the nearest port, and give him up to the port-admiral, or regulating captain, commanding there. The consequence of this regulation would be an essential benefit to the seaman, who would be conveyed back to his ship free of any expense. With regard also to seamen fraudulently arrested, the bill would have a most salutary effect, as it would effectually prevent any future perversion of the process of the law, to cover the desertion of persons serving in his majesty's navy. These were the leading features of his measure, and, he trusted, the house would concur with him in its expediency. He therefore should move for leave to bring in the bill. Leave was given.—Mr. Jarvis then brought up the bill, which was read a first time, ordered to be read a second time on Tuesday next, and to be printed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.
Monday, November 28.

[MINUTES.]—The Speaker took the chair at half after three.—Col. Hayne then presented a petition for leave to bring in an inclosure bill, which was granted.—Mr. Foster appeared at the bar from the Exchequer-office, with an account of the net produce of the taxes of the current year, ending the 10th of October. The account was ordered to lie on the table, and a sufficient number of copies to be printed for the use of the members.—Sir C. Bunbury presented a petition from the debtors confined in the county gaol of Suffolk.—Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. W. Dundas gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill to explain the acts relating to statute labour in Scotland, with respect to the construction of which, doubts subsisted. He declined mentioning a particular day, stating that it was his intention to write to the representatives for Scotland, and to fix such a day, as would be convenient to them, for the discussion of the subject.—Lord Castlereagh gave notice of his intention to move, on Wednesday, for leave to bring in a bill, relative to the bonding of East-India goods.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee of supply. The resolution for granting a supply was agreed to *nem. con.* and the committee ordered to sit again on Wednesday.—— Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house, the following estimates, *viz.*; An estimate of the ordinary expenses of the navy for the year 1804; an estimate of the expense of the half-pay of officers of the navy, and such officers of the royal marines, as served in the last war; an estimate of the expense of building and repairing ships of war, and other expenses in his majesty's dock-yards, generally known by the denomination of wear and tear, for the year 1804; an estimate of the expense of guards and garrisons, and other descriptions of his majesty's land forces for 1804; an estimate of the expense of ordnance for land service, for the year 1804; an estimate of the expense, incurred for services, not provided for by Parliament; an estimate of the expenses of transport service, for the year 1804. Ordered.—Mr. Vansittart also moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would

be graciously pleased to give directions, that the proper officers should prepare such estimates, and lay them before the house. Agreed to.—Petitions relating to the controverted elections, for the following places, were laid on the table, and appointed for consideration in the following order:—Aylesbury and Glasgow, February 14; Baldock and Honiton, February 16; Carrickfergus and Sudbury, February 21; Minehead and Hereford City, February 23; London and Coventry, February 28; Stirling, March 1, 1804.—Mr. Adams gave notice, that on Wednesday next, he should move to vote the seamen, deemed necessary for the service of the year 1804.

[Income Tax.]—Mr. Alderman *Combe* wished to be informed by the Secretary of the Treasury, whether there was any intention to bring in a bill to simplify the act of last session, relating to this tax. Much difficulty was, at present felt, in making out the returns; and it was therefore extremely desirable, that it should be decidedly stated, whether any alteration was to take place in the standard by which the return was to be regulated, and the manner in which it was to be made, as the act now stood.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, he had no intimation from his majesty's ministers, that any alteration was to be made in the act alluded to by the worthy Alderman. On the contrary, he understood it to be their intentions, that, for the present, the returns should be made, according to the act, as it now stood; and that this should be continued for one year, in order to afford a full and fair trial to the present system. The whole of its faults and deficiencies, which would then be perfectly understood, may be then corrected by one bill, which would be much better than to trouble Parliament at present with separate bills on every supposed and ill-conceived difficulty or imperfection.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* expressed himself satisfied with the answer given by the honourable gentleman.

[Barracks.] Admiral *Berkeley* wished to know, whether the expense of the barracks now building, was to be included in the estimates just moved for.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, the expense of barracks was not one of those included in the estimates, which he had moved the house to order.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, November 29.

[Minutes.]—Mr. *Hurst* brought up the report of the Committee on the expiring laws. It was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Sir *Robert Buxton* moved that, there be laid before the house an account of the quantity of strong beer, table beer, and small beer, brewed in this country and liable to duty, from the 5th Jan. 1802, to the 5th Jan 1803.—Mr. *Vansittart* suggested the propriety of wording the motion in such a way as to enable the officers to whom the order was to be directed, to comply with the desire of the house, and with the wishes of the hon. baronet, which it would be impossible for them to do if the motion remained as it at present stood, as they could have cognizance of such beer only as actually paid the duty.——The motion, amended according to this suggestion, was put and agreed to.——The bill for preventing the desertion of petty officers and seamen was read a second time, and ordered to a committee of the whole house on Thursday next.—Mr. *Steele* appeared at the bar, and informed the house that his Majesty had been waited upon with the address voted yesterday, for the production of certain estimates to the house, and that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to order the same.——Mr. *Tierney* presented a petition from the debtors confined in the county gaol of Surrey.—It was ordered to lie on the table.——Mr. *Adams* brought up the account of the estimates of the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the navy for year 1804. Ordered that these estimates be taken into consideration on Friday next. ——The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for leave to bring in a bill to continue further the restriction of specie from the Bank. ——Mr. *Corry* gave notice of a similar motion with respect to the Bank of Ireland.

[Private Petitions.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he thought it necessary to fix upon some specific day, beyond which private petitious would not be received by the house, in order to prevent the inconvenience which frequently took place in consequence of the too long extension of the time generally allowed for that purpose. He wished, however, to put off such limitation to such a day as should leave no room for complaints or excuse to any person desiring to petition, and he at the same time was anxious that it should be generally understood that no further time would be allowed. This arrangement he was urged to propose from a recollection of the trouble too often occasioned by the great overflow of private business at that period of the sessions, when a quantity of important public affairs was to be at-

tended to. The right hon. gent. concluded with moving, that the 24th of February next should be the last day fixed upon for the acceptance of private petitions. This motion was agreed to.

[WATERFORD ELECTION COMMITTEE.]——Mr. *Deverell*, a member of the Waterford Election Committee, rose to move that James Pedley, Esq. one of the members of the said committee, be excused his attendance on that committee, as his presence was necessary elsewhere, on account of the death of a near relation, and private business of a very urgent nature.

The *Speaker* informed the hon. member that the usual mode of proceeding on such occasions, was, that the member who moved the leave of absence should come forward to the table, and state in writing the grounds upon which he rested his motion. That he should verify these grounds upon oath, and that then the house would decide on the propriety of acceding to the motion. —The hon. member having accordingly approached the table, and deposed upon oath the grounds of his motion,

The *Speaker* acquainted the house, that the grounds of the motion were, that James Pedley, Esq. was called to Jamaica by very urgent private affairs. That he had taken his passage on board a vessel that was to sail from Portsmouth for that island, and that he had received a letter intimating to him that the ship was ready to sail without delay.

Mr. *Deverell*, after stating these grounds, moved, that James Pedley, Esq. have leave of absence from further attendance on the Waterford Committee.—On the question being put.

The *Attorney General* rose, and observed how painful a task it must be to any man to oppose a motion supported on such grounds as those upon which the present motion was rested. But the house must feel how essential it was to pause before a precedent of such importance should be established. He certainly could not now pretend to make up his mind upon the question, and should feel it his duty to take advice upon the point, before he gave it his assent. The learned gent. then proceeded to observe that the Waterford Committee was already reduced to twelve—that should the leave of absence now solicited, be granted, the number would be eleven, within two of the number absolutely necessary for prosecuting the business before the committee. Thus might a complete suspension of the most essential business of the House of Commons be brought entirely at a stand; besides sickness, and other equally embarrassing difficulties, might preclude the attendance of the remaining members, which might induce a total suspension of the most important and essential proceedings. Under that impression, he felt it his duty to move that the debate on the motion be adjourned till to-morrow.—The question was put on this amendment and agreed to.

[BARRACKS.]—Admiral *Berkeley*, seeing the Secretary at War in his place, rose to ask a question respecting the mode in which the house were to be informed of the expense of the barrack department. When he had inquired into this matter yesterday, an hon. gent. [Mr. Vansittart] had not been able to give him an answer which he could consider satisfactory. What he desired to be informed of was, whether the expense of the barrack establishment was mentioned in the general estimates to be laid before the house. The contracts for the building of barracks were enormous, particularly in the part of the country (Sussex) where he had lately resided. At a time when the general expenses of the country were so great, it was of importance to have the expense of contracts fully considered. With the view of bringing the matter under consideration, it was however, previously necessary that the point to which he had referred should be explained.

The *Secretary at War* [Mr. Bragge] could not at present give a decided opinion in what manner the estimates for the barrack department would be brought forward. He could mention, however, generally, that it was not intended to include them in the estimates for the expense of the army. As to the amount of the contracts, he should only observe that they were formed on principles of as strict economy as government could obtain. It was not to be supposed that, in the present circumstances of the country such works could be executed at as cheap a rate as in other periods. Labour had necessarily increased in price, and the difficulty of procuring workmen to complete the works with sufficient celerity naturally enhanced the demands of those who contracted with government.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, November 30.

[MINUTES.]—Their lordships met this day pursuant to adjournment.—The Lord Chancellor informed the house, that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer to their lordships' address,

which was ordered to be entered on the journals of the house. It was nearly to the same effect as the answer made to the address of the House of Commons.——The hearing of certain appeal causes were then severally ordered for the ensuing week; after which the Lord Chancellor informed their lordships that he had some matters of consequence to communicate which respected their privileges. Strangers were in course ordered to withdraw; and after a short interval the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, November 30.

[Minutes.]—Colonel Stewart took the oaths and his seat.—The Speaker acquainted the house, that the petitions complaining of undue elections, and the returns to the boroughs of Hull, Leominster, Shaftesbury, and Boston, had not been renewed in the present session of Parliament, pursuant to the provisions of the 28th of his present Majesty: and that he had certified to his Majesty's court of exchequer, that the recognisances in these cases had been forfeited.—General Bartlett brought up an enclosure bill, which was ordered to be read a first time.——Mr. Manning brought up the report of the committee to whom the petition of the London Dock Company had been referred, and obtained leave to bring in a bill to allow the said company to raise by loan, or otherwise, a sum of 500,000 l. in addition to their original capital of 1,200,000 l.—Sir P. Stephens, in a Committee of Supply, moved, that it be the opinion of the committee, that 100,000 seamen, including marines, be voted for the year 1804.——That a sum not exceeding 2,405,000 l. be granted to his Majesty, for wages for these 100,000 men, for thirteen lunar months, at the rate of 1l. 17s. per man per month; that a sum not exceeding 2,470,000l. be granted for victuals for them for thirteen lunar months, at the rate of 1l. 18s. per man per month; that a sum not exceeding 3,900,000 l. be granted for wear and tear of ships for that complement of men for thirteen lunar months, at the rate of 3l. per man per month; that a sum not exceeding 325,000 l. be granted for ordnance for the sea service, for that complement of men for thirteen lunar months, at the rate of 5s. per man per quarter.—The resolutions were all agreed to; and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Secretary Yorke gave notice, that he should on Friday next, move, for leave to bring in two bills, to continue, for a time to be limited, two bills of last session, for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house the following estimates: An estimate of the expense of the hire of transports from January 7, to December 31, 1804; An estimate of the expenses of prisoners of war, in health, for the same period; An estimate of the money that will probably be wanted for sick prisoners of war, for thirteen lunar months, from January 7, 1804.—The motions were all agreed to, and an address ordered to be presented by such members as were of his Majesty's Privy Council, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order the said estimates to be laid before the house.

[East-India Bonds.]—Lord *Castlereagh*, pursuant to his notice on a former day, rose to submit his motion to the house, on the subject of the East-India Company's bonds. The house would be aware of the importance of the measure he had to propose, inasmuch as the value of the East-India Company's capital was materially influenced by the circumstances under which their securities were circulated in the market. The object of the bill he meant to bring forward, would be to place India bonds, as nearly as possible, on the same footing as Exchequer bills, and the operation of it, of course, would extend to two points, in which they differed from such government securities. The first point related to the manner in which the duty charged under the property tax act was levied on income, arising from such property, which rendered it less desirable to the holder, and of course, tended to depreciate its value. As the tax was levied under the provisions of that act, the directors were authorised to deduct the shilling in the pound from the interest payable on India bonds; so that, whatever may be the income of the holder, the full amount was in this instance to be levied, even though he should not possess 150l. per annum. Such a mode of levying the tax, operated directly to diminish the convenience of such property, and consequently to depreciate its value. It was, however, to be admitted, that the party had a remedy by an application to the commissioners for an abatement in every case, where his rate of income, or other circumstances, should entitle him to such abatement. But, when it was considered how onerous and operose such application must prove to individuals, he trusted the house would not object to the principle for simplifying the mode of col-

lecting the tax, by enabling holders of India bonds to include the interest thereof in the general statement of their income. He was the more confident of this, as the modification would not interfere to any considerable amount with the income duty. The gross amount of India bonds, issued by the company, did not exceed 80,000 or 90,000l. the duty upon which, would of course be under 5000l. and not of sufficient weight with the house to induce it to with hold a facility to the operations of a great commercial company, particularly as the just amount of the dut would not be eventually affected thereby. This was one object of his measure; the other regarded the rate of interest which India bonds bear, with reference to the interest payable on Exchequer bills. The company was by law prohibited from giving more than five per cent. on their bonds, whereas Exchequer bills bore a rate of interest per day, which amounted annually to 5l. 6s. 6d. per cent. This circumstance rendered the property in India bonds, less desirable than other property capable of producing a higher rate of interest, and was of course injurious to the company; besides, it was material that in time of war the bonds of the company should not be ousted from the market. Though the rate of interest had been limited by law, the noble Lord was sure it had never been in the intention of the legislature to place India bonds under disadvantages, to which no other public securities were liable. He was aware that it might be urged, that there ought to be some distinction, between the interests of the public and that of a commercial body, but he was confident the legislature would not look upon the India company as a body wholly mercantile. Their interests were so closely interwoven with the interests of the public at large, which was to enjoy a participation of their resources, that the public could not be a gainer while the company was a loser. His object, therefore, was, to enable the India company to give an interest on their bonds, not exceeding the rate of interest which exchequer bills may bear at any time, in order that they may enjoy their fair proportion in the market for the circulating medium. He did not see any necessity to trouble the house further, he therefore should move "for leave to bring in a bill to regulate India bonds, with regard to the rate of interest and duty payable thereon."—Leave given.

[Bank Restriction Bill]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* after moving, "that the several acts imposing a restriction on the issue of cash in the payments made by the Bank be read," stated, that it was not his intention to preface the motion he meant to submit to the house with many introductory observations. There had, on a former occasion, existed considerable objections to the measure for confirming the order of council by which the restriction of the issues of cash from the Bank had been imposed. He was himself of opinion, that the measure was a wise one; and whatever doubts might have existed, in the first instance, as to its expediency, had been fully and satisfactorily obviated in the discussion which had taken place, on the subject's being brought before the house. But though doubts had been entertained as to the propriety of the measure, during a period of peace, he had never heard its policy questioned during a period of war. Under the impression, therefore, that no doubts existed on the subject, he should take it for granted, that no objection would be made, in the present instance, to a renewal of the measure. It was satisfactory to know that the credit of the Bank had remained firm and unshaken, during the past experience of the measure, and that its sufficiency to make good its engagements, both was, and is, unaffected by even the slightest suspicion. It was highly to the credit of the Bank, too, that it had not availed itself of the dispositions of the act, to issue a quantity of paper exceeding the amount of its capital; or abused the discretion, which a measure essential to the public welfare, necessarily left for its own private ends. It was, however, expedient, that the house should, from time to time, be made acquainted with the quantity of paper in circulation, and he proposed to move for an account of that which was actually in circulation at different periods during the last year; but he should first move, "for leave to bring in a bill, to continue, for a time to be limited, the restriction on the issues of cash by the Bank of England."

Mr. *Jekyll*.—Sir; I do not rise to oppose the motion of the right hon. gent. but to direct his attention, and that of the house, to the lamentable state to which the public are reduced by the want of circulating specie. The shameful practice of hoarding up cash, has been carried to such an excessive pitch, that it is with great difficulty, specie can be procured for the common purposes of life. I am sorry to observe the prevalence of this ungenerous feeling, at a crisis, which calls for every possible exertion; and, I am assured, from the respectable authority of a principal banking-house, that, if the practice be not put a stop to, bankers

will in a short time not be able to procure specie for the fractional parts of change. I have seen too, in a newspaper of this morning, some resolutions of a respectable corporation,* calculated to meet the evil, and recommending the acceptance of dollars at a certain rate, and of French crowns and half crowns, in change. These observations I have thrown out, Sir, merely, to call the attention of the right hon. gent to a grievance, which loudly calls for legislative interference.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* agreed with the hon. gent. that the evil of which he complained, but too certainly existed; and assured him, that it had been under the consideration of his Majesty's government. He admitted that the hon. gent. had commented justly on the baseness of such a practice, at such a crisis The remedy, however, rested with individuals, who might easily correct a practice, that was as inconsistent with public spirit, as it was with the duty of a good citizen.—The motion was then put, and leave given to bring in the bill. After which the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "that there be laid before the house an account of the amount of Bank of England notes in circulation on the 1st of June, 1st of August, 1st of October, and 25th of November, 1803; distinguishing the amount of the value of those below 5l." Ordered.

[Waterford Election Committee.] Mr. *Deverell* moved the order of the day, for renewing the debate on the motion for excusing Mr. Pedley from his attendance on the Waterford committee.

The *Speaker* said, he conceived it to be his duty to state to the house, that affairs of an urgent nature having called the hon. gent. mentioned in the motion, to the island of Jamaica, and that the gentleman having long since taken his passage, it was moved that he obtain leave of absence from the committee on the Waterford election, on which he was appointed. The question being put,

Mr. *Deverell* rose. He recapitulated what he had said on the preceding evening. He stated farther, that the hon. gent. alluded to had spent seventeen or eighteen years in the island of Jamaica, and had only lately left it. It was scarcely probable, therefore, that a man in such circumstances should have left his affairs in such a situation, as not again to require his personal presence. The hon. gent. entered further into a minute discussion of the observations of the Attorney General on the preceding evening, and endeavoured to obviate that right hon. gentleman's objections. He stated, that it would be a very hard case, indeed, if gentlemen should be excluded from attendance on their own private and most interesting affairs; affairs in which their happiness and personal respectability were deeply implicated, merely because they had been appointed on a committee, the business of which might be otherwise executed without injury to the public. He appealed to the feelings of the house. Was it a case to which any gent. present would wish to submit? He alluded to a precedent, where nine out of fifteen had sat and transacted the busines of an election committee, whereas even in case of the hon. gentleman's absence, there would still, according to the Attorney General, be eleven on the Waterford committee.

The *Attorney General* rose. It was far, he said, from his intention to oppose the private interests of any member of that house, and in regard to the gentleman alluded to, he would be the last to throw any obstruction in his way. So much was this the case indeed, he said, that if the question were at this moment put, it would be more agreeable to find that the gentleman should obtain leave of absence than that he should not. To be refused, indeed, in such circumstances, he thought would be a very hard case; and let it be brought home to the feelings of any gentleman here present, he was as sensible as the hon. gent. who spoke last, that no one could deny the force of his argument. The hon. gent. had stated that he had said the whole of the business would be at a stand, should more of the members be absent than now were. This was not directly the idea he had expressed. He had meant to say, that if one, two, or three, were permitted to absent themselves upon business, others might claim the same privilege, and of course no reliance could be placed upon any committee ap-

* The following is the circumstance to which the hon. member alluded:—In consequence of the great inconvenience experienced at Portsmouth from the scarcity of cash, a meeting was held, pursuant to advertisement, at the Guildhall of that place, on the 22d of November. The mayor presided; and, after some discussion on the means of alleviating the difficulties and inconveniencies so seriously felt at Portsmouth and Portsea, for the want of gold and silver for the purposes of trade, it was unanimously resolved, that dollars should be admitted into temporary currency at 4s. 9d. each, but that no person should engage to take more than four in one payment; and French crowns at 5s. and half crowns at 2s. 6d.

pointed by the house; and such really was the case in the present instance; three had already dropped from the committee in question, and this motion went to authorize the absence of a fourth. The right hon. gent. concluded by saying, that where the private interests of the individual and those of the public were put in competition, his own private feelings would be too ready to lead him to give a preference to the individual interest; but, at the same time, he could not conceal his anxiety, that the house should not be forward to establish precedents that were too likely to be followed, to the injury of the public service. With regard to precedents, he had taken much pains to search for them; and he could find no precedent, where a member for private business was indulged, but in a temporary absence; in which case, the committee was adjourned, till it could have the benefit of his attendance. Painful as it would be to him, he should, therefore, vote against the motion.

Mr. *W. Dundas* rose, and requested that the house would pause, before it should determine in a case of such importance, where they had nothing before them, but the general assertion of an individual, to direct their judgment. Suppose, he said, I wish to go to Scotland? If you establish a precedent of this kind, will it not be natural for me to plead business, and to direct your attention to this very precedent, which you are about to create?

Mr. *Bragge* observed, that it must be in the recollection of the house, that there was no precedent in England that could apply to this motion, and as committees for the trial of Irish elections were now in this country, no arguments could be adduced on the present question, but those of expediency only. It therefore remained with the house to establish or not, as they should think proper, a precedent on the present occasion.

The *Speaker*, before he put the question, stated to the house, the number of precedents of absence, granted to members, from committees, to be eight; four of which, were for total absence, in consequence of the death of near relations. Of the other four, two were for private business, and but for two days; and the committees were in both cases adjourned, till the expiration of the two days. The remaining two were, first, the case of the Okehampton petition; Mr. Pelham, one of the members of the committee for trying which, was also water-bailiff to the court of sewers, and had obtained a total release from attendance on the committee, in consequence of his presence being essential to the discharge of his other duties. The second, was the case of Shaftesbury, in which case, Sir Richard Worsley, who was also mayor and returning officer of another place, obtained a release from attendence on the committee, in consideration of the calls of duty in his corporation. The question being put by the Speaker, there was a call to divide the house, when there appeared for the motion 45, and against it 54. The motion, of course, was negatived by a majority of 9.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, December 1.

Their lordships met at the usual hour. Certain accounts, relative to the bounties granted by Queen Anne, were laid on the table. The house then went into a committee of privileges. Strangers were ordered to withdraw, and soon after an adjournment took place.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, December 1.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Smith informed the house, that his Majesty had been waited upon with the address of this house, and had ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before the house, the several estimates accordingly.—Sir P. Stephens presented estimates of the expense of maintaining prisoners of war, sick and in health; also, an estimate of the expense of transport service, for the year 1804. These estimates were ordered to lie on the table; and Sir P. Stephens gave notice, that he should move them in the committee of supply to-morrow.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee of supply. The resolutions were agreed to, *nem. con.*——Lord Castlereagh brought in his bill, for regulating the interest on East-India bonds. The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday, and to be printed.—Mr. Vansittart brought in the bill for continuing the restriction, on payments in specie by the Bank of England. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee of Expiring Laws. The resolutions were for the continuation of the act 39 Geo. III. for prohibiting the exportation, and encouraging the importation of corn; the act for regulating the trade with Malta; the act of last session, relating to the drawback on the exportation of sugar; and the act relating to the exportation of sugar to Ireland. The resolutions were post-

poned, and referred to a committee of the whole house to sit to-morrow.—The house went into a committee on Mr. Jarvis's bill, for preventing the desertion and collusive arrests of seamen. Several verbal amendments were made, the blanks were filled up, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that to-morrow the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of ways and means, for raising the supply granted to his Majesty.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that to-morrow, in the committee of ways and means, he should move, that leave be given to bring in a bill to empower his majesty to raise five millions, by loan, on exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1804.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that to-morrow, in the committee of ways and means, he should move the land and malt taxes, for the year 1804.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the outstanding exchequer bills, on the 1st December, 1802, and 1st December, 1803, respectively.

[STIPENDIARY CURATES BILL.] — Sir *William Scott* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to encourage the residence of stipendiary curates. It would, he said, be in the recollection of gentlemen, that a bill had been brought forward on this subject last year, which had passed that house, but was rejected in another place, on account of a money provision, which had been annexed to it, of such a nature as to be conceived inconsistent with the forms of that place. He had the satisfaction to state, that it was not now necessary to annex to the bill any such provision, as intimation had been given, that it was intended to bring forward a separate measure, for the purpose of providing, in a less objectionable way, for those of that deserving class of men, the stipendiary curates, who should be displaced, by the operation of the bill for enforcing the residence of the clergy. The bill, which he should propose, would, therefore, be the same with that which the house had passed in the last session, with the addition of a clause, which would facilitate its operation, and the omission of the clause, in consequence of which, the former bill had been rejected in the upper house. If leave should be given to bring in the bill, his intention was, that it should be read a first and second time, as soon as the forms would admit, and then printed and left some time for consideration. —Leave being given, the bill was accordingly brought in, and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow. It is then to be committed, in order to fill up the blanks *pro forma*, when it is to be printed; and after a sufficient interval for consideration, to be recommitted for discussion.

[CURATES RELIEF BILL.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* (who was not in the house when Sir William Scott made the above motion) said, he understood that a motion had just been made, and leave given, to bring in a bill similar to that of last session, to encourage the residence of stipendiary curates. It would be in the recollection of gentlemen, that in the progress of the former bill, a motion had been made, for the house to go into a committee, to consider of the propriety of making compensation to such curates as should be deprived of their cures by the bill for enforcing the residence of the clergy. The provision, which the committee thought it adviseable to make, had been incorporated with the bill, and the bill had been rejected in the other house as informal. It was now designed, to bring forward a plan, for the relief of these deserving men, in a separate bill. He should therefore move, "that the house should to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the expediency of affording a temporary relief to such curates as have been or shall be displaced, in consequence of the act of last session, for enforcing the residence of the clergy." He was authorised to state, that the proposition had the consent of his Majesty.

[FORTIFICATION OF LIVERPOOL.]—Mr. *Dent* moved for leave to bring up a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, praying for leave, to bring in a bill, to enable them to fortify their harbour and town at their own expense.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the petition was recommended by his Majesty, so far as the crown was concerned.——The petition was accordingly brought up and read. It stated, that the commander in chief, and other general officers of that district, had represented the harbour and town of Liverpool to be in a very inadequate state of defence. The mayor, bailiffs, and other officers of the corporation, having, on their part, offered to raise a great portion of the necessary fortifications at their own expense, the merchants wished to contribute to carry the plan into full effect, so that floating batteries may be stationed across the mouth of the harbour, and by erecting batteries on such points of the coast as were thought to require fortification. For this purpose voluntary donations had been sub-

scribed, but the amount of them being insufficient, it was wished to raise the remainder of the necessary sum by loan, as a security for which the merchants were willing to pledge their ships, and other property. It was to enable them to raise this loan, that the aid of Parliament was required.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that though some of the gentlemen near him had communicated to him the substance of the petition, he was not acquainted with the form of it, till he had heard it read. If he had been aware of the words, in which t was expressed, he would not have exercised in its favour, the discretion which his Majesty had vested in him, to give the approbation of the crown where he should think it called for. What were the avowed designs of the enemy, referred to in the petition; and what the zeal and spirit of the merchants of Liverpool to resist these designs, which he had no doubt were as great as those of any other class of his majesty's subjects, were matters, into the discussion of which, he was not now disposed to enter. There were, however, words in the petition, which, if the house should order a bill according to the petition, would render that bill objectionable. The petition alluded to works to be raised for the defence of the harbour and town of Liverpool; the house would not countenance the raising of any works without the express order of the King. He gave every credit to the zeal and public spirit, from which the petition originated. This remark, he was called upon to make, by his not being aware of the particulars of the petit on when he gave his Majesty's consent; a defect which the house itself would correct, and which it would allow him to supply. He recollected an instance of a similar petition in 1798. He had not then objected, for he could not make any objection; but his sentiments were such as he now stated, and he was glad to find they had the approbation of the chair. [The Speaker appeared by signs to coincide in the sentiment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.] It would be for the house to decide, whether it would sanction the precedent then established.

Mr. *Creevey* thought it never had been conceived by the inhabitants of Liverpool, that their town and harbour were particularly in want of fortifications. During the last war, and all former wars, they looked upon themselves as perfectly secure; but now the commander in chief of their district (Prince William of Gloucester) found out that Liverpool was a very vulnerable place, and very much in danger of attack. If, contrary to his own judgment and that of many others, such fortifications were necessary, let them be defrayed, as they ought to be, by the public; let them not be imposed as a partial and heavy burthen on Liverpool itself, but let them be erected, at the general expense of the nation. It was, besides, an error to conceive that the expense would fall on the majority of the inhabitants, if the money were to be raised in the manner proposed by the petition: it would fall on a very small part of these inhabitants.

Mr. *Dent* moved, that the petition be referred to a committee, to consider the matter thereof, and to report the same as it should appear to them to the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* begged to be understood, not to pledge himself to the measure, by giving his Majesty's consent, so far as his Majesty was concerned. He had given it thus qualified, in order not to debar the petition from coming before the house.

Mr. *Dent* said, the measure proposed in the petition, had certainly the sanction of the majority of the most respectable merchants of Liverpool. The town had already raised a considerable sum by subscription. Twenty thousand pounds had been raised, but that was not sufficient; it was to supply the deficiency, that the measure stated in the petition was resorted to. If assistance was necessary, he was sure, though he had no pledge, that it would be afforded. It would have been highly indecent in the town, when informed by so high an authority as its commander in chief, and the general officers under him, not to shew the greatest alacrity to come forward in the most liberal manner.—The petition was referred to a committee.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, December 2d.

[MINUTES.]—On the motion of the Duke of Norfolk, the Zouch peerage was ordered to be taken into further consideration on the first Tuesday in February.—On the motion of Lord Walsingham, the Rous peerage was ordered to be taken into consideration on the third Tuesday in the same month.

[PAROCHIAL CLERGY.]—The *Duke of Norfolk* gave notice, that it was his intention to submit to the consideration of the house, a bill for preventing the arrest of parochial clergymen, while actually engaged in the duties of their respective cures: a bill, for their relief, had been introduced in that house last session, but had not been entertained, on the idea that it was to be esteemed a money bill. Such a bill, however, was now pending in the other house, and he

should avail himself of the opportunity, when that bill came to be considered by their lordships, to introduce one to the effect he had mentioned. Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, December 2.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Wharton, from the Bank of England, presented at the bar, "an account of the number and amount of bank notes in circulation on the 1st of June, the 1st of August, the 1st of October, and the 25th of November, 1803, distinguishing those under £5." Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—On the motion of Sir W. Scott, the stipendiary curates bill was read a second time; committed *pro forma*, the blanks filled up, the report received, and the bill as amended, ordered to be taken into further consideration on Wednesday next.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the seamen's desertion bill, which was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday next.—On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the bank restriction bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—The house then resolved itself into a committee of ways and means; in which, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the following resolutions; that the duty on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, imposed by the 43d of his present Majesty, which was to expire on the 24th of June, 1804, be further continued till the 24th of June, 1805; that the 4s. in the pound to be raised on all pensions, offices, &c. till the 25th of March, 1804, do continue to be raised on the same till the 25th of March, 1805; that the duties on sugar, tobacco, snuff, &c. imposed by the different acts of Parliament, do continue to be further raised upon the same till the 25th of March, 1805. These resolutions were severally put and agreed to.—The Secretary at War presented an estimate of the expence of guards and garrisons, which was ordered to lie on the table. He then gave notice, that, on Friday next, he should submit the army estimates to the consideration of the house.—Sir Philip Stephens moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider further of a supply to be granted to his Majesty; which being read, he moved, That the several accounts presented, of the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the navy, be referred to the said committee. Ordered.—The house having formed itself into a committee of the whole house, Sir Philip moved; that a sum, not exceeding 2,670,000l. 9s. 9d. be granted to his Majesty for the ordinaries of the navy, including the half-pay of navy and marine officers, for 1804. Granted; that 948,520l. be granted for building, re-building, and repairing ships of war in his Majesty's dock-yards, over and above the ordinary wear and tear, for the year 1804. Granted.—The chairman was ordered to report progress, and to ask leave to sit again.—Report ordered to be received to-morrow morning.—Sir Philip Stephens gave notice, that he should, on Monday, move to refer the estimates of the probable expense of transports, prisoners of war, &c. to a committee of the whole house.—Mr. Vansittart moved the orders of the day, on the report of the committee on expiring laws, which being read, he moved the continuance of all the last regulations respecting corn, permitting the importation, and prohibiting the exportation of it; renewing also the regulations respecting the drawback on the exportation of sugars, &c. and renewing also the regulations respecting various articles that have been permitted to be imported without payment of duty; renewing likewise all the last regulations respecting the trade, &c. of Malta till after peace, &c. which were all agreed to.—Mr. Vansittart moved for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify such persons in Great-Britain as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and justices of the peace who have omitted to deliver in their qualifications, officers of boroughs, &c. as required by law, &c. Granted.—Mr. Vansittart then moved, That there be laid before the house, an estimate of the charges of barracks in Great-Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of December, 1803, to the 25th of December, 1804. Ordered.—He concluded by moving an address to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for that purpose. Agreed to.—Mr. Corry gave notice that he would to-morrow, move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the acts relative to the importation of provisions to Ireland, and also for continuing the sugar act.—The right hon. gent. then observed, that as the act which passed last session, respecting the issue of what is called in Ireland silver-notes, would expire on the 1st of January, 1804, and as he thought it necessary to wait for information, from gentlemen of that country, respecting the state of that species of circulating credit, he should, on Monday, move for leave to bring in a bill to suspend, for a limited time, that prohibitory act, in order

to give Parliament an opportunity to receive the desired information.

[CURATES RELIEF BILL.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day, that the house do now resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the most effectual and expedient mode of affording a temporary relief to curates, who might be deprived of their cures, by the operation of the clergy residence act, passed last session.

Sir *Robert Buxton* expressed his opinion, that this was a business which deserved the most serious attention of the house. Nobody, said the honourable baronet, can feel more than I do, the inconveniencies to which that valuable body of men, the stipendiary curates, may for a time be subjected, if no relief can be granted them by the legislature. But whilst I look on this side of the question, and admit the expediency of affording relief to these men, who must otherwise labour under considerable difficulties, I ought not to neglect to glance a little at the other side, and observe the circumstances that form more than a counter-balance to the necessities of the curates, and that is the necessities of the country. In the present situation of the country, so burthened with taxes, to support the arduous contest in which we are engaged, nothing can excuse a compliance with an application of this sort, but the most absolute necessity. In the present instance, I am by no means satisfied, that such a necessity does exist. The clergy, who before kept curates, but who are now compelled to reside on their livings, may very well spare a maintenance for those who were in the habit of performing the duty of their functions, until another provision shall occur. The clergy are certainly able to afford this expense, as it is notorious, that the value of their livings have of late received a very ample increase. These few observations, I have thought it my duty to throw out at present; at the same time pledging myself, that whenever any subject of expenditure, that is not indispensably necessary, does come before the house in the present circumstances of the country, I shall uniformly and strenuously object to it.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* agreed, that nothing could be more commendable than the cautious jealousy expressed by the hon. baronet, respecting the application of the public money. He was anxious, however, that the house should rightly understand the object of the present motion. It was merely meant to do away an informality which has crept into a similar bill, brought forward last session, even after the commencement of hostilities, and which passed through all its stages in that house, without having met with one dissentient voice. When the bill for enforcing the residence of the clergy, was under consideration last session, it was generally acknowledged, that its operation must press hard upon a certain description of curates, who might be reduced, both themselves and their families, to great distress, by the passing of that bill. It was not then, neither is it now, intended, to make full and general compensation to all of that description, who may be deprived of their cures; but merely to rescue from the most ruinous indigence, many meritorious curates, who may be more particularly injured by the non-residence bill. He was as sensible as any gentleman could be, of the propriety of observing a system of rigid economy; but he was as equally satisfied, that the house would not wish that any system of that nature should stand in the way of the generosity, he had almost said the justice, which certain individuals, under certain circumstances, might have to expect at their hands. The house would, no doubt, the more incline to that opinion, when they understood that the sum to be proposed, for answering this object, was not to exceed 8,000 l. and that that sum, small as it was, would be under the restrictions imposed by a bill which had already received the unanimous approbation of the house. He had only to repeat, that the object of the bill went merely to procure a temporary relief for indigent curates, and that the amount of that relief was not to exceed 8,000 l.—The house having agreed to the motion, the right hon. gent. moved, "that a sum not exceeding 8,000 l. be granted for the relief of such curates as should be deprived of their cures in consequence of the bill compelling the residence of the incumbents." This motion was agreed to, and the resolution immediately reported.

[EXCHEQUER BILLS.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in a committee of ways and means, drew the attention of the committee to the notice which he had given yesterday, of his intention to move this day, for leave to issue exchequer bills to the amount of five million. He stated, that he had a satisfaction in mentioning, what he had no doubt the committee would feel a pleasure in hearing, that this motion, if agreed to, was the only application that would be made, for any supply, until a very advanced period of the session. He had also to observe with pleasure, that all the outstanding bills of 1802 were now paid off; and that those only were in circulation, that were issued on the credit

of the services of 1803, 4,500,000l. of which remained to be paid off. If the committee acceded to the present motion, there would also be an opportunity for the issue of new exchequer bills, for which there was now a considerable demand. So much would consequently be taken from the supply of the year; but the whole of what he now moved for would be necessary for the public service, till the advanced period of the session, when the whole of the supply was voted. If particular information was called for on any of these points, he should be ready to give every explanation in his power. He concluded by moving, "that the sum of five millions be raised by loan on exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1804." This motion being agreed to, the house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS ACT IN IRELAND.]—Mr. *Secretary Yorke.* I rise, Sir, in consequence of a notice which I gave a few days ago, for leave to bring in two bills to continue two acts; the one for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and the other for the re-enactment of Martial Law in Ireland. The house may be assured, that it is with the sincerest regret for the circumstances which render this measure necessary, that I now come forward to perform this painful duty. I am sorry to be obliged to propose any measure that may trench upon the liberties of the subject, or any of those blessings which this country justly values at so high a rate. But, Sir, it is the misfortune of the times in which we are destined to live, that we are not permitted to enjoy our lives, our liberties, or our possessions, without being daily called upon to sacrifice some part of our privileges in order to preserve the remainder, to sacrifice the best blood of the country in support of the contest in which we are engaged, and to abridge our liberties in order to preserve the existence of liberty itself. But this is no more than our ancestors often thought proper to do. There exists, however, this lamentable difference, that the periods during which it was necessary to resort to measures of this sort, were extremely short with them; but we can never rest in complete security, nor think either our privileges or our lives in safety, while France, after spreading devastation and death over her tributaries on the continent, looks with malignant envy on this happy spot, and longs to extend her fiend-like fangs to crush us also, and level us with the lowest of her slaves. It will be needless for me to state more particularly than I have done, the object of these bills. It will be recollected that they passed towards the conclusion of last session, in consequence of a message from his Majesty, stating the insurrection that had broken out in the city of Dublin, and the atrocious circumstances with which it was attended. The house very properly passed those acts without any hesitation; when passed, they gave confidence to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland, and enabled them to suppress the rebelion with celerity. The particular circumstances which gave rise to and accompanied that most unhappy transaction, has now been developed by the trials of several of the leaders and their adherents, before the ordinary courts of judicature, and according to the ordinary forms of law. The proceedings on these occasions have been published, and to them I refer the house for information whereon to found their judgment, as to the nature and extent of the conspiracy, as well as to the expediency of the present motion. Exclusive of the information contained in these trials, his Majesty's government are in possession of other facts, which the house must feel it would be highly improper to attempt to detail at the present moment. I may, however, be permitted to state, that notwithstanding the declaration of one of them (Emmett), I have every reason to believe, that the leaders of that insurrection were connected with persons residing in France, and those persons, traitors, immediately connected with the French government, if the conspirators were not immediately connected with it themselves. It is also clear, that some of the traitors who were in France, came over to Ireland for the purpose of exciting rebellion, and that they calculated upon the renewal of hostilities between this country and France, and chose that moment for exciting rebellion, as the most favourable crisis for putting in execution their nefarious designs. It is, indeed, clear, from all that has come to the knowledge of government, that the great object of the French government was to foster and increase treason and rebellion in Ireland, with a hope of distracting and dividing the British empire, and finally leading to the subversion of the country: but the perfidy of the enemy was defeated, and his hope was vain. With respect to the events of the 23d of July, the details are before the public, and it is not necessary to enlarge upon them. The

horrid tale is known; and, perhaps, in all the history of violence, madness, and folly which the world ever presented; there never existed treason more foul, an insurrection more unprovoked, leaders more contemptible, assassination more atrocious, or crimes more horrible.—What followed is extremely well known: most of the leaders have been brought to justice before the ordinary tribunals, which these miscreants wished to put an end to, and exterminate; as evidently appears by their horrible assassination of one of the brightest ornaments of those tribunals. I hope my right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) will shortly have it in command from his Majesty, to lay the situation of the family of the much respected, and much lamented nobleman to whom I have alluded (Kilwarden), before the house.—Sir, it becomes my duty to propose the continuance of the acts in question, and I hope that, as far as concerns the manner in which these acts have been made use of, there will be no objection. All the criminals have, notwithstanding the powers vested in the Irish government, been tried in the ordinary form, except in one solitary instance, where a person who endeavoured to seduce a soldier from his allegiance, was justly and properly tried by martial law. Of the necessity for these measures no man can entertain a doubt, who has taken any trouble to make himself acquainted with the state of Ireland, or who is at all aware of the views of the French government, with whom it has been a long favoured plan to attack the empire on the side of Ireland. The enemy is aware that it is only by dividing and diverting the strength of this country, that she can insure success; for united, the British empire single handed, is more than a match for all France. Provided parliament and government be on their guard, there is little reason to fear either foreign or domestic enemies. As to the latter, indeed, I am persuaded there are few, very few now to be found in this country. I regret that there are more in Ireland, although their numbers are greatly diminished. But let their numbers be great or small, they must be met with firmness and resolution. They must be made sensible that this house will never compromise with traitors, nor suffer them to clothe themselves with the whole armour of the law, whilst they are secretly attacking the government, and the senate, and all loyal subjects, with the concealed weapons of assassination.—I therefore move, Sir, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to continue, for a time to be limited, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland."

The Hon. *C. Hely Hutchinson.*—With most of the sentiments expressed by the right hon. gent. who has just sat down, I rise to declare my perfect concurrence; and I am happy to feel justified in assuring the house, that the conduct of the government of Ireland since the insurrection, meets with my entire approbation. Their firmness and humanity; their activity and attention, entitles them to the utmost praise. They have in a great measure pursued that line of policy, which the wise and just would always recommend to be observed towards Ireland. Their temper and lenity have tended to cultivate the good opinion of the people; which was precisely the course, which, at the close of the last session of parliament, I had entreated should be adopted; an exhortation by the bye, which seemed to have been much misconceived; and for offering which, I became the subject of severe and unmerited censures, from particular quarters: several paragraphs (I should be ashamed to suppose from authority) were inserted in some of the Dublin papers, and also in those of this city, tending to decry the individual who had attempted to call the attention of parliament to the affairs of Ireland. I was quite unconscious, on that occasion, of having given any provocation to the friends of the noble earl, at the head of the government of that country. Such was not my object; as it was, and is, matter of indifference to me, by whom the offices of state are filled, provided government be well administered: in the mode of that administration I am, so far as relates to Ireland, particularly interested. Connected to her by all the sacred ties which can bind an individual to his country, strengthened by a respect for the talents, a regard for the virtues, and a warm sympathy in the wishes of its inhabitants: eager as I feel for their welfare, rejoicing in their prosperity, and participating in their afflictions, I cannot but sincerely lament the necessity which ministers feel themselves under, for again resorting to parliament, for the measures now proposed. But, that under the present circumstances of that unhappy country, it is advisable thus to strengthen the hands of the executive, I cannot entertain a doubt: and I feel the less reluctance in again entrusting the Irish government with these extraordinary powers, when I reflect upon the moderation and lenity with which they have hi-

therto been exerted: and having on a former occasion expressed my regret, that the conciliating conduct, and uniform attentions of Lord Hardwicke and his family to the people of Ireland, had not been met by that co-operation of legislative exertion, which I for one had anxiously recommended, I cannot but lament, that this my avowed opinion, should have been either totally suppressed, or perverted.—I trust, I shall not, in the few observations I am about to make, subject myself to the imputation of wishing improperly to obtrude the discussion of the state of Ireland. Of misrepresentation alone do I feel the least apprehension: on a very late occasion, I had an opportunity of adverting to the situation of that country, I mean when the motion was under consideration for an address to his Majesty, but I abstained from any comment upon the speech from the throne, not wishing to disturb the unanimity, or damp the zeal which prevailed in the house; and because I felt, that at such a period, when attacked by the most inveterate enemy, and the most ambitious government, this country ever had to encounter, no man of loyalty, or of understanding, should hesitate to declare his resolution, unburthened by conditions and unalloyed by expressions of discontent, to support his Majesty in the prosecution of a war, in which, in my humble judgment, his empire is necessarily engaged. I was sincerely glad to hear from my Sovereign on the day to which I have alluded, that rebellion had been put down in Ireland, and that the public tranquillity had suffered no farther interruption; and I sincerely joined in the hope, that "such of his deluded subjects as had swerved from their allegiance, had been convinced of their error, and that upon a comparison of the advantages they derive under a free constitution, with the situation of those countries that have fallen under the yoke of the government of France, they will not hesitate to co-operate with his Majesty, in zealously resisting every attack which may be made upon the security and independence of the united kingdom." Of this "fair return to loyalty," I could entertain little doubt, were they fully acquainted with the miseries accumulated, on the unfortunate nations who have been forced to wear the galling chains of the republican despot. But I may be suffered, I trust, to hope, that by that passage in his Majesty's speech, ministers do not mean to hold out an opinion, that because the situation of Ireland may be preferable to that of those countries, pillaged and enslaved by France, that, therefore, it does not require any improvement. What, I would ask, can the minister mean by this comparison?—Is it that because Ireland is less oppressed, less persecuted, that, therefore, its inhabitants should be compleatly reconciled to the conduct of the British government, and thoroughly satisfied with their condition? Is it possible that it can be seriously designed, from a consideration of the difference in degrees of human misery, to decline entering into the investigation of the affairs of Ireland? If such be the purport of this insinuation, it cannot be too strongly condemned. Such a mode of reasoning could only be justified on the preposterous supposition, that nations should be happy and contented, as long as they see others more wretched than themselves; and it is something new in the history of this country, to derive an argument against any project for ameliorating the condition of its people, from a comparison with the state of other countries, and particularly with such as are subjected to arbitrary government. Would the Irish in 1782 when demanding in the bold tone of freedom, and the irresistible language of reason, the establishment of their rights, have tamely listened to any objection to their claims drawn from a reference to the comparative depression and poverty of their situation but a few years before?—Would the haughty barons of England, who in the 13th century so nobly contended for that charter which forms the basis of British liberty, have consented to have withdrawn their pretensions, and abandoned their claims, had they been reminded, that their situation was still preferable to that of the barons of France, and of the other neighbouring states? No; they would have indignantly spurned at those, who should have presumed to influence them by such a consideration, and have redoubled their energies for the attainment of their objects. But, to refer to a more modern, and a still more glorious epoch of your history, would those illustrious characters of 1688. who accomplished the ever memorable revolution of that day, which at length clearly ascertained the rights, and irrevocably established the independence and happiness of this realm, would, I ask, an artifice so shallow, a comparison so insulting, have induced them to have been false to their country, to themselves, and to you? If the comparison to which I have alluded, be urged for the purpose of communicating to the people of Ireland, that they have no change in their condition to expect, I cannot refrain from declaring that I fear it will be productive of the worst consequences,

and should be inclined to attribute it to the extreme of folly or of wickedness.—I do tell the right hon. gent. on the treasury bench, that he cannot confidently reckon on the warm and effectual support of the empire in this great struggle, unless he be just to the people.—It was with no small degree of regret, I understood him to have declared, that "he was not aware of the probability "under the present circumstances of any "discussion upon the situation of Ireland "being attended with any other than the "most dangerous consequences." If it be meant by this observation, that the consideration of these subjects should be postponed till after the conclusion of the war, I assert, that such an idea is an insult to the magnanimity and good sense of parliament.—What! shall it be said that at a time, when all the strength which the empire is capable of affording may be necessary, that one important part, known to be diseased, shall be left without care or remedy, and suffered to go on decaying until, become rotten, it be irrecoverably lost? Good God! at a crisis the most awful, in a contest the most tremendous in which this country ever was engaged, likely to be terminated only by the downfall of one of the contending powers, a contest for which we require all the strength and power which unanimity only can afford, at such a moment, to hesitate in adopting a system of conciliation is monstrous!!! Will it be objected that a time of war is unseasonable for the discussion of this important subject: upon what ground?—That there are grievances, and heavy ones too, under which the greater part of the Irish people labour, is not, cannot be disputed: this being admitted, it is unjust to procrastinate the redress of them till the issue of the present contest; for aught we know, to an indefinite period, and that too, without any pledge or hope that even after the termination of the war, the government would be disposed to make concessions or afford relief.—As to the policy of neglecting the state of Ireland during the war, I shall say that it becomes highly criminal, when the right hon. secretary has this moment declared that the British Empire, *provided it were united*, might single-handed, defy the threats with which we are now insulted, and that so convinced of this was the enemy, that he was labouring incessantly to divide us, and to create a party in the empire. Could any stronger argument than this be advanced by me, or those who think with me on the necessity of redressing the grievances of the Irish people as soon as possible? I am of the same opinion with the right hon. gent., that Buonaparté and his agents are sowing discord, and fomenting the passions of that people in order to distract, divide, and weaken our forces, as well as to embarrass his Majesty's councils.—Taking this for granted, what shadow of objection can be made against the introduction and discussion of a measure, the object and result of which is to detach from the enemy, those on whose assistance he may rely. No motive, no reasonable cause of discontent ought to be left, on which he may attempt to act.—Here again I must declare, that no system of government however defective, no complaint however founded, can justify the subject at this hour of general danger, when his country, his religion, his laws, and liberties are attacked, in refusing his cordial support to repel the common enemy.—— But, with respect to this cant about the time and circumstances proper for a full enquiry into the state of Ireland, I should be glad to know when such circumstances are likely to arise in the estimation of ministers, for, from their conduct heretofore, it seems impossible to calculate; they have been ministers during peace, and during war, during rebellion and after rebellion has been put down. They have in fact, been nearly three years in power, and have gone through every variety of change and circumstance, and yet, to them, the time for considering the means of improving the condition of Ireland, has never yet arrived; for by them, every season has been deemed improper for the redress of its grievances, and of course under their auspices, the beneficial consequences *promised* by the advocates of the union, cannot be looked for. On the part of the Irish I complain, that the minister of that day urged as a motive for hurrying on that measure, that the subject of the grievances of Ireland would be brought where it could be discussed with temper, liberality, and wisdom; but, no sooner was it brought to this side of the water, than it was discovered that it ought not to be brought forward, and for the very same reason, namely, that it would agitate the country and produce the most mischievous consequences.—I beg the house to understand that the condition of that people cannot be ameliorated by one, two, or three measures, but by a great and comprehensive system, the result of a fair, and full view of the whole question; adapted to the wants, and calculated to have a permanent operation on the interests of the country. In giving my support to the bills before the house, I confess my disposition to do so, is considerably damped, by observing that mi-

nisters manifest no inclination to take such steps as can alone prevent the recurrence of that calamity, against which, these bills are intended to guard, namely by sifting the state of Ireland to the bottom, by deliberating upon it, week after week, and session after session.—I cannot help indulging an ardent hope, from what passed on the first day of this session, that this delicate and important question, will soon be taken up by that great character (Mr. Fox) the enlightened champion of the happiness and independence of mankind, the benevolence of whose heart is as extensive as the views and energies of his mind.—I feel deeply impressed by the liberal indulgence I have experienced from the house, on whose patience I have too much trespassed, but when the affairs of Ireland are agitated, I cannot induce myself to remain silent.

General *Loftus*.—I rise, Sir, to give my most perfect support to the measures intended to be brought forward by the right hon. Secretary. They are certainly strong measures, but they are the only ones that will give security to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland. I have listened with great satisfaction to the early part of the speech of the hon. gent. who has just sat down (Col. Hutchinson), because I know there is one part of Ireland in which the opinion of that hon. gent. will have considerable weight. As to the question to which the hon. gent. afterwards alluded, I think that a time of war is not the proper period for the discussion of it, or of any question tending to interfere with the constitution. I felt it my duty to say thus much, and I shall sit down with giving my cordial support to the motion.

Mr. *Hawthorn*.—I shall support the motion, Sir, because, from the observations which I had an opportunity of making during the summer, I am convinced that the measures proposed are necessary for the security of the country. It is of considerable consequence to give strength to his Majesty's government in Ireland, to enable them to meet and put down the efforts of treason and rebellion with vigour and effect. His Majesty, in his gracious speech from the throne, has acquainted the house that the principal actors in the late atrocious insurrection have been brought to justice, and that the deluded multitude are returning to a sense of their duty; it is, therefore, essential to give such powers to his government in that country as will enable them to maintain the tranquillity so happily restored. Besides, the manner in which the Irish government have used the extraordinary powers given in the last session, is the best security that the same powers will not be abused in the present instance No gentleman, I am sure, will object to the motion of the right hon. Secretary, if he calls to mind the manner in which the rebellion was conducted up to its breaking out, the circumstances of atrocity with which it was then carried on, the manner in which it was put down, and the effect that the first burst of it had on the public mind. The conduct of the Irish government has been characterised by humanity and mildness. Its great object has been to pass over the circumstances of former insurrections, and to extend the benefit of the ordinary course of justice to the guilty, and that, too, at a time when traitors had returned from France, for the purpose of exciting rebellion in the country. I am, therefore, of the opinion, that the proposed measures are necessary for maintaining tranquillity. As to the other topic which has been adverted to on the first day of the session, as well as on the present occasion, I have ever entertained but one, and only one opinion, and that is, that something should be done; but I do not consider this the proper time for entering upon the question.

Lord *Temple* said, that he was not unwilling to give his consent to the motion, trusting in the assertion of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke), that the necessity actually existed for the renewal of an act which in its preamble stated "*the spirit of rebellion and insurrection to be* NOW *actually raging in Ireland.*" His hon. friend, (Gen. Loftus) had said, that a time of war and of danger was not the moment for entering into any question affecting the constitution of Ireland. He begged leave to recall to the memory of his hon. friend, and of his Majesty's ministers, (he was sure it was unnecessary to recall it to the memory of his noble friend, Lord Castlereagh, opposite to him) that during a period of war and a moment of danger very nearly equal to that which now threatens the country, the House of Commons had passed a measure of no less importance than the *Act of Union*.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* could not help feeling some surprise, that any doubt could exist as to the propriety of the time for improving the condition of so important a member of the empire. He meant, however, to make only a few observations on the subject of the motion. To ascertain the situation of that part of the empire it was scarcely necessary to advert to the situation of its capital, in which every inhabitant was obliged to place a list of all

the inmates of his house on his door. In such circumstances there could scarcely a doubt exist of the propriety of making some efforts to establish the tranquillity of the country upon some solid and permament grounds. It had been said that this was not the proper time; but the noble lord would ask, what would be a better time? Were we now going on well, or was the country well? This was a crisis when the exertions of every individual in the empire were necessary, for the defence and security of the empire. He contended it was the most proper time to resort to measures that would have the effect of removing every source of complaint, and of uniting every arm in the common cause. His lordship wished to be informed, whether his Majesty's ministers had any specific plan in contemplation for that purpose. There seemed to be but one sentiment in the house with respect to the necessity of uniting heart and hand in the present arduous crisis. He, therefore, again called upon his Majesty's ministers to declare, whether they meant to bring forward any measure but those which had hitherto been pursued in that country. From every thing that had come to his knowledge on that subject, through persons from local information acquainted with it, he thought a different system indispensable, and he thought it the duty of his Majesty's ministers to adopt it. If, however, they should think proper to abandon the interests of that part of the united kingdom, he was of opinion that, in such a case it would be perfectly competent to any individual in the house to bring the question before Parliament.

Mr. *Burrows* desired to be informed whether the notice of the right hon. Secretary, comprehended both the bills intended to be continued?

The *Speaker* informed the hon. member, that the motion before the house related only to that for allowing the suspension of the habeas corpus act, for a time to be limited, and that when that should be disposed of, the motion on the other would be put.

Mr. *Burrows* then rose to state his reason, for putting the question. He was willing to give his ready and perfect concurrence to the first proposition, but on the other question he was disposed to think that some time ought to be allowed before it should be carried into effect. This opinion he entertained not from any concurrence with the observations that had been made this night, or on a former night, tending to shew that the present government of Ireland was not such as it ought to be, or that affairs were not well nor properly administered in that country; for he was convinced that no system of government was ever better calculated to conciliate the affections of the people, than that now pursued in Ireland. But having said this, he trusted no attempt would be made to bring forward the other law, at least for some time, and particularly as it had not been found necessary in the numerous trials which had already taken place to resort to its provisions, or try any of the culprits by martial law. He hoped, therefore, that the law should not be renewed while Parliament should continue sitting, in order that the people might be impressed with the idea that Parliament, at the same time that it entertained a fixed determination to exterminate rebellion, was willing to respect the civil rights of the people. The hon. gent. concluded by giving his support to the motion.

Lord *Castlereagh* rose to offer a few observations in reply to the last speaker. He was happy to find that the hon. gent. had nothing to urge against the character of those who were to be invested with the discretionary power granted by the bill for continuing the use of martial law in Ireland, under such circumstances as might be judged expedient. The hon. gent. had, however, contended that such a bill had never been passed, except where strong proofs of its necessity were produced For his own part he would venture to assert, and he would defy any gentleman to disprove his observation, that no measure had so materially contributed to prevent the misehief originating from the rebellion from extending itself, as the very measure which was now made the ground of objection. A great body of loyalty had existed in Ireland, during the period that one of the most extensive and most malignant rebellions raged in that country which it was ever the fate of a government to encounter. By the exertions of this assemblage of loyal subjects, that rebellion had been suppressed, and the constitution had been saved from destruction. He must, however, be permitted to say, that it was not till the measure in question had been adopted, that the loyal part of the community were able to feel and to employ their strength. It was not till government was armed with the extraordinary powers with which the measure vested them, that rebellion was attacked in its strong holds and effectually subdued. These were the effects of the measure in putting an end to the rebellion in 1798,

and the continuance of the measure at different periods since that rebellion, had operated consequences no less beneficial. The late mad attempt at rebellion, shewed how much improved the state of the country was, and he had no difficulty in ascribing to the operation of the measure which the hon. member had objected to, that vast augmentation of loyalty which had been obtained during the interval which had taken place betwixt the rebellion of 1798 and the late attempt of a handful of deluded and desperate individuals. The experience of past consequences was the strongest inducement to renew the measure at the present moment. The use that had been made of the measure, was a wise reason for again resorting to it. Though the government was vested with extraordinary powers, there was no reason to be apprehensive that they would be wantonly employed. The circumstance of government being vested with these powers, was the means of enabling them to resort only to the civil tribunals of the country. The civil tribunals, notwithstanding the existence of these powers, had been appealed to, and the result had been equally honourable to the laws and to the individuals to whom the extraordinary powers were delegated. This ought, in his opinion, to operate as an additional inducement to grant extraordinary powers, when it was ascertained that they were not in any instance abused, when discretion was employed, not in suspending, but in encouraging the operation of ordinary tribunals of justice. The great principle which a wise legislature wished to act upon, was a principle of precaution. Its object was to prevent, and not punish crimes after they were perpetrated. It might be argued, that there was at present nothing in the situation of Ireland to justify a measure which went to the suspension of the ordinary privileges of the constitution. The recent attempt at rebellion had not surely escaped the notice of gentlemen, and it could not in fairness be pretended that tranquillity could be so soon restored as to supersede the necessity of a measure, the beneficial effects of which had been so signally experienced. By the timely interference of the legislature, a great deal of detailed misery which had formerly afflicted the loyal part of the community, had been avoided. For every man who was acquainted with the situation of Ireland knew, that such scenes of detailed misery could not have been prevented unless government had been armed with the powers adequate to the nature of the circumstances in which the country was placed. On the principle that it was wise on the first appearance of the late rebellion to arm government with these powers, he would contend that it was equally wise at the present moment. It would not be denied, that among those deluded individuals who constituted the remains of the rebellion, every effort would be made to interrupt the continuance of tranquillity, more particularly when they were encouraged by the expectation of deriving foreign aid from the enemy holding out threats of immediate invasion. It was therefore to these individuals themselves, an act not of severity but of mercy, to continue the operation of the measure in question. It was necessary by vesting government with these extraordinary powers, to convince them that perseverance in their treasonable designs was hopeless, before they could be induced to return to the habits of peaceable allegiance. When they found that they could not take a single step without being watched; when they saw that their pursuits could be blasted in a moment; when they perceived that government possessed the means of instant and signal punishment, it might be reasonably supposed that they would be induced to abandon pursuits evidently leading to inevitable ruin. It was barely an act of justice to make them take up such a view of their conduct and situation. The idea of rebellion ought to be banished from their thoughts by shewing them that it was a project altogether impracticable. On every consideration of experience, of policy, of justice, and of mercy, he was decidedly for re-enacting the bill. He trusted that the hon. gent. would not be inclined to persist in his opposition, or contend that at least the re-enactment of the bill ought to be deferred. Nothing appeared to him so likely to encourage the loyal part of the community, which had such powerful claims to support. Nothing could so effectually discourage the designs or extinguish the hopes of the disaffected. It was necessary to let the disaffected see that the government possessed the confidence of the legislature, and that they would receive whatever support the exigencies of affairs required. To refuse to invest government with powers which there was no danger of seeing in any instance employed with harshness, would elate the spirits of the deluded victims of rebellion, while it would paralyse the exertions and augment the fears of those firm and patriotic friends of the constitution whom it was the duty of Parliament to support by every possible extension of liberal provision. The noble lord concluded by giving his decided

support to the motion.—Leave was granted to bring in the bill. It was accordingly brought in, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

[Martial Law in Ireland.]—Mr. *Secretary Yorke* next moved, for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a time to be limited, the bill of last session, for the Suppression of Rebellion in Ireland, by enabling government to establish martial law. On the motion being put from the chair,

Mr. *Burrows* rôse to express his reasons for opposing the motion. He begged it to be understood that he did not found his objections to it from any want of confidence in those who were to exercise the powers to be granted by the bill. On the contrary, he had the most entire confidence that these powers would in no instance be abused, either by the government of Ireland or the government of this country. His objection was founded on constitutional grounds. He was convinced that it must be a principle with every man who loved the constitution, never to give his assent to a bill conferring such extraordinary powers, without the most urgent and imperious necessity. Acting on this principle, he could not, on the ground of confidence in government, consent to violate the constitution, unless the necessity of such violation was clearly established. When this bill was formerly passed, a rebellion actually raged in Ireland, and ample documents to prove its necessity were laid on the table of the house. At present no sort of evidence to prove its necessity was brought forward. Had any parliamentary evidence been adduced? Were any facts stated to shew that the re-enactment of the bill was essential to the maintenance of tranquillity in Ireland? Had the house obtained even the bare responsibility of a minister on the subject? Not one of these grounds of the necessity of the measure had been brought before the house. Independant of all information, Members were called on to give their assent to a measure which confessedly violated the free principles of the British constitution. When any description of subjects were to be deprived of a constitutional privilege, it was necessary to proceed with coolness and deliberation. Even while rebellion raged in Ireland he had not heard of resorting to martial law, and suspending all appeal to the civil tribunals, without a considerable portion of anxiety and alarm. But what he desired the house to consider, were the specific grounds on which the introduction of martial law was defended. It was on this principle, that jurors were over-awed in the discharge of their duty, and that witnesses could not come forward to give their testimony without great personal danger. It was because the ordinary tribunals of justice were necessarily shut up, from the causes which he had now stated, that it became necessary to have recourse to military decisions. If the same circumstances now existed, he should, however reluctant to violate the constitution, give his assent to the motion. No such circumstances did, however, exist at this period. Jurors could discharge their duty with the utmost safety. Witnesses could come forward to give their testimony without any apprehension of danger. Persons guilty of rebellion had been arraigned before the ordinary tribunals of justice, had been convicted on the clearest evidence, and had suffered the sentence of the law. If the grounds on which martial law was formerly resorted to did not exist, it was not surely asking too much to require some new grounds for re-enacting a bill vesting the executive government with extraordinary and unconstitutional powers. It certainly was not too much to ask, that if new grounds did exist they should be stated. To assent to a bill of this kind without any grounds was what he never could, under any circumstances, do, acting as a representative to parliament. If the hon. sec. of state was determined to persist in pressing the bill, it was at least fair that he should not precipitate its progress through the house. It would be fair to allow those gentlemen who were more particularly connected with Ireland an opportunity of offering their sentiments on the subject. The number of Irish members now in their place was very inconsiderable, and they had a right to be consulted before the constitutional privileges of their constituents were suspended or violated. He had thought it his duty to throw out these few observations to the house. Before he sat down, he begged leave to repeat, he did not oppose the re-enactment of the bill from any want of confidence in the mode in which it would be applied by ministers. He had no doubt that their application of the powers with which it vested them would be mild and merciful. His objections were, however, founded in respect for the constitution, and the character of the government, and should not induce him to vote for a bill, of the necessity for which not the slightest evidence had been adduced.

Mr. *Corry* rose to make a few observa-

tions in reply. The hon. gent. had said, that in all former cases of the passing of the martial law bill, rebellion actually raged, or tranquillity was very seriously disturbed. He begged leave to set the hon. member right on that head. In the year 1801, this very bill had been not only once but twice renewed in the course of the same session, though at that time no rebellion or appearance of rebellion existed from one part of Ireland to another. The hon. gent. seemed to be unacquainted with the history of the rebellion. He did not appear to be aware that the machinations of the disaffected were at their origin carefully veiled in darkness; that their views were gradually disseminated over the country; that it was not till their party was fully organized that they broke out into acts of open rebellion. The wisdom of parliament had been exerted in a number of acts to discover and to disconcert their views. Every effort had been employed to trace out the different relations and bearings of the conspiracy. These efforts had, however, failed of success. Never till the act in question was passed were the designs of rebellion fully ascertained. Never till government was armed with these extraordinary powers was any thing like tranquillity or confidence restored. Though individuals continued to suffer; though acts of insurrection and violence were not altogether destroyed; yet the constitution was saved and the sinews of the rebellion were annihilated. This effect he ascribed, more than to any other cause, to the repeated re-enactments of this bill in the course of the year 1802 and 1803. The hon. gent. however, did not see the necessity of re-enacting the bill at the present period. He had said, that the grounds of its re-enactment formerly was the intimidation of jurors and witnesses in the performance of their duty, but at this moment jurors were unmolested; witnesses could give their testimony without any dread of the consequences; all the ordinary forms of law and of justice were observed. He would not pretend to deny that this description of the state of the country was correct, but he would maintain that the present tranquillity of the country was the effect of the very bill to which the hon. gent. so strongly objected. It was not unknown to the hon. member and the house, that till the bill was passed the system of intimidation was universally prevalent, and the courts of common law were as a matter of necessity shut, not against rebels alone, but against the loyal part of the community, who were making every sacrifice in support of the constitution and the existing government. It was not till the rebels found that they could not prosecute their schemes with any hopes of success, that the strong powers vested in the government rendered their detection and punishment a matter of almost absolute certainty, that continuance in rebellion was only another term for destruction, that they thought of abandoning their traitorous projects, that they sat down in laborious tranquillity, and began to return to the habits of dutiful allegiance. If the hon. member looked to the state of Ireland, merely as it was at this day, his view would be extremely partial and limited. To be able to reason fairly on the subject, it behoved him to look at the progress and various modifications of the rebellion. He ought to compare the means used to spread disaffection with the means employed to check its diffusion among the lower orders. Among these last means, he had the universal testimony of the best informed persons in Ireland, that this measure had been one of the greatest and efficient causes of the return of tranquillity and order, of the possibility of continuing the ordinary exercise of the form of the common law courts of the land. Independent of this measure, the hon. gent. would not this day have had it in his power to notice the present tranquillity of Ireland as an argument against the re-enactment of the bill. So far from viewing the re-enactment of the bill as any act of severity to the loyal and well-disposed part of the community, he viewed it in the opposite light. By all loyal and well-disposed individuals, it would be considered as a measure not of oppression, but of protection; not of vigour, but of wise precaution, on the part of the government. It would dispel their apprehensiohs, and give them new energy in their opposition to the designs of the disaffected. It would enable them to check rebellion at its first opening, and leave to them the privilege of appealing for the redress of injuries to the ordinary tribunals of their country. The proclamation of martial law, by the exercise of the prerogative was, what every friend to the constitution would be anxious to avoid. It was to avoid the necessity of such a measure, that the bill was originally introduced, and was now proposed to be continued. Without such a bill traitors might escape unpunished, and loyal citizens might be deprived of their constitutional privileges, and dragged before military tribunals. On these grounds the bill had his hearty support, and he hoped it would also obtain the support of the house. It was

a bill which, from his knowledge of the present state of Ireland, he had no difficulty in pronouncing essential to the continuance of tranquillity.

Mr. *John Claudius Beresford* begged the indulgence of the house, while he made a few observations. His hon. friend under the gallery, (Mr. Burrows) had urged two objections to the re-enactment of the bill, at least, without more mature consideration. The first objection was, that no facts were produced to justify the necessity of the measure. The second objection was drawn from the thinness of the members particularly connected with Ireland, and best fitted to give information to the house on the subject. With regard to the first objection, it was unnecessary for him to take up the time or attention of the house. His right hon. friend had fully removed this objection, and he heartily agreed with his right hon. friend, that if the measure were not renewed, the same system of terror, which had been alluded to, would immediately be renewed in all its horrors. With regard to the thinness of the attendance of members connected with Ireland, he should make one or two remarks. Having been very recently in Ireland, and having had occasion to ascertain what were the sentiments of at least three-fourths of the Irish members resident in that country, as to the expediency and necessity of the measure, he requested the house, on his veracity, to be assured, that they were to a man convinced, that the re-enactment of the bill was indispensably necessary to the preservation of tranquillity, and to the protection of all loyal subjects. They were so thoroughly convinced of its necessity, that they expected the re-enactment of the bill would be one of the earliest acts of the session. If they had not indulged such an expectation, they would, at this moment, have been in their places to solicit its re-enactment. This sentiment, of the necessity of the measure, he might add, was not confined to members, but was entertained by every loyal man in every part of the country. He, himself, had been the only Irish member, who had expressed doubts respecting the loyalty of the lower orders, in opposition to the opinion of a number of other most respectable individuals. He rejoiced to find, that the opinion he entertained of the disloyalty of the lower orders was erroneous, and that the spirit of disaffection was much less general than he had dreaded. At this moment all good men of every party were animated with feelings of loyalty, and convinced of the necessity of defending the country against the common enemy. Every man who possessed only 20l. a year, was now disposed to unite against all foreign and domestic foes. The late insurrection had not a twentieth part of the extent of the rebellion of 1798; and all classes of the people, with an exception of a few of the lower orders, were universally disposed to assist government against an invading enemy.—He was also authorized to state, that it was the wish of all sects in that kingdom, that no question should be brought forward, which might have the effect of agitating the public mind, at a period, when it was so essential, that all descriptions should unite in the defence of their common interests.—Leave was obtained to bring in the bill; which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

[IRISH BANK RESTRICTION BILL.]—Mr. *Corry*, pursuant to notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a time to be limited, the restriction on the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland. It was unnecessary for him to urge any reasons to induce the house to agree to his motion. The same motives that induced the house to entertain the bill with respect to the Bank of England, applied to the present case, and as the measure, he proposed, was always consequential to that which had been introduced within a few days by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he should content himself barely with moving, that leave be given. Leave was given. —Mr. Corry then moved, that there be laid before the house, an account of the amount of bank of Ireland notes, including bank post bills, payable at seven days sight, in circulation on the first days of January, April, June, and September, 1800; also, amount in circulation on the first days of April, May, and June, 1801; also, amount in circulation on the first days of June, August, October, and November, 1802, and first of February, 1803; also, amount in circulation on the first days of January, April, August, and September, 1803; distinguishing, in this last instance, the value of those below the value of five guineas. Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, December 3.

[MINUTES.]Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee upon expiring laws. The resolutions were read and agreed to, and bills were ordered to be brought in pursuant to them.—Mr. Secretary Yorke presented a copy of a proclamation issued by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to prevent distillation from oats and oatmeal in that country. Ordered to be laid on the table.—Mr. Corry

gave notice, that on Monday he should move for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify the lord-lieutenant of Ireland for issuing this proclamation; and also, that he should move for the introduction of a clause into that bill to enable the lord-lieutenant to impose such a prohibition, during a time to be limited.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee for considering the propriety of affording a temporary relief to the Curates displaced by the operation of the bill for enforcing the residence of the clergy. The resolution for granting £8000 for this purpose was agreed to.—Sir Francis Burdett presented a petition on behalf of the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, setting forth that the duties of their offices had increased so much that they wanted assistants to be appointed in order to enable them to do justice to their situations, &c. Referred to a select committee. —The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that on Monday he should move, that a committee be appointed to investigate the joint account between Great-Britain and Ireland, as in the last session. —Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee of supply on certain parts of the naval service voted yesterday. The resolutions were read and agreed to. — Mr. Corry brought in the bill for continuing the restrictson on payment in specie by the bank of Ireland. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.—The bill for continuing the restriction on cash payments by the bank of England, went through a committee. On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the blank was filled up with the words, "six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace." The report was ordered to be received on Monday.—The House went into a committee to consider of the propriety of renewing, for a further time, the liberty granted for bonding Portugal wines, which had expired on the 10th of October. Mr. Vansittart, in stating the propriety of extending this indulgence, stated also, that it was thought adviseable to give the benefit of it to Spanish wines. A resolution to this effect was agreed to, and being reported, the committee appointed to bring in the bill for the continuation of expiring laws was ordered to make provision accordingly.—Mr. Vansittart brought in the annual bill for indemnifying magistrates and others who had neglected to take the necessary oaths. The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday. — Mr. Corry gave notice, that he would move in the proper stage to introduce a clause into this bill for extending the benefit of the indemnity to Ireland.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, December 5.

Their Lordship met at a little after three, when the appeal from the court of session of Scotland in which Christie and Keay were appellants, and Proudfoot, Dean of Guild and the Guild Council of the Burgh of Perth, respondent, came before them. Messrs. Adams and Grant were heard on the part of the appellants, and Mr Romilly for the respondent. The farther hearing of council was deferred until to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, December 5.

[MINUTES.] The bill for inclosing lands in the manor and parish of Fulbeck, in the county of Lincoln, for making compensation for the tithes arising within the same parish, was read a second time, and committed. — Mr. Manning brought in a bill to enable the London dock-company to raise a farther sum af £500,000 for the construction of wet docks and other works, for the greater accommodation of the London merchants. Read a first time and ordered to be read a second time.—Mr. Grant acquainted the House that Col. F. W Grant, who had been ordered to attend in his place on Wednesday next, had arrived in town, and would attend in his place to-morrow.—Mr. Secretary Yorke presented at the bar, by his Majesty's command, a copy of the convention between his Britannick Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed on the 25th of July 1803. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Secretary Yorke moved the second reading of the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland. The bill was accordingly read a second time without giving rise to any debate, and ordered to be committed to-morrow. Mr. Pole presented the ordnance estimates for 1804, which were ordered to lie on the table, and the hon. member gave notice that he would, on Friday next, in the committee of supply, move the consideration of these estimates after the army estimates were disposed of. — The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that a committee be appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the United Kingdom, from the first day of Jan. 1801, and the sums contributed thereto by Great-Britain and Ireland respectively, and report the same with their opinion thereupon, to the House. And a committee was appointed accordingly

—In a committee of supply the committee on the motion of Sir Philip Stephens, voted the following sums; for the transport service, for the year 1804, £709,000; for prisoners of war at home and abroad, £220,000; for sick prisoners of war, £40.000; the House being resumed, the report was presented.—Mr. Corry rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the act of last session, prohibiting the negotiation of small notes in Ireland. He wished it to be understood that government did not by this means propose any general system or permanent regulation on the subject. They only proposed this as a temporary measure till the Irish members hitherto detained at home, by their attention to the defence of their own shores, could be present, and the question could be fully considered. Leave was given and the bill brought in and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow. The House having gone into a committee on expiring laws, a report was agreed, and reported, on which Mr. Corry brought in a bill to suspend certain acts prohibiting the exportation from Ireland, of corn, potatoes and provisions, and to permit their importation for a time to be limited. The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The seamen's desertion bill was read a third time and passed.—The malt duty bill was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading to-morrow.—A bill for continuing and regulating the bounty on sugar exported from Ireland was read a first time and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The pension, &c. duty bill was read a first time and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The curate's relief bill was read a first time and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The bill to suspend the act prohibiting the negotiation, &c. of small notes in Ireland, was read a first time and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—A bill for continuing an act discontinuing certain bounties on the exportation of sugar, was read a first time and ordered for a second reading to-morrow.—The five millions exchequer bills bill was read a first time.—The last indemnity bill was read a first time.

[OATS DISTILLATION BILL.]—Mr. *Corry*, pursuant to his notice on Saturday, rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify the lord lieutenant, and such as had acted under the authority of his proclamation, issued in October, prohibiting the distillation of spirits from oats, which had been laid before the house by his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would be necessary for him to state the cause and circumstances of the proclamation, before he should submit his motion to the house. The prohibition had arisen from a supposed failure of the crop of potatoes, in consequence of the extreme drought of the season. Potatoes constituted the chief support of the mass of the people of that country, and the failure of a crop had the same effect there as the failure of a crop of wheat would have in this country, or of a crop of oats in the northern part of it. The active vigilance of the Irish government, had ascertained that there was a deficiency in the crop of potatoes, in three out of the four provinces of Ireland, and therefore, it became the wisdom of his excellency to provide for the supply of this deficiency, by prohibiting the use of oats in distillation. This he had done by a proclamation, issued in October, in which he had exceeded the powers which the law allowed him; and the object of the bill he should move for, was to indemnify him for having done so. He trusted, the house would consider the conduct of the Irish government, on this occasion, rather as deserving approbation than censure, for the laudable attention it had manifested in providing for the support of the people. He trusted the house would not object to the measure, and he proposed, if the house should accede to his motion, to introduce into the bill a clause to enable the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor of Ireland, to prohibit, for a certain time, by proclamation, the distillation of spirits from oats. He was aware of the effect such a measure might have on the landed interest, and the revenue, but he trusted there would be no difficulty or objection to trusting such a discretionary power to the lord lieutenant, who would have every inducement to forbear from the exercise of it. He should not trespass further on the house, but move, that leave be given to bring in the bill, &c. and the question being put, and the proclamation entered as read.

Mr. *Francis* did not mean to oppose the motion, though an enemy to every exercise of power contrary to law; he was inclined to approve of it in the present instance, where it had been evidently directed to secure the country from famine. The lord lieutenant, he thought, had acted right, and of the descriptions of power, the one proposed to be committed to him, by the present measure, was least likely to be abused. He should not be sorry if greater powers were given, or if the distillation of oats were altogether prohibited, for, he was confident, that much serious mischief was caused by the use of that pernicious liquor, whiskey, so made.

Mr. *Corry* took the opportunity of the hon.

gentleman's observations, to throw out a remark, for the purpose of quieting any apprehensions that might be entertained by another body of men, the distillers, whose interests concurred with the interests of the revenue. For that purpose, therefore, he threw out, by way of notice, that regard would be had to their interests, by a regulation of revenue.

[INDIA BONDS.]—Lord *Castlereagh* moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the bill for regulating the interest on India bonds; on the question being put,

Mr. *Gregor* said, he did not mean to oppose the measure; on the contrary, he was obliged to the noble lord for bringing in any bill to amend or rectify the defects of the property-tax act. It had been stated from authority, that no alteration was to be made in that act during the present session; but, for his own part, he was of opinion, that it was a perfectly impracticable act. By that, he meant, that it could not be executed according to its letter; but, if executed at all, must be executed according to the arbitrary, or discretionary interpretation of the commissioners. He had received letters on the subject from two gentlemen of good sense and intelligence, who had been appointed commissioners; they were of opinion, that the act, in its present form, could not be executed. He did not mean to enter into the detail of all its clauses, and should only advert to one clause, which directed that the commissioners of the land-tax should be the commissioners for executing this act. The hon. member contended, that in place of a board of collection, a board of controul was thus established. He threw out this observation merely to call the attention of gentlemen to the defects of this act.

Mr. *Vansittart* observed, that only one of the hon. gentleman's observations applied to the question before the house. The hon. gent had confessed himself much obliged to the noble lord, for bringing in a bill to explain any part of the property tax bill. His noble friend's measure, however, went only to amend the mode of collection in one instance, and not to alter any of the provisions of the act. With regard to the other observations of the hon. gent., he felt it would be to travel out of the question, to advert to them. It would be found, that the act, to which the hon. gent. had alluded, though perhaps containing some difficulty or obscurity, was, on the whole, more perspicuous than gentlemen were disposed to admit.

[IRISH MARTIAL LAW BILL.]—Mr. *Secretary Yorke* moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the Irish martial law bill. On the question being put, that the bill be read a second time,

Mr. *William Elliot* rose, and spoke as follows:—Sir; the observations, which I am about to offer, will be comprised within a very narrow compass. Indeed, I should not have intruded myself at all upon the patience of the house, if I could, compatibly with the view I entertain of my duty towards the country, to which this bill immediately relates, have permitted a measure of such moment to pass in a silence, that might have the appearance of a listless indifference. The affairs of Ireland must be universally admitted to merit the serious attention and earnest solicitude of every member of Parliament; but there are several among us, who are under more peculiar and indispensable obligations to watch over its concerns. I mean, Sir, those who gave their votes for the legislative union of the two countries. It does especially behove such of us as were instrumental in the extinction of the local parliament of Ireland, to shew to the people of that country, so far at least as may depend upon our individual exertions, that we have substituted in its place a legislature adequate, not only in means, but in zeal, diligence, and constancy, for the discharge of the trust confided to it. The local Parliament, Sir, had indisputably one eminent advantage. Being, from the very circumstance of its locality, more intimately mixed with the transactions of the country, it had a shorter and more easy access to information in respect to its internal state than a more remote legislature can possess. This inconvenience attached to the united Parliament, the friends of the union believed, would be far over-balanced by the numerous and solid benefits likely to accrue from that measure; but no one can contend, that it is not an additional call on this Parliament, for its most active vigilance and assiduous application with regard to the interests of Ireland. The inquisitorial power of Parliament, Sir, is the very vital principle of all its privileges and functions, and I trust this authority will ever be exercised fairly, faithfully, and impartially, throughout every part of the united kingdom. Before we frame laws for Ireland, it is incumbent on us to have before us, an accurate state of the country for which we are about to legislate. Under these impressions, Sir, I come to the matter before us, which every one must feel to be of the most grave and critical importance. It is a demand upon us, for continuing to the executive government of Ireland, the power of depriving, at its discretion, a very large de-

scription of our fellow subjects of those rights of liberties, to which, by the ordinary principles of the constitution, they are entitled. The measure, Sir, has certainly been often adopted. That it has been too frequently necessary, and that in many instances even the preservation of the country has been attributable to it, is a position I shall be the last man in this house to deny, and should be at variance with all my past conduct, if I were disposed to dispute it. But I should feel myself acting in direct contradiction to the motives, which have on former occasions impelled me to vote for the measure, if I were not to expect such parliamentary information as might enable every gentleman to form a clear and satisfactory judgment in respect to its present necessity. I was a member, Sir, in the Irish parliament, at the period in which the first martial law bill was introduced, and if I am inaccurate in my recollection of the grounds upon which it was originally founded, I am in the presence of several gentlemen, who are well able to correct me. On the commencement of the rebellion in the year 1798, the lord lieutenant, with the advice of the privy council, issued orders (notified by proclamation) to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces to employ the troops under their command with the utmost vigour and decision for the suppression of the rebellion; the rebellion, however, extending itself, insomuch that several very daring attacks and outrages were committed both on the troops and on the persons and properties of many loyal persons, the lord lieutenant, by the advice of the privy council, directed all the general officers commanding his Majesty's forces, to punish all rebellious offenders according to martial law. This order was likewise notified by a proclamation, which, together with the former order and proclamation, was communicated to parliament; and the houses of lords and commons by their addresses, expressed their entire approbation of those measures, with assurances to his excellency of their cordial support. Nevertheless the rebellion continued so late as the year 1799 in several parts of the country, and the ordinary course of justice and of the common law was in many places interrupted, in consequence of which the martial law bill was enacted. All these particulars, Sir, are set forth in the preamble to that act, which will be found among the Irish statutes now before you; and I cannot omit to remark that, when the bill was introduced, there were on the table of the Irish house of commons two reports of two secret committees, which contained a very minute and detailed history both of the system and extent of the treason connected with the rebellion, and the last of the reports had been presented so late as the end of the preceding session. In the year 1800 the law was revived, but in fact it was to be considered as a continuance of the former act passed upon the grounds I have stated; and it is to be observed too, that at the opening of the session the lord lieutenant had stated in his speech from the throne, that, though public tranquillity had been in a great measure restored, there still continued in several districts a disposition to outrage and conspiracy. In the year 1801 the act of the former year was, about the period of the King's recovery, continued for a very short time, by the united parliament, without an enquiry; and it was in the course of the same session renewed a second time; but upon what proceeding did the house then adopt the measure? On a report from a secret committee actually recommending it.—And you, Sir, then chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, brought in the bill upon that specific ground. Now, Sir, let me ask, whether the house possesses such information in the present instance, as that to which both the Irish and the united parliament were thought entitled, when on former occasions they have passed this measure? From the introduction of the law, which this bill is intended to continue, to this moment we only know that there was a rebellious insurrection in Dublin, on the 23d of July last, in which Lord Kilwarden and his nephew were murdered. The extent of the conspiracy, whether there were any correspondent movements in the North or South of Ireland, whether any papers were found developping the object of the treason, are points of which parliament has been kept in a state of the most profound and humiliating ignorance. When the message communicating the insurrection was delivered I was absent from town, but I have on a former occasion declared, that, if I had been in the house, I should have given my vote for the existing law, partly on a temporary and coerced confidence in the assertions of his Majesty's ministers, that prompt and vigorous measures were absolutely necessary, and partly on the intelligence contained in private letters, which several of my acquaintance in London had received. But, Sir, I protest I

should have voted for it under a clear conviction that his Majesty's ministers would, so soon as they could have arranged and digested it, laid before Parliament a farther detailed communication not only in respect to the conspiracy but to the general state of the country, and on this ground gave my most cordial and zealous support to a motion, which was made at the close of the last session for procuring such information. The Parliament however was prorogued without one ray of light on the situation of Ireland, and in this state of darkness we are now called upon to continue these extraordinary powers to the Irish government. Sir, I do for one declare with the most genuine sincerity, that in the present dearth of our information, I do not feel able to form a decisive judgment upon this question, for it is impossible even to estimate the real magnitude of the late conspiracy, which seems always to expand or contract in conformity to the views of those who describe it. I am therefore not prepared to negative the bill, but I must express my hope that the progress of it will be suspended until some parliamentary ground is laid for its necessity. Ireland may be in such a state as to render the measure absolutely requisite, but surely, Sir, it is not too much to ask for some document, some evidence, some information on the subject. It may be said that this bill is only the continuance of an existing law, and that in one or two instances the martial law bill has been renewed without any previous specific communication from government; but, Sir, the present proposition is for the continuance of an act, which passed, as it were, by acclamation, in the exigency of the moment, and which itself, as I contend, stands, in a constitutional view, upon a defective title. It will probably be alleged too that we ought to vote this measure upon confidence in his Majesty's ministers, who will be responsible for the execution of it. Now, Sir, I aver it is a case, in which there is no pretence for confidence. On a subject of such magnitude and importance I cannot consent to act on the principle of implicit faith in any government. Much information may clearly be given to us, which can be divulged without a possibility of detriment to the state, and that class of intelligence, which may require more caution and reserve in the communication of it, may be afforded to us through the medium of a secret committee. No injury can result from the delay as the existing law will not expire for some weeks. But perhaps, his Majesty's ministers may tell me that they cannot argue with me on the point of confidence, as I profess a general want of confidence in them; and concur with those who think them incompetent to the trust they have assumed. But such, Sir, is the whimsical dilemma in which ministers have placed themselves, that I defy any man, who gives implicit faith to the scanty information they have furnished to us, to vote for this measure. I relied upon the little intelligence they have afforded us, I must, on the plain principles of common sense and justice, meet this bill with my unqualified negative. The only *parliamentary* information before the house in respect to the state of Ireland is contained in the King's speech, for the trials, to which we have been referred, do not come within the description of parliamentary documents. Now, Sir, in the King's speech the conspiracy is alluded to as a past event. We are told "that the "public tranquillity has experienced no fur- "ther interruption, and that a hope is indul- "ged, that such of his Majesty's deluded sub- "jects as have swerved from their allegiance "are now convinced of their error; and "that having compared the advantages they "derive from the protection of a free con- "stitution, with the condition of those "countries which are under the domi- "nion of the French government, they "will cordially and zealously concur in "resisting any attempt that may be made "against the security and independence of "the united kingdom." We have generally, Sir, been accustomed to hear the advantages of the British constitution described as positive benefits, and I cannot help remarking, that this is the first instance within my recollection, in which they have been in a *state paper* exemplified by a mere comparison with the miseries of surrounding nations. But to proceed, Sir, the only other source of information is the report of the proceedings of the special commission in Dublin for the trial of the conspirators. This, however, I must again deny to be a parliamentary document; but I have recourse to it, partly for want of other intelligence, and partly because I understand his Majesty's ministers have in a former discussion on this subject recommended us to resort to it. In making this reference, I naturally look to the opinion of the first law-officer of the crown, who must be supposed to have the best means of information, and I shall therefore take the liberty of reading to the house two or three passages from different parts of the speech

of the attorney general to the jury, on the first trial that took place under the special commission, from which gentlemen will be able to collect his sentiments, both with respect to the general state of the country, and to the magnitude of the late conspiracy.—Speaking of the disastrous transactions of the 23d of July, he says: "Certainly it is matter of some consolation to *know*, that the conspiracy which broke out into open insurrection on the 23d of July last, *was confined within much narrower limits than the promoters of it are willing to inculcate.* Whether we consider the *numbers* who have embarked in the enterprise, *their wealth or their character*, it will appear *contemptible in the extreme.* So far as it had for its odious object the subversion of the government and constitution of this country, it was *absurd and romantick*, it was *idle*, and *visionary even in the opinion of many of those who embraced it.*"—Again, "notwithstanding the horrors of that night (23d July) which no man can regret more than I do, yet I think they furnish some ground for reflection, that *the people, who had been worked into arms from one end of the country to the other in* 1798, *could not be roused beyond the assemblage of a* DESPERATE MOB, *as contemptible in number as it was atrocious in disposition.* After avowing their object to be to overset the government of the country, and to break the connexion with England, they state that 19 counties will come forward with promptitude to effect it. *But five weeks have since elapsed, and not one single county has come forward at their call.* THE CONSPIRACY SEEMS ALMOST ENDED WHERE IT BEGAN." And in another passage the learned gentleman observes, "though from the abandoned profligacy of those who were employed in the execution of it (the conspiracy), we have to lament many private calamities and disgusting horrors; yet perhaps they should be considered as the visitations of Providence to confound the devices of our enemies, *and to rouse the loyal energies* of the nation." This last remark, however, does not, I confess, appear to be quite consistent with the learned gentleman's general impression of the improved disposition of the country, for we cannot entertain a very favourable idea of the meliorated temper of a people, who require the massacre of a chief magistrate and the loss of several lives, in order to *rouse their loyal energies.* But, Sir, I believe I shall be allowed accurately to sum up the information we have received, by stating the amount to be, that the late conspiracy was contemptible both in numbers and character, and seems almost to have ended where it began, that there has been no further interruption of the public tranquillity, and that the hope is indulged that the deluded are now convinced of their error, and that they will cordially and zealously concur in the defence of the kingdom against the common enemy. And what is the inference, which his Majesty's ministers require us to draw from this statement? The continuance of the martial law bill!! Now, Sir, I ask whether such a conclusion from such premises would be reconcilable to any principle of common reason and equity? I have not had an opportunity of looking into the preamble of this bill, but I should imagine that the drawing of it must have exposed the reasoning faculties of the crown lawyers (and no one can rate their talents higher than I do) to great embarrassment. If it fully describes the parliamentary ground of the measure it must, I apprehend, run thus. "Whereas the late contemptible and insignificant conspiracy in the city of Dublin, was so speedily and effectually suppressed, that it seems almost to have ended where it began, and whereas the public tranquility has experienced no further interruption, and there is reason to indulge the hope, that the deluded are convinced of their error, and that they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independance of the united kingdom; be it enacted, that the lord-lieutenant of Ireland be invested with the power of declaring martial law, &c. &c." Now, Sir, this I apprehend, will not be thought sound logic, and yet such must be the language of this bill, if it is framed on the only information his Majesty's ministers have afforded to parliament, and thus, I trust I have proved myself justified in asserting, that those who reposed with implicit confidence on the representations of the king's servants, must, as it appears to me, on every principle of consistency and justice, give this measure their most decided opposition. But I, Sir, profess myself to have no such confidence. I have long since remarked with deep regret, that his Majesty's minieters are apt to take very false and erroneous views of the situation of the affairs intrusted to their direction. We all remember the expectation, which they seemed to indulge themselves, and which they certainly permitted the public to indulge, until almost the very day, on which the chancellor of the exchequer annonced the menacing preparations of the enemy. But Ireland, Sir, itself furnishes a most illustrious instance of this sort

of self delusion on the part of his Majesty's ministers. The flattering descriptions of the state of that country, which were given at various times by several gentlemen, in the course of the last session, cannot have been forgot by any member of this house. The speech of the right hon. gent. opposite to me (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), on one of these occasions, in answer to my right hon. friend near me (Mr. Windham), will not easily be effaced from my memory. He told us that there were in this war, none of the odious restrictions on the liberties of the people, which it had been necessary to impose in the last. No suspension of the habeas corpus act. No martial law bill. Loyalty, harmony, and zeal for the public service, prevailed universally throughout the united kingdom, and all these benefits he described as the result of the peace of Amiens; and yet within a week afterwards, I assert positively, within a week afterwards, the same hon. gent. came to this house, announcing an insurrection in Dublin, and bringing in his hand two bills, one for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the other for the declaration of martial law. And here, Sir, I trust, will terminate their vaunting encomiums on the peace of Amiens; for I protest, from past experience, I never hear such exulting and ostentatious statements from the treasury bench, without a sort of superstitious apprehension of some approaching calamity. But, Sir, I must maintain, that the mysterious circumstances of this very transaction of the 23d of July, which is the basisof the present measure, furnishes an additional reason why the house should not proceed without further information. It now appears, that, while his Majesty's ministers were accumulating eulogies on the treaty of Amiens, the rebels in Dublin were collecting military stores; and that a large magazine was actually formed, without, as I have good foundation for believing, even a suspicion of it on the part of the Irish government. The government of Ireland, however, was not without pretty urgent intimations of some treasonable confederacy. The explosion of a secret gunpowder-mill, the detection of the conveyance of prepared ammunition in the streets of Dublin, and the intelligence, given by several most respectable individuals, of sure indications of approaching commotion, were formidable warnings; nevertheless the government seems to have been surprised. But when this suggestion was made by my right hon. friend near me (Mr. Windham), his Majesty's ministers denied the imputation with indignation. "Why," said my hon. friend, "it was not unnatural for me to suppose it a surprise; because, a few days only have intervened, since you gave this house the most captivating description of the internal tranquillity and loyalty of Ireland." Still the answer from his Majesty's ministers was, "that the government in Ireland had been prepared." "What precautions did you take, except strengthening two or three guards in the vicinity of Dublin," asked my hon. friend? "Did you make any previous communication to the privy council? No. To the lord mayor? No: the Mansion-house was robbed of a considerable quantity of arms. To the chief justice? No: he fell a victim to his ignorance of the information government possessed." Nevertheless his Majesty's ministers persevere in asserting, that proper provision was made against the impending danger, and that the conduct of the Irish government was full of energy and alertness. The fact may have been so, Sir, but I honestly acknowledge I have my doubts of it; and I do in my conscience believe that a majority of this house, and of the public, doubt it. Sir, I criminate no man, for I know not, supposing there is ground for censure, to whom the blame attaches. There is no one who entertains more personal respect and esteem for the individual at the head of the administration of Ireland than I do, and for several members of the different departments of that government I have the most cordial friendship: but the very interest that I take in their fame, increases my anxiety for an investigation of the mystery, in which this whole transaction is enveloped. Sir, I beseech gentlemen for a moment to make this case their own: suppose, that while his Majesty's ministers were exhausting their eloquence in expatiating on the internal harmony and loyalty attributed to a peace which lasted but a twelvemonth, and in the course of which the enemy was detected in devices for sending military spies into the country, a traitorous plot should have suddenly burst on this metropolis, and that, in the exigency of the occasion, the parliament had vested in the crown, the same powers it has given to the lord lieutenant of Ireland: suppose it should have afterwards appeared, that, though a secret powder mill, and a quantity of prepared ammunition, had been previously detected, and the government warned of the danger, by several most respectable persons, yet that no communication should have been

made to the privy council, to any of the great officers of state, or to the Lord Mayor, and that the chief justice of the King's Bench should have been murdered, and the mansion house robbed of arms. Imagine, too, that the session should have been permitted to close without any detailed information to Parliament; that during the recess the attorney general should declare on the trials of the persons concerned in the treason, that the conspiracy was contemptible both in respect to numbers and character, and that it had terminated almost where it began; and that the ensuing session should have been opened by a speech from the throne, acquainting Parliament, that the public tranquillity had experienced no further interruption, and that his Majesty indulged the hope that the deluded were convinced of their error and were returned to their allegiance: let it be imagined, I say, that, under such circumstances, a minister without the production of a single document, should demand from Parliament a renewal of a martial law bill, I solemnly put it to the honour of every member who hears me, whether he believes this house would adopt such a measure without even asking a question. Sir, it is my firm and honest conviction, that no minister would presume even to make such a proposition. If then we should not pass this bill in our own case without due proof of its necessity, what can be the sentiment of Ireland, if, in the instance of that part of the united kingdom, we should adopt it with the facility, which his Majesty's ministers seem to recommend to us. Here, Sir, is a source to me of very painful and anxious apprehensions. If we do treat the business of Ireland lightly and superficially; if we do appear to act negligently towards her interests, we shall at the same time act offensively to her feelings. The people of that country may begin to draw very unpleasant contrasts, they may say "in our local Parliament our affairs would have experienced a more grave and serious attention, our antient legislature would not have suspended our rights and privileges without adequate evidence of the urgency of the measure;" and thus, Sir, do I dread that the substantial benefits of the union may be frustrated, and that if his Majesty's servants persevere in their present deportment towards the affairs of Ireland, I may live to repent the vote I gave for the accomplishment of that great object. I perceive, by the gestures of the gentleman opposite to me, that they mean to accuse me of a course of argument injurious to the public welfare but they will do well to recollect, that the mischief will be in their conduct; and not in my statement, and I have felt it my peculiar duty to seize this opportunity of expressing my sense of the danger of their system, because we are still in time to anticipate it. For the reasons I have assigned, Sir, I shall not negative the bill; but I do most earnestly exhort and conjure his Majesty's ministers, for the dignity and character of our proceedings, for the sake of constitutional precedent, and in justice, as well as policy towards Ireland, to defer its further stages, until sufficient parliamentary information, in respect to the situation of that part of the united kingdom, shall be furnished to the house.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* considered the greater part of the speech of the right hon. gent. to be directed more against the general conduct of the Irish government, than against the bill now before the House. The hon. member had thought proper to assert, that the affairs of Ireland did not occupy so great a share of the attention of government, or of the house, as their vast importance required. This was a very strong charge, but of the facts on which it was to be supported he professed himself to be totally ignorant. When the hon. member thought proper to give notice of a motion respecting the affairs of Ireland, and that motion came regularly before the house, he should be ready to meet any charges which were brought forward. Till this was done, he must content himself with giving the assertion a general denial. A charge of so important a kind would require strong evidence to support it, and he did not see the propriety of bringing it forward in a loose, unsupported manner. The hon. member had said, that it was particularly the duty of those who had voted for the union, to pay the utmost attention to the affairs of Ireland. For himself, he thought it equally the duty of all members to pay every possible degree of attention to this subject whenever it came to be fairly discussed, and he had no doubt that it would at all times receive the gravest and most mature consideration, such as its high importance was entitled to. A great deal had been said in the hon. gentleman's speech about additional information. He wished to know of what description the information was which was required. The information before the house was, that the rebellion in Ireland had been suppressed, that measures of precaution were, however, indispensibly necessary, more especially when it was considered that the enemy had avowed his de-

termination to avail himself of the insurrection of the disaffected to aid his designs of invasion both against this country and Ireland. These appeared to him simple, clear, and satisfactory grounds for the renewal of the bill, as the best measure of precaution which could be adopted. The hon. member, in reference to the late rebellion which broke out in the capital of Ireland, had thought proper to assert that the government was surprized, and that sufficient measures had not been adopted to prevent this desperate attempt of a few enthusiastic individuals. He must now, and on every occasion where such an assertion was made, distinctly deny that the government of Ireland was in any degree surprized. It was equally remote from the truth, that proper measures of precaution had not been adopted. The measures of precaution consisted in a numerous and well appointed garrison. When he stated to the house, that there were on the night of the insurrection in Dublin four veteran regiments, besides the 16th reg. of light dragoons, one of the best appointed regiments in the service, making a total of betwixt 3 and 4,000 men, it could not be pretended with the smallest justice that the government had been wanting in measures of precaution for the defence of the capital. He would venture to affirm, and he would defy any gentleman to disprove his observation, that the force in Dublin on the 23d day of July, in the evening of which the insurrection had broken out, was adequate to the suppression, not only of the miserable mob of infatuated individuals then engaged, but of a number more than ten times their amount. With equal confidence he would assert, that the safety of Dublin was never, even for one moment, in danger. The best proof of this was, that after the military were brought to act, an hour had not elapsed before the rebels had dispersed and tranquillity was restored. It could not be seriously pretended, that the wretched mob of the 23d of July could ever have put the capital of Ireland in a state of the smallest danger. Their number, according to the confession of their own leaders, did not exceed 80, and their progress commencing in Dirty Lane, had been terminated in Cutpurse Row. They had not dared to approach any of the principal parts of the town, and, as to the idea of their ever marching to the attack of the Castle, it really was altogether ridiculous. This appeared by the conduct of their principal leader. When he found the contemptible state of his followers, either in point of numbers or of discipline, he had taken his road down a street leading to the country, where he threw off his rebel uniform, regardless of the fate of his deluded partners in rebellion. Much stress was laid by those who blamed the conduct of ministers, on the circumstance that they were not aware of the existence of the rebel magazine in the heart of Dublin. True it was, that this circumstance had not been discovered previous to the insurrection of the 23d of July. Ministers, however, were apprised, that a rising was intended on that day, and such precautions were adopted, as left Dublin fully protected from all danger. True it was, that a respected magistrate had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the rebels; but this atrocity was, in no degree whatever, imputable to the negligence of ministers. From certain circumstances, that nobleman had heard of an intended insurrection in Dublin, and he was in consequence induced to proceed to town at a late hour. Perhaps it would have been more prudent if he had not thought of entering Dublin that night, or at least that he had not entered it at that particular part of the town, where individuals ready for acts of atrocities could always be without difficulty collected. Much as the atrocity was to be lamented, it was in no degree brought on by the misconduct of the Irish government. But, to return more directly to the question before the house, though the hon. member appeared to consider it but of secondary importance. It was argued, that it was contrary to practice, to pass such a bill without previous information. He begged leave to recal the honourable member's recollection to the case of 1801, when it was passed without any detailed information being communicated. He wished to ask the hon. member, if he felt himself authorised, without further information, to give his negative to the bill? He wished to ask, if he would insist on delay, even at the risk of leaving the government destitute of powers adequate to meet any emergency which might occur? As to the general charge against ministers for withholding information; this was a question quite different from the motion for the renewal of the bill.——If the hon. gent. had any distinct charge to make against the government of Ireland; if he could produce any facts to prove that they had been deficient in foresight and energy, he should at all times be ready to meet and to repel that charge. As far as he knew any thing of the proceedings of the Irish government, there was no deficiency of precautions. These precautions were carried to an extent capable of defeating, not the abortive at-

tempt of the 23d of July alone, but a force of even twenty times the amount, led on with talents, system and consistency of a far superior nature.

Colonel *Craufurd* was adverse to the renewal of the bill without obtaining some information of its necessity, of which there was at present nothing before the house. The sum of this information, if it could be called such, was, that the rebellion was suppressed, and that expectations of the continuance of tranquillity were entertained. This, surely, was a very strange kind of information to offer to the house, as an inducement to pass a bill, which could not be characterised as any other than a measure of severity. The extraordinary negligence of the government of Ireland had been the subject of animadversion this evening, and with the sentiments expressed by his right hon. friend who began the discussion, he most heartily concurred. The hon. secretary of state had endeavoured to shew that such charges were unfounded, and he had rested his argument chiefly on the strength of the garrison, and the facility with which the rebellion had been suppressed. But how did this representation accord with facts, at least with representations which had been given as such to the world. He had been informed, that in the evening on which the insurrection burst forth, the lord lieutenant had gone quietly to his country house as if no danger had been apprehended. The lord chief justice of the King's Bench, though necessarily in the confidence of government, was not at all aware of any insurrection, till the afternoon of the very day on which it exhibited itself in acts of public atrocity. But, this evening the right hon. the secretary of state had in his place declared, that government were aware of the projected insurrection that very day. How this declaration was consistent with the statement now made, he professed himself unable to discover. Credit was taken for the accurate information of ministers respecting the designs of the rebels, but it was admitted that the existence of their powder magazine was a profound secret. It certainly could not be pretended that the government, ignorant of this very important piece of information, could be able to form an estimate, at least a correct one, of the force sufficient for the preservation of the tranquillity of the capital. But, still, ministers were indignant at any charge of negligence or want of sufficiently accurate information. How far they were entitled to be so, he left it for the house to decide. He had been informed of another circumstance, which was certainly no evidence of the foresight or information of the Irish government. It was very generally reported, that, so accurately were ministers informed of the intended rising of the rebels on the 23d of July, the regiments forming the garrison were provided with only three rounds of ball cartridge, and the yeomanry corps could not get a supply till after an interval of two hours! He had heard also a report, which if true, still more forcibly demonstrated the shameful ignorance of the Irish government respecting the designs of the rebels. It was roundly asserted, that, with the knowledge on the part of ministers of the intended rising on the evening of the 23d, a certain proportion from each company of the regiments forming the garrison, had a few days before been allowed to go to the country to assist in different species of work. Nothing could, in his opinion, more strongly discover a want of foresight; yet ministers took fire at the idea of the conduct of their colleagues in Ireland being censured for a flagrant deficiency of vigilance or talent.—So far was he from agreeing with those who thought that this was not the time for discussing the affairs of Ireland, that he could not help lamenting the fact, that not a single expression had dropped from ministers, expressive of their intention to adopt any measure for the conciliation of the unfortunate inhabitants of that country. The expression in his Majesty's speech, alluding to the contrast between their situation and the situation of nations under the dominion of France, afforded him, and he was sure it would afford the inhabitants of Ireland, no great degree of satisfaction. He had hoped for acts of leniency, intead of the renewal of measures of rigour, which could only keep alive feelings of animosity, instead of inducing the Irish people to return to that cordial allegiance, which could alone render them the bulwarks of the empire. The hon. gent. sat down with saying, that he should give his vote against the bill, unless further information of its necessity were produced.

Mr. *Francis* said, that he could not let a measure of such great importance pass without stating his opinion of it. If his Majesty's ministers have grounds sufficient to support so strong an act against a great portion of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, and so alarming to every other part of the empire, they ought to state those grounds to Parliament. In fact, we are called upon to proceed, without evidence, in a manner which nothing but the clearest evidence can justify; that is, to put the kingdom of Ire-

land under martial law. I do not mean, said the hon. gent., to bring any charge against the government of Ireland. Until I know the contrary to be true, I must presume, that they have furnished his Majesty's ministers with facts and proofs adequate to the measure now recommended. What I complain of is, that ministers have not communicated those facts and that evidence, nor even the smallest part of it to the House of Commons. Necessity, I know, supersedes all argument. Let the case be ever so doubtful or questionable, or even criminal, it may find a justification in extreme necessity: but then, I say, prove it. You have no right to avail yourself of the plea until you have established the fact. All the evidence I have seen or heard of goes in the opposite direction. The only parliamentary document on this subject that has been laid before the house, is that passage in his Majesty's speech which describes, in terms of the highest satisfaction, a general change in the disposition of his deluded subjects in Ireland, and his gracious confidence in the corrected judgment of those who had been misled. Out of doors, and even within these few days, I have heard no other language among persons most disposed to favour the present government. But, when I come into this house, I find the case totally reversed. The measure now proposed indicates that Ireland is in such a state, and the occasion so pressing, that nothing less than extreme courses can save it.—If the case be as violent as the remedy supposes, undoubtedly his Majesty's ministers have a right to the remedy. If not, they call upon us to trust them with a dangerous power, which is not wanted, and by the very act of calling for it, run the risk of doing mischief in other senses, and counteracting their own purpose. By empowering the government of Ireland to proclaim martial law, they alienate the affections of the people whom they ought to conciliate, and, in effect, they invite and encourage the enemy to invade the empire in that quarter. For what does the proclamation of martial law in effect say to Buonaparté and to all the world, but that in Ireland we are vulnerable, and that there he may invade us with a certainty of co-operation, and a reasonable prospect of success?

Lord *Castlereagh* rose to reply to the two last speakers. He began by adverting to the charge of want of proper attention being paid by ministers, or the house, to the situation of Ireland. He really was not aware on what grounds it was that such a charge was adduced. If it was because subjects of a delicate nature were avoided, and topics of dicussion which could only be productive of dissention among a people too often hurried away by their feelings, instead of being guided by their cooler judgment, were abstained from, that the charge of inattention to Irish affairs and Irish interests were supported, he must take the earliest opportunity of protesting against such a doctrine. If any member conceived that any practicable measure could be brought forward for the advantage of Ireland, or any other part of the empire, it was his bounden duty to submit such a measure to the consideration of the house, and it would then be for the wisdom of the legislature to decide on its expediency or its policy. Neglect was not, however, to be imputed to ministers, because they did not feel it their duty to bring circumstances before parliament, to the removal of which they did not imagine any immediate measures to be applicable. Because government did not see the policy of originating some of those measures, which to some hon. members might appear expedient and salutary, that surely was no argument to prove that the essential interests of Ireland, as far as ministers understood them, were for a single moment overlooked. It would not be argued, that, because comparative unanimity at present prevailed, when the affairs of Ireland were considered, that there was, on the part of the house or ministers, any negligence or inattention to a subject which all admitted to be deeply interesting and important. It was not presuming too much to infer, that this unanimity on this subject, arose from a conviction of the indisputable and imperious necessity of the measures which ministers proposed. He was sure that his right hon. friend did not hold such an opinion. He possessed an understanding too great, and feelings too liberal, to allow him to entertain such an idea for a moment. As to the facts adduced by the hon. officer, he was ready at all times to meet an investigation, and satisfactorily to vindicate the conduct of the government of Ireland. If there was any thing in their conduct at all deserving of censure, let it be fairly stated, and let them be candidly allowed to produce their defence. He took this opportunity, however, of deprecating the discussion of this important subject by a side wind. Let facts be fully and honourably brought forward, and not frittered away and distorted. Let the whole conduct of the government of Ireland be considered, combined, and arranged in all its bearings and relations, and then he should be ready to prove, that, instead of censure, it was de-

serving of approbation; instead of a charge of weakness, a confidence of foresight and energy. He had made these observations with the view of preventing an idea from going abroad, that assertions made with the greatest confidence were true, merely because they might sometimes happen to pass uncontradicted. Leaving these extraneous matters out of further consideration, the house had only to consider the question of the necessity of the renewal of the bill.—The speech of his right hon. friend did not seem to turn so much on this question as on the conduct of the Irish government, a subject which was clearly uppermost in his hon. friend's mind. He begged the attention of the house while he stated what had been the grounds of the previous renewal of the bill. At its first introduction it was supported on the ground of the notoriety of the rebellion, and on that its necessity was admitted. It was renewed in 1799, when, though the rebellion was put down, there were partial insurrections in different parts of the country. At that period he allowed that two reports of a secret committee had been adduced, to prove the necessity of the measure. He must, however, now be permitted to remark, that the expediency of such reports depended a good deal on circumstances. This was a mode of presenting information to the legislature and the public, often highly advantageous. Occasions might occur, however, when to resort to it would be highly impolitic, and even dangerous. In such circumstances he thought that ministers now were placed, as to the propriety of presenting such information as the report of a secret committee would afford, It would be recollected that government was, even at this moment, actively, and he was happy to add, successfully employed in tracing out even the remotest ramifications of the insurrection. While such inquiries were going forward, it would be a matter of peculiar difficulty to frame such a report as would not disclose facts, the disclosure of which would not defeat the views of the government, and, at the same time, prove satisfactory to the legislature and the country. If a report were prematurely brought forward, government might be interrupted in its exertions to trace out the ramifications of rebellion. On the other hand, if the report was not detailed in its nature, it could not afford any criterion for judging of the necessity of a legislative measure, originating out of circumstances of peculiar emergency. To avoid the necessity of such a dilemma, it became necessary to resort to certain general principles, which while they were consistent with the greatest attachment to the constitution, were not incompatible with the idea of investing the executive government with extraordinary powers, applicable to an extraordinary contingent crisis. He would not deny that the bill now to be renewed, had never formerly been renewed where there was less actual or visible danger. He had no hesitation in applying this observation to all the periods of the renewal of the bill from the time of its original introduction. On this part of the subject, the noble lord took a review of the various renewals of the bill. Though, however, he admitted that there was less visible danger, though he was happy to be able to state with truth, that the cause of loyalty had received a vast augmentation, while the numbers of the disaffected had materially decreased; still, however, there were traitors and malignant spirits in Ireland, bent on projects of the most atrocious nature. It was to counteract their views, it was to defeat their designs, that he thought the bill, as a wise measure of precautionary power, both expedient and politic. There was one other circumstance which materially strengthened his argument on this subject. He meant to allude to the menaced invasion of the enemy. In former times and in former wars invasion had been often threatened, and perhaps at a certain period of the late war that threat was, to a certain degree, formidable. In no former period, however, had the threat of invasion assumed the same degree of consistency, and never had we to encounter an enemy at once so malignant, and so well prepared for carrying his hostile designs into effect.—He had already adverted to the improved state of Ireland; but past experience demonstrated the imprudence of too flattering expectations of the continuance of this spirit. He wished in no case to depart from constitutional principles, where they could be adhered to with safety; but the safety of the state was a consideration paramount to every other idea. This safety could best be secured by the renewal of the bill. The liberties of the people were as far as possible in every case to be respected; and it was his decided opinion that the renewal of the bill, while it was the most consistent with liberty, was the best pledge for the continuance of tranquillity.—With respect to the observation made by the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis), that the adoption of the present measure would tend to inspirit Buonaparté to make an attempt upon Ireland, as holding out to him the prospect of co-operation in that quarter, he entertained no dread on that subject

He was couvinced, that a consciousness in the mind of that man of the odium which uniformly accompanied his footsteps, would point out to him the futility of such an expectation. The inhabitants of Ireland, when they joined their fate with Great-Britain, and he among the rest, anticipated the blessings which would result from that connection; they were convinced that they enjoyed more happiness than even when they had a legislature of their own. They rested with firm confidence on the vigour of this assembly, and all the loyal inhabitants of Ireland were convinced that it had acted nobly by them.

Colonel *Craufurd*, in explanation, stated that his charge, as to the want of preparation on the part of the Irish government at the breaking out of the insurrection in Dublin, was, that the military were provided only with three rounds of ammunition, and that the yeomanry had none at all for the space of two hours.

Mr. *Pole* did not wish to trouble the house with any observations on the present question He only meant to set the hon. gent. who had just sat down, right as to the circumstance which he had last mentioned. The hon. gent. had attempted to deceive the house and the public. The fact was, that, previous to the 23d of July, all the troops in Ireland had been provided with 60 rounds of ammunition each. The Castle of Dublin was no dépôt for military stores, but there had been lodged there 8000 rounds, for serving such regiments as might have occasion to apply, and, on the first application, ample provision was made; and within less than two hours, more ammunition was supplied than was required to be used during the whole course of the rebellion. He stated this from his own personal knowledge, and pledged himself to the truth of it. He had been employed by the master of the ordnance to make the inquiry, who had been alarmed by a report similar to that stated by the hon. gent.

Colonel *Craufurd* called upon the hon. gent. to say, whether it was parliamentary language, or language which ought to be used by one gentleman to another in that house, to accuse him of an attempt to deceive the house or the public?

Mr. *Pole* explained that he had stated, that the hon. Colonel had deceived the house—he himself being deceived.

Mr. *Windham* said, it did not seem to him that the hon. gent. (Mr. Pole) had met the charge of his hon. friend (Colonel Craufurd), who did not say, that there was not ammunition here and there, but spoke respecting the ammunition in the cartouch boxes of the soldiers. That part of the remark had not been answered. When he recurred to the observations of the noble lord, he had not so much to state arguments on the one side, as to speak of the want of them on the other. They were now about to renew martial law in Ireland, without having heard one single word to justify the measure. To vote the re-establishment of martial law seemed to be so much a matter of course, that it required no argument to support it. They stopped the constitution as a miller would stop a wind or a water-mill, and with as little consideration. The constitution was stopt and set a going, was commanded to march or to halt, with as little ceremony as a colonel would use towards his battalion. He would not say this was wrong, but he wanted to know why it was right. It had been said that notoriety had been considered a good ground for voting a measure of this nature; this might be very true when rebellion was at the doors of those who voted such a measure, but no such reason existed now, and no other was given for it. They had been told of a danger which was at present invisible; this put him in mind of a dancer, who was described as turning round so quick, that he could not be seen to turn; which led somebody to observe, that perhaps he did not turn round at all; so as to this invisble danger: people might suspect, as nothing could be seen, that there was, perhaps, no danger at all. In the present instance, however, the difficulty was greater. He might discover from the mere light of nature, for to that he was left, the necessity of the present measure; but how was he to collect it from what ministers said? The whole of the inference that was to be drawn from their representations discountenanced the measure. He wished that ministers would tell them, when they should have made up their minds upon the subject, whether the late insurrection was really a contemptible riot; a mere effervescence of the moment, and confined to the spot on which it originated, or whether it spread to greater extent, and had taken deep root in the country? He wished that the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the house would deal fairly with them in that respect, and not, as at present, play fast and loose; seeking to have the benefit of suppositions both of which could not be true, like the student at one of the universities, who, upon being asked whether the sun went

round the earth, or the earth round the sun, answered, sometimes one and sometimes the other. So in the present case, sometimes ministers said the insurrection was a contemptible riot; at others, it was of such magnitude as to require a martial law bill. How could the house act? If they voted for the bill, they must vote for it in spite of the arguments of the ministers who supported it, and whose description of the event, which made the basis of their measure, was at one time a figure of stature to reach the skies, and at another, shrunk, like the spirits in Pandemonium, to a pigmy size hardly capable of being discerned. The vigour of the measure might, according to the opinion of a noble lord (Lord Castlereagh), be a recommendation, and serve better to fulfil that assurance, which he mentioned himself to have given (and which no one could deny, was fully made good in the present instance), viz. that there would be no want of vigorous legislation, in respect to the affairs of Ireland. But whatever might be said of the vigour of this proceeding, which, without a moment's consideration or a particle of evidence, put a great portion of the empire out of the protection of the constitution, he was afraid that much would not be said, or felt, of its kindness. It would be no great proof, either of our respect or sympathy for the people of Ireland, no good illustration of the advantages of the union, that we should be willing to exclude them for the time from the constitution, and put them under martial law, in circumstances of proof, in which no man would have ventured to hint at such a thing in respect to this country. Ministers might perhaps be satisfied with the panegyrics bestowed on these measures; great powers must be applied to great occasions, and on this ground the principle of arbitrary power might do good: despotism was neither good nor bad in itself, and if angels were always to rule, there would be no objection to it; but as this could not be the case, men were content to forego the advantages which a more direct and arbitrary use of power might confer, and to take up with the safer and slower operation of laws and free governments. In these measures they must look to the ministers who proposed them, and who were not entitled to confidence at all. If the statements of ministers were to be taken, these measures were not necessary. Here let the house recollect what took place in last July. Previous to the insurrection, they were told by ministers that Ireland was in a continual state of improvement, and it was to be inferred, that every danger ought to be thrown off their minds. Had any one, at that time, proposed a martial law bill, what would have been thought of his conduct? Yet, why not? What had happened since, to change the determination of the house, or to render that necessary which was not necessary at the period above-mentioned? Up to the moment of the 23d of July, the house had been told that all was tranquil in Ireland, and the country in a state of daily improvement. A few days subsequent to that date, news arrives, that an insurrection had broken out; that the lord chief justice had been murdered, and the capital been within an ace of being taken. In the first paroxysm of their fears, ministers speak out, describe the proceeding as a dangerous rebellion, and call for an instant suspension of the habeas corpus, and for a martial law bill. As neither of these measures were wanted, for any object at that moment depending, as one of them was a mere measure of general precaution, and the other (the martial law bill) could not be applied to the trials of those already apprehended, with respect to all of whom, it was an *ex post facto* law, there seemed to be no reason, why, according to the ordinary practice of Parliament, the delay of a day should not be allowed for deliberation; a delay which would be nothing with respect to the measure, but was a great deal with respect to the better understanding the event, on which the measure was to be founded. On some subjects, an additional four-and-twenty hours could add nothing to our knowledge, nor be expected to make much change in our opinion. On the subject of the late peace, for instance, or of the French revolution, a man was not likely to think at the end of any four-and-twenty hours now taken, differently from what he had done at the beginning. It would be useless therefore to delay a decision, with a view to what such an interval might produce. But, in the present case, four-and-twenty hours was nearly equal to the whole period that the event had been known to us, an event too, on which the letters of every post, were giving us further and better information. On these ideas he had urged, that after an assurance to his Majesty, of the determination of the house to support his Majesty against all dangers, and to adopt whatever measures should be necessary for that purpose, they should have paused till the next day, to determine what those measures ought to be. This proposal was over-ruled, and he was treated as little less than a person disaffected, who, before

a bill was pased, such as the martial-law bill, could suggest the propriety of a moment's delay, till his Majesty's ministers should have settled in their own minds, whether the event in question was a serious rebellion, or only an accidental riot. The decision was now made for an accidental riot. And it was declared, that from some causes or other, from the security necessarily exercised, and which, it seems, have had the effect, not only of intimidating and cutting off the usual effects of severity, but even of *conciliating* the disaffected, Ireland was in a better state than ever, less filled with a disposition to mischief, and with better means of resisting, should any be attempted. The consequence of all this would seem to be, that a suspension of the habeas corpus, and a martial law bill, which were not necessary before the 23d of July, must be still further from being necessary now. And this inference was further confirmed, by the circumstance so much insisted upon by ministers, that the powers granted at the period alluded to, had never been acted upon, but in one instance. He was the farthest from meaning to contend, that a power not acted upon, and a power not possessed, were one and the same thing; or, that a power known to be possessed, might not produce great effects, even though it should never be called forth into action. But, at least, it must be admitted, that a power so circumstanced, that is to say, which in the course of many months had never been wanted, or never used, was not one, which required such hasty proceedings, as those which took place at the period above referred to, or which could claim to be renewed, without one single fact or argument adduced to shew that it was necessary. If no facts or arguments were adduced, as little could it be said, that the house had any authority to act upon. The authority, if any, must be that of his Majesty's ministers; and what must their authority be held to be, whose total ignorance or criminal neglect had exposed the capital of part of the empire to be within an ace of being surprised, (he was glad to repeat the expression) at a moment when they were preaching every where the tranquil state of the country. This topic, the hon. gentleman wished to get rid of, by a new kind of doctrine, namely, that nothing should be said of the conduct of ministers, unless produced in the shape of a distinct charge. He had no objection to distinct charges, wherever the magnitude of the object, the circumstances of the case, and the time of the house would admit of them; which latter consideration alone might, in the multitude of charges liable to be made against the hon. gentlemen, be a reason against that course. But however this might be, it would be a whimsical rule to lay down, that *unless* these charges, or *until* these charges were brought, no observations were to be made upon the conduct of men in public stations, even where their conduct furnished, as in the case before them, an argument essentially interwoven with the subject in discussion. The authority of ministers constituted, in the present instance, all the public and parliamentary grounds which the house had to stand upon. It was of some consequence, therefore, to ascertain what that authority was; and no single instance could better illustrate it, than that which was afforded by the 23d of July. He was amazed at the account which government had finally resolved to give of that transaction. They had to chuse between neglect and surprise. If they knew nothing of what was coming on, if they were really in the opinions, which they thought proper to profess, that all was tranquil in Ireland, and nothing meditating against the government, then they were surprized, and must take the shame which belongs to that confession. If, on the contrary, they chose to disclaim this ignorance of the state of the country, and this want of information as to what was passing under their noses, then they must confess a degree of neglect, not merely disgraceful, but such as was in the strictest sense criminal. To his utter astonishment they made their election for the neglect. Having the choice of two interpretations, being returned, as it were, for two places, the one which they chose, the one for which they finally took their seat, was that which put them in the situation of declaring, that knowing the mischief to be coming on, knowing that an insurrection was likely to take place, they calmly and advisedly suffered it to take its course, neglecting those precautions, which would have saved the life of the chief justice, and have put the city in a state of perfect security; instead of leaving it, as they did, to be preserved by the merest chance from falling into the hands of the rebels. This account of the transaction, as given by the hon. gentleman, was striking in the first instance, from the utter impossibility of reconciling it with known and acknowledged facts. It was not very easy to understand, how that could be otherwise than a surprize, which found the lord mayor without notice; the commander in chief without instructions, at least without permission freely to act upon his instructions; the troops, in part, without ammunition; and

the lord lieutenant absent from the castle. He was prepared to say, that much of the ammunition supplied to the yeomanry (troops that had their full share in what was done) was not brought to them till after the action had commenced, and when there was the most imminent risk, that both the ammunition itself, as well as those who escorted it, would have been intercepted by the rebels. If this was not a surprize, he should be glad to know, what in the ministerial vocabulary was to be so denominated. But the account was not less singular, if adopted by the hon. gentleman, on any principle of choice. On what possible supposition was the lord lieutenant's absence from the castle to be accounted for, if not on that of surprize, and of his being ignorant of the explosion which was about to take place? What! the lord lieutenant absent at his country house, at a moment when he knew that an insurrection was likely to break out in the city! And this the statement made by his friends! He could only say, in the words of Hamlet, 'I would not hear thine enemy say so.' He would not have so shocked the ears of a right hon. gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Yorke) or have so isolated his own convictions, as to have advanced an opinion, pregnant with such injurious reflexions, to the noble lord at the head of the Irish government. But, in whatever way the fact was to be accounted for, to whichever change the government would choose to plead guilty, their authority upon the subject of Irish affairs was at an end. If the measure proposed was to be adopted, it must be, not in consequence of the representations made by government, but in spite of them. They had described the proceedings of the 23d of July as a contemptible riot: that had declared the state of the country to have been improved by those proceedings, instead of being made worse. The best plea which they could urge, and one certainly which they would be able to make out, was, that they knew nothing of the matter. Yet, in this state of things, the house was called upon to vote a martial law bill, without a single proof adduced of the necessity of it, and upon grounds too that would equally serve for any other time as well as the present. For if this measure was to be, as a noble lord had declared, precautionary, and that that precaution was to be founded upon the mere fact of an insurrection having broken out, this fact would continue to be true to the end of time; and whenever it could be coupled with a war, might be made the foundation of a measure such as was then proposed. It was impossible to say, how long, according to the present mode of reasoning, its influence in that respect might last.—Upon the whole, the measure as now proposed, was utterly without foundation to stand on. What it might be in itself, was not so properly the object of inquiry. He could very well conceive, judging from views the very reverse of those commonly held out by the hon. gentlemen, that the course proposed, desperate as it was, *might* be necessary. He was afraid, at least, in so critical a case, to say that it was not so. Contrary, therefore, to the general rule, which would direct in every case, and still more in one like the present, the rejection of every measure, of which no strong reason had been urged for the support, he should acquiesce in the one now proposed, protesting against the manner in which it had been brought forward, and begging to have it understood, that so far as he might concur in it, it was for reasons wholly different from those which could be derived from the language or conduct of the hon. gentlemen.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—Sir; in the observations which I feel it my duty to offer to the house, it is my intention to follow the example set me by my noble friend near me (lord Castlereagh) and to sever the consideration of the conduct of the Irish government, respecting the insurrection of the 23d of July, from the merits of the measure now before the house; and to make that conduct, whatever it may have been, the subject of a distinct charge. However, as it has been, in this instance, brought into view, I think it necessary most distinctly to declare my opinion, that the proceedings of the high characters, to whom the management of Irish affairs are entrusted, will be found to have been, in the instance alluded to, perfectly justifiable; that they acted with the most laudable judgment; that they had procured full information of the plan of the insurrection, and had provided means amply adequate to defeat its object. That the lord lieutenant, after having taken every necessary precaution, thought proper to retire to his seat in the Phœnix-park, I am ready to admit; but that such retirement betrayed any degree of inattention to the wants or security of the state and the city of Dublin, I do most decidedly contradict, because I am satisfied, that every measure was taken, that the most deliberate investigation, and the most active vigilance could suggest. The civil power was prepared, and the army, as was seen by the result of the insurrection, was in a complete state of readiness. The superintendant magistrate of Dublin, was, at an early period of the day on which the insurrection took place, apprised by the Irish government, that

such an event was expected, and the police of Dublin was in consequence prepared. The right hon. gentleman who has just sat down is, therefore, unfounded in the assertion, that no communication whatever was made of the design of the rebels to the civil power, until the very moment the rebellion broke out. The lord-lieutenant of Ireland having taken every proper step of preparation for the public security, there was one other important object to which it was the duty of his excellency to attend, namely, to guard against popular alarm, by avoiding any ostentatious proceeding that might betray exaggerated fear; for such a conduct, he must be aware, would tend to encourage the rebels, by inducing them to think more highly of their own powers, and perhaps to throw the city of Dublin into a state of consternation that might weaken their power, and diminish their competency to resist the danger. Such effects would have very probably arisen, had the lord lieutenant declined going, according to his usual habit, to his seat in the park. I, therefore, am warranted in contending, that it was wise in the lord lieutenant to return to his country house, and not to remain in the metropolis, which would have given rise to reports and conjectures, dangerous in their nature and consequences. But having made these statements, in answer to the assertions of the right hon. gentleman, I must once more remark, that they have no connexion whatever with the question before the house, which is simply this, whether it is expedient to continue the act under consideration without the preliminary proceeding of an inquiry before a committee, as to the necessity which calls for it. To the appointment of such a committee, I must object, because the necessity is obvious, and because the same measure of precaution, which this bill proposes, has, in many instances, been adopted without any previous inquiry. It was so on the first suspension of the habeas corpus act, at the commencement of the last war, and on several other occasions, which must be within the recollection of the hon. gentleman on the other side, and in most of which, the right hon. gentleman, who last addressed the house, took a very active part; and his hon. friend, who sat near him (Mr. Elliot) was not less active, in similar cases, as a member of the Irish parliament. From such gentlemen, therefore, the loud call for inquiry into the grounds of necessity which pressed for this measure, which are notorious, and certainly much stronger than at any of the various periods when a like proceeding was resorted to, comes with a very ill grace, and must excite some astonishment on the score of consistency. When the martial law bill was continued immediately after the union, no inquiry such as that now demanded took place. Parliament acceded to the bill then, on the assurance of the representatives of Ireland, that it was proper and necessary. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) was then in office, and joined in resisting the proposition of inquiry, and indeed one's surprize at his present recommendations is aggravated by the recollection of the arguments he then employed to justify his opposition to inquiry; arguments founded entirely on the known circumstances of the times and of the Irish nation; and can the right hon. gent. I will ask, pretend to maintain, that those circumstances were by any means so strong as the present time offered, a time when invasion is impending and disaffection is actually existing in Ireland? Why then, in such a state of our affairs, should the right hon. gent. persist in arguing, that no such measure as that which he himself supported upon much less ground of necessity, ought to be introduced to the house without the preliminary of a committee of inquiry? In July, the house assented to the enactment of this law, upon the authority of a message from the throne, and the lord-lieutenant's proclamation respecting the rebellion, which referred to the massacre of Lord Kilwarden. Since then the details of the several trials had furnished the house and the country with the most satisfactory evidence of the necessity of the proceedings. But the hon. gent. (Mr. Elliot) argued as if no rebellion or disaffection of any magnitude, sufficient to justify the grant of such extraordinary powers to the Irish government, did really exist, because the Irish attorney general thought proper, in the course of his address to the jury on a particular trial, to describe the insurrection of the 23d of July as the desperate effort of a few turbulent men: but it cannot be admitted that such a description from any man, however respectable, should exclude all reference to the nature of the evidence. If such a doctrine were to obtain credit, it would lead to conclusions at once absurd and mischievous. If such language as that of the hon. gentlemen respecting the preference of the authority of the attorney general's statement on the occasion alluded to, that of the witnesses examined on the several trials, was used by the judge on any of these trials: if, for instance, his lordship were to say to the jury, "You are to attend to and form your judgment on the address of the attorney-general, putting entirely out of your minds the statements of the evidence," what, I

beg to know from the honourable gentlemen themselves, would be their sentiments upon such a singular recommendation from the bench? And yet their language in the course of the debate was of precisely a similar import. I make these observations merely to shew the sort of argument which those hon. gentlemen are apt to use, when it suits their pleasure to oppose the propositions of his majesty's ministers. With respect to the expression in his Majesty's speech, that tranquillity is happily restored in Ireland, I will say, that the justice of that statement is perfectly maintainable, without impairing in any degree, the force of the arguments now relied on for the re-enactment of the measure under discussion. It is known that the rebellion was put down, that its leaders and the greater part of its principal agents have been brought to justice, and that although much of disaffection is understood to pervade the Irish nation, yet tranquillity nevertheless exists; but is not the existence of that tranquillity to be secured by precisely the same means to which the country was indebted for its attainment, by the precautionary measures which formed the subject of the present debate? And surely it is not unfair or irrational to say, that these measure have contributed a large share in restoring peace to Ireland, and that they will materially tend to preserve that peace we have the strongest reasons to believe. There is nothing in his Majesty's speech that implies an opinion that disaffection did not exist in Ireland; or that it was not necessary to invest the Irish government with the extraordinary powers of the bill before the house; on the contrary, such powers were deemed essentially necessary, to enable that government effectually to repel an invading enemy, and to repress domestic treason. In announcing the restoration of tranquillity in Ireland, it was very natural for the paternal mind of his Majesty to feel, and benevolently to express a hope that, notwithstanding the disaffection that unhappily prevailed, his deluded subjects would return to their allegiance; and this hope was, in a great degree, justified by the improvement which was known to have taken place in the public mind in Ireland; but this improvement was not such as to induce ministers to believe that it would as yet be safe to relax the powers of the Irish government, for I am still of opinion that a much greater share of disaffection at present exists in Ireland, than ever did in this country at any of the various periods when precautionary measures, similar to that under debate, were very properly enacted, and particularly during the right hon. gentleman's connexion with the cabinet. That nothing has been conveyed by his Majesty's speech, so often referred to, and so unjustly commented upon, and that nothing has in any manner come from his Majesty's ministers to contravene the opinion that a great deal of disaffection is to be found in Ireland, which renders it necessary to arm the Irish government with extraordinary powers, I will most decidedly maintain; yet the right hon. gent. has charged ministers with holding one kind of language at the commencement of the session, and another kind to support the measure under consideration, with, according to the right hon. gentleman's own phrase, "riding fast and loose." But in reply to the remark accusing ministers of inconsistency with respect to the statement of the rebellion, I must observe, that it is greatly exaggerated by the right hon. gentleman; that it is by no means so formidable as this discussion would imply, although it is of such a size and magnitude as to justify the proceedings of the Irish government, and to call on a wise legislature for the assent so promptly given to the grant of powers which that government thought necessary for the public safety, and to enable them to prevent an evil which, co-operating with the attacks and stratagems of an invading enemy, might be productive of incalculable mischief. With respect then to the amount and extent of the Irish rebellion, I repeat that it is very far short of the description of the right hon. gentleman, but yet sufficient to render it the duty of government to bring forward the measure before the house. I will seriously ask any man, whether the insurrection of the 23d of July, was not the symptom of such a disposition, as might break forth, if not closely watched and guarded against, by the provisions of such a measure as the right hon. gentleman opposes? To remove all doubts of the necessity which he has questioned, it is enough to refer the right hon. gentleman to the evidence upon the several trials, which display so clearly the temper of the insurgents, to these facts, that are quite notorious to the country, and to the peculiar circumstances in which it is at present placed. After such a review, who can entertain a doubt of the propriety of taking immediate and vigorous measures to avert the calamities which the state of things menace. Such indeed was the influence of those circumstances upon the minds of those to whom the government of Ireland was committed, combined with the knowledge they had of the disposition of the Irish people, that I can assure the house it

was matter of doubt with many of those respectable personages, even before the insurrection of the 23d of July, whether they should not state to government here, the propriety of recommending to Parliament the adoption of precisely the same powers and provisions which that insurrection rendered so essentially necessary, and which it is the object of the bill before the house to re-enact. I know that the expediency of proposing the suspension of the habeas corpus act, previous to the unfortunate event in July, was in the contemplation of the noble lord who held the seals in that country, who had full opportunity of judging of the state of the public mind, and who cannot be suspected of any inclination to adopt a measure which would abridge the liberty of the subject, without the conviction of strong necessity—a necessity which now exists too notoriously to be denied. The hon. gentlemen do not indeed directly deny it, but they call for the formality of evidence to prove it. What, can it be said, that at this crisis it is not necessary to give every possible strength to the executive government in Ireland, when it is recollected that an enemy, who is ever active in his exertions to annoy us, and who meditates an invasion which, if he means at all to execute, Ireland is his object, and the season is now come when he will probably make the attempt? Under such circumstances, I will put it to the good sense of the House, whether there can be any excuse for hesitating to accede to the motion in debate, and to give to the government of Ireland all the strength that is requisite to enable it to encounter with effect the danger with which that country is threatened? I again call upon gentlemen to separate in their minds the question as to the conduct of the Irish government in July, and the policy of assenting to the present measure; and in reply to the calls for a preliminary inquiry into the grounds of necessity, I answer, that notoriety, connected with the enemy's preparations and avowed objects, furnish sufficient grounds to sustain the assertion, that circumstances imperiously demand such measures as ministers have on this occasion submitted to Parliament; and I can shew, from a retrospect of the conduct of the legislature for the last ten years, that notoriety was held in several instances as a sufficient ground to justify the introduction of bills to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and that too in cases which were defended by the right hon. gentleman who spoke last, and where the notoriety was far from being as strong as that which exists at present. As to the principle of appointing a Committee of Inquiry, I perfectly agree in the opinion of my noble friend (Lord Castlereagh), that such appointments should not be made on light grounds. The House is bound to avoid it, unless the necessity should be urgent, and unless the result of such inquiry should promise to be satisfactory, by fully gratifying the just curiosity of the House. But, if in the present case a committee of inquiry were appointed, it must be a confidential committee, and it would be quite competent to ministers, although with some difficulty, to lay before such a committee, such materials as would be sufficient to convince their minds of the necessity which called for the measures under consideration; but still the report could not afford to the hon. gentlemen, who were so anxious for the committee, the satisfaction they seemed to desire; for such a report must necessarily be general as to the necessity, before it could go into such a specification as the hon. gentlemen demanded, without revealing the communication confidentially made to the committee; a communication which would lead to the most serious mischief. There is in fact no detailed information upon this point, which it would not be injurious to publish: therefore, there is nothing which, consistently with prudence, the hon. gentlemen could obtain from the report of a committee, which they have not already; namely, a statement in general terms of that necessity, the pressure of which is quite manifest, and from these considerations I shall resist the preliminary which the hon. gentlemen wish for previous to giving their assent to the motion of my right hon. friend.—With regard to the allusions made to the peace of Amiens, as at all tending to produce the present state of things, I will ever continue to repel the charge which upon that ground has so often been levelled at his Majesty's ministers, and contend that very different consequences are deducible from that treaty to those which the right hon. gentleman who has just sat down, and his friends, are in the habit of ascribing to it. Ministers, I am confident, have never had reason to feel any regret for the advice which, upon the occasion of that treaty, they thought it their duty to offer to his Majesty.—With respect to the proposition before the House, I contend, that none of the objections advanced against it are tenable upon sound principles of reasoning, or upon precedent; particularly upon the precedents of late years, when the melancholy necessity for similar measures has so often occurred.—There is one circumstance I have yet to mention, which, in my mind, is worthy of great attention. It

is rather singular, that in the last session of parliament, most of the gentlemen in this House belonging to Ireland, gave strong assurances, that the mind and disposition of the great mass of the Irish people were much improved and alienated from discontent and disaffection. From that opinion, however, one gentleman, and one gentleman only, dissented; and it is now but three days ago, that the gentleman to whom I allude, (Mr. J. C. Beresford) took the opportunity of correcting his mistake, and declaring that his opinion had undergone a complete change; and notwithstanding that alteration of sentiment, his observations strongly tended to enforce the necessity of the present bill. For although he says he is convinced of the improvement which has taken place in the public mind, yet he urges the adoption of this measure, as absolutely necessary to preserve the tranquillity of all the loyal people of property in Ireland. I beg pardon, Sir, for having detained the House so long upon a subject, which I could not imagine would have experienced so serious an opposition; and I have only to state my conscientious conviction, that it is indispensably requisite for the present safety of that part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. *Wilberforce* expressed his opinion upon the grand distinction which should be made between the civil and military code: that there was no ground of doubt why the measure should not be carried into effect. In the organization, breaking out, and progress of past insurrection, he found a complete justification for voting in the affirmative. With respect to the argument set up by a right hon. gentleman, that some grounds should be stated to the House, it was only necessary for him to remark, that the bill was supported by the same constitutional system which enabled his Majesty to proclaim martial law, and to call for the aid of all his subjects in case of the enemy's landing. He did not coincide in the sentiments of the right hon. gentleman, who had argued, that a despotic government would be the best of all governments, if administered by angels. For his own part, he was convinced that the nature of despotism was so bad, and tended so much to corruption, that he preferred the British constitution, administered even as it was, to the despotic government of angels. He thought the House was called upon to bestow the most serious consideration upon the state of Ireland: for it was a melancholy reflection, that a country which had been connected for several hundred years with this, enjoying the same benefits, and in possession of the same constitution, should be afflicted with such evils and calamities. The causes of its distresses were certainly well worthy of the mature consideration of the British Parliament. He felt himself called upon to say, that the wisdom, benevolence, and justice of Parliament, could not be more urgently required. He hoped no temporary expedients would be resorted to, but that a wise, liberal, and enlarged system of policy would be adopted, which might make the people of that country permanently happy.

Dr. *Laurence*, after expressing his agreement with the concluding sentiments of the last speaker, vindicated his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) from the charge of inconsistency. With regard to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, it was a measure of a very different nature from the present. That was a measure of precaution, this of punishment, and of punishment in a manner which was looked upon by the constitution with peculiar jealousy. It was barely tolerated, never praised. An assertion had been made that similar bills had been passed by the United Parliament without enquiry. This assertion was not borne out by the fact. He had himself on a former occasion voted for the measure, because, from the proclamation, he was led to believe that a necessity existed But, what document was there before the House to prove the existence of any such necessity at this moment? The evidence, such as it was, led to a contrary conclusion. It was now acknowledged, that the murder of Lord Kilwarden was not the effect of a premeditated plan, but had taken place from his being the first person who was presented to the fury of the mob. But it was on the ground of the law being more directly struck at in the person of one of its chief administrators, that he had voted for the Martial Law Bill. On the other side, a hope had been expressed by his Majesty, that his deluded subjects were returning to a state of obedience. By one gentleman the notoriety of the necessity had been urged; by another it had been stated, that an invisible necessity existed. (Lord Castlereagh here said, that he had not called it an invisible necessity, he had said, that there was a necessity though not visible.) The hon. member then proceeded, to say, that he would leave the noble lord to explain to the House the distinction, and, in compliment to him, would use the term non-visible, instead of invisible. The necessity was not visible, and the notoriety which had been mentioned was, he supposed, not audible. The law, it was acknowledged, had never been acted upon, but in one solitary instance, and in that one instance he would assert, that it had been

misapplied. It had been directed to the punishment of a man who had attempted to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance; an act, which, though perhaps, even more criminal than open violence, did not come within the meaning of the statute. The hon. member noticed the assertion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it had been in the contemplation of some members of the Irish government to propose the enactment of Martial Law previous to the 23d of July, and he contrasted it with the declaration of the right hon. gent. only five days before the insurrection, that there was more loyalty in Ireland than ever, and that tranquillity was perfectly secure. Should a distinct enquiry into the business of the 23d of July ever take place, he hoped the right hon. gentleman would take for his defence, ground a little more tenable than that on which he stood at present. With respect to the measure now before the House, he wished the House to consider what had been the policy of our ancestors, when called upon for extraordinary powers, even under circumstances of great danger. In the reign of Edward III. ministers came to the House for advice, and stated, that in divers counties, cities, and towns, ill-disposed men had leagued together, and sworn, when they should receive news agreeable to their desires, to rise, to rob and murder their neighbours, and procure a general insurrection throughout the land. This was at a period when the King was with his army in France, and the news, which was desired by the ill-disposed, was no less than the ruin of that army, at the head of which was the Sovereign. In this situation what was done by the House of Commons? Did it declare martial law? No. It answered, that if the guardians of the peace were not capable of performing their duty, they must be reinforced by others more sufficient, and that no persons arrested must be released on bail till they were delivered by persons of sufficiency, and the most respectable of the country, such as knights and serjeants. This last clause was in effect a mitigated suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Such was the wisdom of our ancestors. Here was no recourse to martial law, a sort of law, which, even in its best form, was alien to the constitution. But, the martial law they were now called on to sanction, was of an aggravated nature. It had none of those checks which had been carefully introduced into the old martial law to modify and correct the virulence of its operation. The learned member then entered into a view of martial law. It took its rise, he said, from the ancient Courts of Chivalry, and the administration of it was originally presided over by a person professing the law. Under the Mutiny Bill, courts martial were to consist of thirteen officers, and one of them was to be a field-officer; thus preserving the appearance of a judge and jury. The culprit too, was entitled to a copy of the proceedings and the sentence. In short, there had been always an endeavour to make the martial law as like the constitutional law as possible. In the present instance all these ideas were abandoned. Courts martial were allowed to be formed by a smaller number of officers, than, under the Mutiny Bill, was allowed in any part of the British dominions, with the exception only of the slave coast and Botany Bay, where, from circumstances, it was impossible to apply the general rule. From the first of these places, he was sure one hon. member (Mr. Wilberforce,) would not be ready to draw any precedent; and he was himself, and he believed the House would be, as little disposed to take one from the second. It was utterly impossible to assign any reason why, in a country like Ireland, where so large an army was stationed, so small a number of offices was allowed to form a court martial. A want of officers could certainly not be pleaded. The learned member then urged the impolicy of suffering martial law to remain in existence a moment longer than was absolutely necessary. To shorten the dominion of the sword, and to bring back society to its original state, had always been the wish of every wise legislator. In the opinion of mankind no disgrace attached to the memory of those who fell in a state of warfare. But very different was the case of those who suffered by the operation of the laws. A solemn verdict of persons, who perhaps, were their neighbours, of men without passion or prejudice, established their guilt, and their names were for ever branded with ignominy. This was felt by one of the leaders of the late insurrection (Emmet) when he was taken, and an apology was made for his being hurt in the struggle, he replied, that every thing was fair in war; but when he was sentenced by a jury of his countrymen, his feelings were very different: conscious of the shame that was incurred by his end, he desired that no man might write his epitaph. Having enforced, at considerable length, the various heads of argument, the hon. member concluded by expressing his disapprobation of the measure now before the House.

General *Loftus* considered the bill before the House merely as a measure of precaution, and by no means one upon which the

noble lord at the head of the administration in Ireland would be disposed to act without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. He knew that noble lord, and was convinced of his disposition. He was a member of the Irish parliament when a similar measure was originally enacted. He had the honour also of serving as a general on the staff in that country, when the noble lord opposite to him was chief secretary (Lord Castlereagh); and he could assure the House, that even then, when the country was very generally agitated by a rebellious disposition, martial law was only resorted to in those counties or districts where the King's judges were prevented by insurrection from going their regular circuits, to carry into effect the common law of the land. The government of Ireland, he was well assured, would not resort to it but when it was found absolutely necessary for the preservation of the state.

The *Attorney General* observed, that the whole of the hon. and learned gentleman's arguments were directed against the bill, as if it were intended to be carried into adoption permanently and universally throughout Ireland: whereas it was merely intended to be temporary, and only to be acted on in such places as those wherein the ordinary process of the law should be impeded; so far, however, from its being a measure subversive of the common law, or tending to supersede generally the ordinary course of justice, it was in fact solely intended as a measure auxiliary to the common law, and tending to protect its administration by proceeding in the summary process of martial law in districts where rebellion or insurrection should render the process of the ordinary law impracticable. He could not avoid considering the arguments this night offered against the adoption of this bill, as very extraordinary, considering the period at which, and the persons from whom, they came, and more especially from the right hon. gentleman opposite to him, (Mr. Windham,) who was a member of his Majesty's government, when a measure exactly similar to the present was first introduced, and was himself one of its most strenuous advocates and defenders. The right hon. gentleman, this night, was loud and vehement in his reprobation of this bill, and in his declaration, that it most undoubtedly was a measure which violated the constitution, and ought not to pass in the present posture of affairs. He remembered, however, when a similar measure was proposed during the administration of the right hon. gentleman; and when it was resisted by the opposition of that day, as one calculated to exasperate the people of Ireland, and to dispose them still more to rebellion, the right hon. gentleman's language was—"who is it we are to conciliate? Is it those who are conspiring in rebellion against us, and against those whom we know to be the loyal supporters and friends of government? In favour of whom is it that we are called on to relax in exercising the powers of government? Is it in favour of traitors, to the abandonment of our loyal fellow subjects?" From this language of the right hon. gentleman, upon a former occasion, he begged leave to furnish himself with arguments this night in support of this bill; and he would ask if there was a loyal man this night in Ireland, who could conceive, from the passing of this bill, the most slight cause to abate in his loyalty and attachment to government; and if, on the contrary, it would not be received as an additional pledge to every loyal subject, of the care and protection of the government. He was clearly of opinion, that the people of Ireland would not be satisfied that parliament had done its duty, if it were to separate without passing the measure.

Mr. *Windham* wished the honourable and learned gentleman to consider, that if he meant to expose the opinions of any one, he must take care to state them correctly: for that otherwise the triumph which he would obtain, would be a triumph only over himself. He (Mr. W.) had never said, that the measure in question, though proper in itself, ought to be rejected, because it would be complained of by those, on whom it was likely to operate. He had never said, as a foundation for such an opinion, that the measure in question was proper. On the other hand, he was as little inclined to say, that it was improper. What he complained of was, that proper or otherwise, the house was adopting it without proof.

The Hon. *C. Hely Hutchinson.*—Sir, while I highly admire the display of talent which has characterized this debate, I cannot but be of opinion, that many of the observations which have been made, might have been well spared. I confess, Sir, that I felt during a great part of the discussion, as a parent who had been just deprived of a beloved child, with the physician seated by me, detailing the circumstances, and reminding me of the agonies under which my child had perished: whilst I eagerly watched the opportunity to exclaim, "spare me, Sir, this torturing and now unavailing narrative; my child is gone—that loss is irretrievable: but, in the name of God, try and avert the ravages of a cruel disease from the rest of my family;" and in the same manner should I be inclined to address the gentlemen of this House, "no more of the

severity of this measure, of which happily for you, you cannot judge of the necessity by a reference to any thing which passes here. No more of the useless detail of the outrages and atrocities which have lately disgraced that unhappy country; for her crimes and her sufferings she has much to mourn; but the past cannot be recalled: in the name of mercy then, save her from again plunging into the guilt of rebellion, and incurring its heavy penalties."—I perfectly agree with those who consider the re-enactment of the present bills as a most extraordinary exertion of legislative power; such a one, as in the judgment of a Briton may almost appear unconstitutional; but, Sir, the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce) under the gallery, has given the true reason, why a measure, which in this country would be exclaimed against as most severe, becomes unfortunately necessary for Ireland; namely, that its state is not like that of England: no, Sir, there exists between the conditions of the two countries a melancholy dissimilitude, and it is only because I fear that the sad necessity exists for thus strengthening the hands of the executive in that country, that I am induced to give my consent to the passing of the bills before the House; I do so in the hope, however, in the sanguine expectation, that the wisdom and justice of the United Parliament towards Ireland, will, at length, confer upon her those blessings to which she anxiously, and I must be allowed to add, justly looks; and that, by devising for her a system of extensive and harmonized polity, such as will ensure for the future the happiness and tranquillity of that people, a recurrence to such measures as these before us, will be rendered unnecessary at any future period.—I will not rake up the ashes of the dead, for the purpose of accusing your ancestors of cruelty and impolicy in the system they had adopted towards Ireland; I am ready with my countrymen to forget our sufferings, and to forgive our oppressors; and I do most solemnly declare, that in looking wistfully to the future, I have no object but the prosperity of my country, and the consolidated strength of the empire.—The proper subject for the consideration of Parliament is speedily to inquire as to what ought to be done to ameliorate the situation of Ireland. It has been observed during the debate, that "an improvement had taken place in the public mind, and that a better disposition was rapidly growing up there;" but I caution gentlemen not to allow themselves to be deceived as to the nature of that disposition: true, indeed; it was an increasing and improving dispotition as against Buonaparté and his accursed satellites; but it did not, therefore, incline the more favourably towards a system truly vicious and defective, and approved by no honest, thinking man. The inhabitants of Ireland, when by the Union they joined their fate with that of Britain, were, indeed, taught to anticipate the blessings, as a noble lord (Castlereagh) has justly observed, which would result from such a connexion; but I positively deny, that in these their expectations, they have been satisfied: on the contrary, they have not advanced one step towards their accomplishment; it would, therefore, be preposterous to suppose, and most wicked to attempt to induce the House to believe, that there was a growing disposition of content and satisfaction, when there was every ground for the reverse; and I implore gentlemen not to be persuaded into any such most dangerous opinion.—We who are deputed on the part of Ireland to assert her rights, to uphold her interests, and to enforce her claims, appear amongst you in consequence of the most solemn engagements made to us on the part of your King and of the Nation.—I complain of the neglect and duplicity of the present ministers, which, if not calculated to alienate the affections, have, at least, marred the hopes; but I trust not irrevocably destroyed the confidence of the Irish people. I trust it is not in the power of those who have proffered Union to be the cause of separation, and having sworn to uphold the throne of their Sovereign and Master, they will not, I hope, be suffered by their conduct to endanger the integrity of his empire. The responsibility they have incurred is possibly more than they are aware of. They are not to compare themselves with any other minister who had ever had to advise as to the management of Ireland; and should they persevere in their neglect and indifference to the interests of that country, he should hope to see them one day at the bar of another house, where the penalties, however heavy, which they might incur, would be but a poor and inadequate atonement for the mischiefs which the prosecution of their present system is likely to entail upon the United Empire.—I venture to hope, that as so many gentlemen have so humanely adverted to Ireland, and have manifested a generous interest in her fate, that the House will speedily consider the means of relieving her; that while they give additional strength to the executive, they will, at the same time, think of administering some comfort to the people; for surely it is not

unbecoming the dignity of any government, or the wisdom of any legislature, to prove that it combines the power to repress rebellion, with the determined disposition to remove all ground of complaint and dissatisfaction. Such is the course which any good government would gladly pursue, and which ministers, were they actuated by the principles of humanity, and an unnarrowed attachment to the *entire* of the empire, they would not fail immediately to adopt —The question was then put and carried; the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.

[BANK RESTRICTION BILL.]—Mr. Sargent brought up the Report of the Bank of England Restriction Bill. On reading the amendment, which makes the duration of the Bill six months after the conclusion of peace,

Sir *William Elford* called the attention of the House to an important alteration in this bill from that of the last year, which took place in a very thin committee on Saturday last. It was in filling up the blank for the duration of the bill, by the insertion of the words "six months" after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, instead of "six weeks," which was the time expressed in the last bill. He did not mean to oppose the alteration, but felt it his duty to call the attention of the House, as it had been made in so very thin a committee.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted, that the alteration alluded to by the hon. member, was certainly important; but he trusted the House would agree with him that it was also necessary. It had been thought inconvenient to make the bill continue only for six weeks after peace, because, if that should happen in the recess, and it should be found inconvenient to allow the Bank to pay off in cash so soon afterwards, Parliament must assemble for that very purpose; whereas, if Parliament should be sitting, and six months should appear too long, the time might be shortened, for there was power to vary or repeal the bill at any time, contained in the bill itself.—After a few words from Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Swann, the amendment was agreed to. The bill was ordered to be ingrossed, and read a third time to-morrow, if then engrossed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, December 6.

Counsel were heard in continuation, and finally, respecting the Scotch Appeal, Christie v. Proudfoot, viz. Messrs. Romilly and Nolan, on the part of the Respondant, and Mr. Adam for the Appellant, in reply.—After the arguments of Counsel were concluded, the Lord Chancellor moved for the Affirmation of the Decree, with 60l. costs, which was ordered accordingly.—Lord Walsingham moved the first reading of the Seamen's Habeas Corpus Bill, which took place accordingly, and afterwards that the bill be printed for the use of their Lordships. Ordered.—Mr. Graham presented at the bar an account of the state of convicts on board the hulks at Woolwich and at Portsmouth, from Christmas 1802, until Michaelmas last.—Mr. Robinson, from the London Wet Docks Company, presented an account of the receipts and disbursements of the same for one year, being from the 1st of June 1802, to the 31st of May 1803, both inclusive: and also, a copy of a report of the Board of Directors thereon.—These documents were severally ordered to lie on the table, and at six o'clock the House adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, December 6.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Graham, Inspector of Convicts on the river Thames, presented an account of the state of the hulks from Christmas to Michaelmas. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Robinson, from the London Dock Company, presented an account of receipts and disbursements, from the 1st of June 1802 to the 31st of May 1803. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Johnson from the office of the Chief Secretary in Ireland, presented an account of the distribution of the sum of 500,000l. voted last session to the Directors of Inland Navigation in Ireland, and of the different sums granted to Grand Juries, which were ordered to lie on the table.—Sir F. Burdett brought up the Report of the Committee on the Petition of the Parish of St. Pancras, which was read and agreed to, and a bill ordered.—The Secretary at War appeared at the bar and stated, that he was commanded by his Majesty to acquaint the House, that his Majesty had caused Major-General Napper Christie Burton to be put under an arrest, for a breach of military discipline.—He then moved, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, thanking his Majesty for his most gracious communication, and for his tender regard for the privileges of that House. Ordered.—Mr. Secretary Yorke moved, in pursuance of an order of the day, that the House should go into a Committee on the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill. The bill having gone through the committee, the

the report was brought up, and ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Secretary Yorke moved also, that the House do go into a Committee on the Irish Martial Law Bill. The House having accordingly resolved into the committee, and the clauses having been filled up, the report was brought up, and ordered to be received to-morrow.—The Report of the Committee of Supply of yesterday on the Transport Service, &c. was brought up, and the Resolutions read, and agreed to. —The Indemnity Bill, after a clause was received into it, on the motion of Mr. Corry, extending the provisions to Ireland, past a Committee of the whole House, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow morning.—The Irish Sugar Bounty Bill went through the same stage.—The Bill to prohibit Distillation from Oats in Ireland was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow —As also the Portugal Wine Bonding Duty Bill.—The Bank of England Restriction Bill was read a third time and past —The Malt Duty Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow morning.——The Irish Small Note Suspension Bill went through the same progress.——The Five Million Exchequer Loan Bill went also through the same progress.——The Irish Corn, Potatoe, and Provision Bills, in like manner, past the same stage.——As did also the Curates' Relief Bill, and the English Sugar Drawback Bill.

[IRISH BANK RESTRICTION BILL.]—Mr. *Corry* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Irish Bank Restriction Bill; and on the motion that the bill be now read a second time,

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* rose. He said, he did not see any reason why the restriction of payments in specie should be continued, either on the Bank of England or Ireland, to the protracted period of six months after the ratification of the preliminaries of peace. It must be obvious, his lordship thought, to every person, that the paper currency of Ireland was already carried to an alarming extent. It was his intention, he said, to move in the committee, that there should be a restriction of paper circulation in Ireland, and that the Directors of that Bank should be made responsible for the issues they should make.

Mr. *Corry*, in reply to the noble lord, admitted that it was, no doubt, a subject of regret, that the paper currency of Ireland was carried to such an extent. He was ready to admit this; but, at the same time, he thought the noble lord had better delay any motion of that kind till a more advanced period of the session. Many of the members from Ireland were now absent, being engaged on account of the peculiarity of the times, and of the situation of their native country, in their military avocations. Their absence, from such ostensible and laudable motives, would be readily admitted by every man as highly to their honour. He had no objection that this subject should be brought before the House; but he thought it was only fair, that a discussion of this kind should not be entered into in the absence of those gentlemen, who were most concerned, and who were most likely to understand the subject. It was probable that, after the recess, many of the Irish members would be able to attend the House. The hon. gentleman, proposed, therefore, to refer the business till a distant period, when such gentlemen might be present, and when accounts might be produced for that purpose. The hon. gentleman also, he said, would be enabled by such a delay to make up his mind upon the subject.—He concluded by moving, that the bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House on Monday, the 13th of February.—Agreed to.

[ORDER FOR COL. GRANT'S ATTENDANCE.]—Colonel *F. W. Grant*, who, on account of his absence on the Waterford Committee, had been ordered to attend in his place to-morrow, rose, and expressed his regret that he had given any trouble to the House. He stated, that it had been his intention, notwithstanding his military avocations, to attend, if absolutely necessary, on his duties connected with that House. From corresponding, however, with a friend in London, he was led to understand, that election committees were necessarily dissolved at the termination of the session, and that consequently his attendance on the Waterford Committee was no longer necessary. The failure of duty of which he had been guilty had arisen from this misapprehension, and not from any intention to transgress the regulations of the House. The moment, he said, he had received the order of that House for his attendance, he had set out from Dundee, where his regiment was now stationed, and where it would be necessary for him to return immediately. His military duties were of an imperious nature. He relied, therefore, on the indulgence of the House, and hoped they would attribute his absence, not to any want of respect for the House, or to any tendency to neglect his duty, but to the misapprehensions he had already stated, and the imperious commands of military duty.

The *Speaker* stated, that it was usual, in

such cases for the House to say whether they were satisfied with the apology or not, and then either to discharge the gentleman from attendance on the committee, if satisfied; or, if not satisfied with the gentleman's apology, the House would order his attendance to-morrow, as formerly.

Mr. *Plumer* rose and moved, "that, in consequence of the hon. gentleman's apology, the order for his attendance to-morrow be discharged."——The motion was agreed to, and the order was discharged accordingly.——Colonel Grant returned his sincere thanks to the House for their indulgence.

[East India bonds.]—Lord *Castlereagh* moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a committee on the bill for regulating the rate of interest on the bonds issued by the East India Company. On the motion, that the Speaker do now leave the chair,

Mr. *Dent* rose, not to oppose the committal of the bill, but to call the attention of the House to the principal feature of it, which he considered rather extraordinary, as giving an indulgence to the East India Company, which he thought extremely partial, and one from which every individual and corporate body in this kingdom, was precluded. A few nights since, the hon. Secretary of the Treasury, in answer to a question put to him by an hon. member on his side of the House, respecting the tax on property and income, amongst other things had declared it to be the intention of government, to go through with the assessment of the tax, during the present year, in the manner prescribed by the existing bill. Now the present bill introduced by the noble lord, was calculated to affect, by a side wind, an exemption of the bonds of the India Company from the law to which every other species of public stock was liable; and, consequently, to give those bonds a considerable advantage at market, over Exchequer Bills and every other species of stock; for the whole of the interest payable on Exchequer Bills, amounted to 5l. 6s. 3d. per cent. per ann. payable yearly, and he could see no reason why an exemption should be extended to India Bonds, which would give them a preference at market over Exchequer Bills, seeing that they engaged a preference by the interest thereon being paid half-yearly. At least, if such an exemption as this was given to the public funds of the India Company, with a privilege of borrowing at such an extraordinary advance of interest, he could see no right in precluding other corporations from a similar advantage.

Lord *Castlereagh* rose, and, in answer to that part of Mr. Dent's speech which referred to the Income Tax, said, that the declaration of his hon. friend neither had, nor ought to have, any reference to the affairs of the East-India Company; and he trusted that the House would not consider, at the present crisis, that any regulations which his Majesty's ministers might deem necessary in assessing the Income Tax upon the property of individuals, ought to stand in the way of an important and necessary regulation, most materially interesting to the funds of a great commercial company, with the success of whose concerns the public revenues of this country were so deeply interested. He begged to call the attention of the House to the annual amount of the revenue paid to this country by the East-India Company, amounting, on an average, to £3,226,000 annually; and he trusted the House would feel too sensibly the importance of that concern which the country must have in the welfare of a company yielding such important aid to the state, to refuse, on light or trivial grounds, its assent to such regulations in the management of their funds and capital, as should be absolutely necessary to carry on their commercial concerns, under the present circumstances of the empire, without material disadvantage: for it was the province of the East-India Company, even under all the vicissitudes and disadvantages of war, to promote the commercial prosperity of the country in the most distant quarters of the globe; and this was not to be done unless they were enabled to keep a certain quantity of their funds afloat, and prevent them from returning back to their treasury, whereby their capital would be most materially diminished, and their means of trade consequently cramped. This could only be effected by enabling them so to regulate their rates of interest, as to maintain that respectability to their bonds, at market, which would prevent a decided preference of other funds, to the depreciation of theirs. The hon. member had said, that the bonds of the company stood in no need of such aid, for that they at present enjoyed an advantage at market over Exchequer Bills, on account of their interest being payable half yearly. The fact, however, was otherwise; for Exchequer Bills were now at a premium of one shilling above par, whereas India Bonds were at a discount of two shillings. The noble lord then went generally into some financial statements of the company, in support of the bill: and contended that the increase of interest on their bonds was

necessary to give them currency abroad. He concluded by expressing a hope that the House would not refuse this indulgence to a great trading company, in whom the revenue and the state were so materially concerned.

Mr. *Johnson* said, the statement of the noble lord this night was in perfect consistency with the conduct adopted uniformly by him respecting the affairs of the company. In the last session, he amused the House with a pompous statement of the flourishing situation of their finances, and the brilliant prospects of their prosperity: but what is the first illustration the noble lord gives in this session? Why, a new plea of embarrassment, and a new appeal to the indulgence of the House, for the privilege of borrowing money, to answer their exigencies, at a much higher interest than any other corporate body, or individual in this country, dares venture to offer. Such was the conduct he should ever expect from the noble lord, so long as he presided over the conduct of India affairs; ever complaining of existing embarrassments, and ever holding out specious promises of future prosperity.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, that the present bill purported no more than a temporary relief to the India Company, from a species of embarrassment which in time of war must more or less affect all borrowers, public or private. The government of the country, at such times, always filled up its loans upon worse terms than were to be had in times of peace; and no company or individual could expect to be exempt from similar disadvantages: there was nothing, therefore, unreasonable, or unfair, in this mode of enabling the India Company to meet the terms upon which only their demands could be supplied.

Mr. *Charles Grant* said, the object of the bill was not to place the company in a better situation, but to prevent it from being placed in a worse situation. India bonds were coming in every day to be paid, and if the Property Tax was to be deducted at the India-House in fractional parts, according to the number of weeks and days upon which it might be necessary to calculate, it would create endless confusion and embarrassment, and must tend to depreciate the bonds.

Mr. *William Dundas* also supported the bill; and denied there was any truth in the arguments of the hon. gent. opposite him (Mr. Johnson), that there was any proof in this bill of any embarrassment in the circumstances of the East-India Company, or any thing which could found a fair opinion against their prosperity.—After some further conversation, the question was put and carried, and the House having resolved itself into a Committee upon the bill, went through the same, and it was ordered to be reported to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, December 7.

Lord Hawkesbury presented the papers relative to the Convention entered into between Great-Britain and Sweden, on the 25th July, which were laid upon the table.—The Seamen's Desertion Bill was read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.—The Bank Restriction Bill was brought up from the Commons, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, December 7.

[Minutes.]—Sir John Newport, returned by the Committee member for Waterford instead of Mr. Alcock, took the oaths and his seat.—A private petition was brought up respecting the widening of the Canterbury Road. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. C. L. Dundas brought up the report of the Waterford Committee, which stated, that the Committee had found the election of Mr. Alcock illegal and defective, and that consequently they had declared Sir John Newport the legal member.—Mr. C. L. Dundas also in pursuance of this report moved, that the Deputy Clerk of the Crown be ordered to attend to-morrow morning, in order to erase the name of Mr. Alcock, and alter the election. Ordered.—Mr. Sargent brought up the report of the Qualification Indemnity Bill. Ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved the order of the day for a Committee of the whole House on the Irish Sugar Drawback Bill. The alterations adopted by the Committee were purely verbal.—The House being resumed the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved the order of the day for the Irish Distillery Bill. It was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved the order of the day for a Committee of the whole House on the Irish Promissory Note Bill. The House having resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved the order of the day for a Committee of the whole House on the Irish Provision Bill. The House hav-

ing resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Irish Proclamation Indemnity Bill. It was read a second time accordingly, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Secretary Yorke brought up the report of the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, which was ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the East-India Bonds Bill. Ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The Malt Duty Bill was passed through a Committee, and was ordered to be reported to-morrow.—Mr. J. C. Beresford gave notice that he would to-morrow move for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the sale of corn in the City of Dublin.—Upon the motion for the committal of the Curate's Residence Bill, a few observations were made by different hon. members, in the course of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that most probably all the bills which were in such a state of forwardness would be read a third time on Friday next.—The Curate's Relief Bill passed through a Committee, and was ordered to be reported to-morrow.—Accounts were ordered to be laid before the House of the sums of money which have been issued to his Majesty by Parliament pursuant to addresses of the House, and which had not as yet been made good.—The Wine Bonding Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—The Five Million Loan Bill, the Expiring Laws Bill, and the Sugar Drawback Bill, were committed, and ordered to be reported to-morrow.

[IRISH MARTIAL LAW BILL.] — Mr. *Hawthorn* then brought up the report of the committee on the bill for continuing Martial Law in Ireland. The report being read,

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, it was not his intention to trouble the house with any long or minute discussion. With regard to the necessity of the measnre now before the house, he believed there could be only one opinion. He rose, not to oppose the measure nor to deny its necessity, for he was of opinion that such a measure was really necessary in the present circumstances of Ireland, and that it had been suggested by the imperious dictates of necessity alone. The only difference that existed between him and the framers of the bill, was in regard to the mode of carrying it into execution.—He did not wish to trouble the house, but he wished to propose some amendment in regard to the constitution of those courts martial to which the bill alluded. He thought, unless in a case of the most imperious necessity, and suggested by the strongest reasons of expediency, no court martial ought to be permitted to sit in such instances which was not composed of seven members at least. If circumstances unhappily required the interference of such courts, it ought to be an object with the legislature to invest them with as much wisdom and deliberative justice as the nature of the case would possibly admit. The number constituting such courts, he thought, ought never to be more than thirteen nor less than seven. There was not less danger from too many than from too few, in the determination of such cases as might come before them. The age of individuals composing those courts, he thought also, ought to be particularly attended to. It was well known, that in the army there were many young men officers, who had not arrived at that age which the laws of the country have wisely fixed as necessary to enable a man to have the conduct of his own private affairs. And could it for a moment be thought prudent that we should entrust the lives of our fellow citizens to men whom the laws of the country had judged incompetent to the management of their own private affairs? He thought it was indispensably necessary that the legislature should provide that no minor, that no man under the legal age, should be permitted to sit in any such courts martial. The measure, he allowed, was necessary; but it ought to be the care of that house to appear reluctant to deviate in any degree from the ordinary exercise of the laws: they ought to appear scrupulous in the adoption of any harsh or severe measure, and to remove as much as possible from its mode of execution the appearance of all harshness, injustice, or severity. This he thought might be done by the provisions which he wished to propose as an amendment. He could not conceive that these alterations would render the measure in any shape less effectual. Did he apprehend this as the consequence, he would be the last man to propose them. He knew, indeed, very well, that the government of Ireland would not wish to exercise any authority put into their hands, with greater severity than the urgency of circumstances might require. But while he was perfectly conscious of this, he, at the same time, wished that the legislature should not trust to any individuals for the upright or lenient execution of any measure; but should prescribe to them their duty by the letter of the law.—What is the circumstance, the hon. gent. asked, that endears the trial by jury to every man of this country? Is not every member of that

jury liable to be reduced to the same circumstances of the person standing charged before him? Is there not a sympathy subsisting between the jurors and the persons whom they try—a sympathy that gives confidence to every man, that, if he has justice and equity on his side, it is the interest and congenial to the feelings of the jury to acquit him? In an ordinary court martial also, the officers composing that court martial were called to the trial of men of their own character and profession—men who had been similar to themselves, and to whose circumstences they were uncertain but they themselves might likewise, at some future period, be reduced. Here also there existed that sympathy and fellow feeling which operated in favour of the person to be tried. But the circumstances of a court martial trying criminals accused of rebellion were very different. The persons brought before them had different interests, and would seem to be almost of a different species. From the circumstances of a country in such a situation, they were too apt to meet their victims with anger and passion, which must ever be hostile to the deliberative measures either of justice or mercy. They feel too great an interest as a party to listen with that partiality which ought always to be extended to the unfortunate If such would naturally be the case with almost all men in such circumstances, how much more ought the house to guard against the passions or prejudices of rash, unthinking, or unfeeling youth. In some instances he was aware the amendment he proposed to make might be attended with difficulty; but the lord lieutenant, he thought, might in such instances have a discretionary power. In times such as the present we ought to place some confidence in the government, particularly in cases where the letter of the law could not with so much advantage be enforced.—The hon. gent. concluded with stating, that in his opinion such courts martial as the bill alluded to, should not consist of more than thirteen, nor of less than seven, and that none under age should be admitted to sit in those courts.

The *Speaker* stated, that the object of the hon. gent. could only be obtained by moving a separate and distinct clause to be introduced into the bill.

Mr. *Wilberforce* accordingly made out the clause at the table, and read it to the house. On the question being put that the clause be brought up,

Colonel *Wood* said, he had no objection to the amendment proposed by the hon. gent. but rather than give any discretionary power to the lord-lieutenant, he thought it would be more eligible to dispense with the number seven proposed by the hon. gent., and admit five as the smallest number that should constitute a court martial. He was inclined to be jealous in conceding discretionary powers to government that were not absolutely necessary.——The clause was brought up and read a first time. On the question being put that it should be read a second time,

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* observed, that he could not agree entirely with the hon. gentleman who had proposed the amendment, though he was ready to give him full credit for the sincerity of his intentions. His great objection was, and he thought it must occur to every person, that this amendment was inconsistent with the original spirit of the measure proposed by the bill. The bill was of such a nature as could only be warranted by necessity. If there was no necessity for the measure, it would be better to discharge the bill entirely; but if the measure was thought necessary, which the hon. gent. fully admitted, such an amendment as he proposed would entirely defeat its object. Were it possible for regular courts to sit, or for legal juries to be assembled, there would be no occasion for such a measure; but neither regular courts nor legal juries could meet with safety to themselves in the present circumstances of the country, and it was for this reason only that the measure was brought forward. Was it possible, the right hon. gent. asked, that any court in the very heart of rebellion could previously go through any tedious process to ascertain the particular qualifications of its members, or would it be proper that every officer, in order to ascertain his age, should carry a certificate in his pocket? The principle on which the hon. gent. proceeded would go entirely to prevent, in many instances, the assembling of any court together, and at times too when it might be most necessary. The right hon. Secretary concluded by stating that, if the bill is at all necessary, it ought to pass as it is, and if not necessary it ought to be entirely dismissed; but the amendment, it was obvious, would go to defeat its object.

Mr. *Windham* thought that no restrictions of the kind the amendment went to establish ought to be introduced in courts martial. If he were to state his objection to courts of this description, he would say that they were not so competent as others. But this objection referred entirely to that degree of judgment which men of such habits and pursuits were likely to exercise. The great

criterion to be sought for in courts, to which either the lives, the properties, or the privileges of men were to be tried, was judgment. But the hon. gentleman had not founded any of his reasons of amendment upon this broad and ostensible principle. He had objected to the general constitution of courts martial on the score of sympathy. It was not probable that any of those gentlemen composing a court martial would ever be reduced to the melancholy circumstances of those brought before them for trial. If this objection on the score of sympathy and feeling had any weight, it would militate equally against all courts martial. Did not courts martial try private soldiers as well as their brother officers, and would the hon. gent. say that officers could have that sort of sympathy with private soldiers which he was disposed to derive from an idea of a probability of being involved in similar circumstances? The truth was, that here there was no such sympathy as the hon. gent. pleaded for; and would he or any other gentleman say that that house ought to be more tender of the lives of rebels in Ireland, than of the lives of private soldiers who formed the strength and defence of the country? and yet the hon. gentleman's motion went to shew that where we neglected the interests of the private soldier, we should be anxious to provide for the safety of rebellion. But the hon. gent. was apprehensive of the rashness and undiscriminating judgment of such officers as were under age. For his own part if any want of feeling was to be apprehended, it was not, he thought, from young men warm with all the feelings, and all the sympathies of youth. If any such danger was to be apprehended, it was from men rather grown old in the prejudices and passions of a party; it was from men who had grown callous by long habits of severity. The right hon. gentleman concluded by saying, that in regard to the principle or necessity of the bill, he was not at present called upon to give his opinion. He could not say it was necessary, and he was not prepared to say that it was unnecessary. But at all events if the bill was necessary, the amendment went in a great measure to defeat its object, and was besides founded on a principle that militated against courts martial of every description.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, in explanation, said, he did not mean to cast any reflection on the integrity of young officers; but he thought they wanted steadiness, and the right hon. gentleman confirmed the opinion, when he spoke of the warmth of their feelings. That warmth may incline one way as much as another.

Dr. *Laurence* disapproved of the clause; the remedy was not such as should be applied. When the general measure was before the house, his object had been to render courts martial as like as possible to those under the mutiny act. The president, under that act, should be a field officer, and age and experience were secured by the rank. He did not see why the same regulation should not hold in the present instance, nor why the courts should not consist of the same number of officers as in all other parts of his Majesty's dominions, except two places, where circumstances did not permit it. The number of troops in Ireland afforded every facility, and it was the more necessary to have this tribunal liberally constituted, as it took the individuals out of the cognizance of the other courts. The objection of the hon. gentleman, on the score of passions, amounted to nothing more than the general evil of human infirmity; and if it was to be regarded, we could not have a judge or juror against whom objections could not be made. His objection was to the preamble, which took so wide a range, that robbing a hen-roost might be construed into an act of rebellion. The hon. gentleman had observed on a former night, that angels could not be trusted with arbitrary power: his present opinion went to say, that after twenty-one, it lost its corruptive nature.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* said, there appeared to him to be two reasons held out for voting the present measure; one was, the late insurrection in Dublin. If the hope expressed in his Majesty's speech, and the address in answer to it, was to be relied on, it was a measure of precaution. Precaution against what? Was it against rebellion, against insurrection, against dissatisfaction in the people against the government? No. If he were to exercise his own understandng, he would say it was not a precaution against fear, or against danger, but against the confidence and hope expressed by his majesty's ministers. Bearing in mind the sad and calamitous consequences which attended this measure when it first passed, he could not approve of the continuance of it; and he wished to give it this decided mark of his disapprobation. The question being put, the clause was negatived. On the question, that the bill be read a third time to-morrow,

Admiral *Berkeley* rose, not to oppose the bill, though his Majesty's ministers gave no satisfactory reason why it should pass, but to give notice that he should on an early

day, the earliest he could after the recess, move for the production of certain papers, which he hoped would clear away the imputation which, from something that had been said on a former night, now very unjustly rested on the character of the late commander in chief in Ireland (General Fox).

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* called on the hon. admiral to state.

Admiral *Berkeley* said, he alluded to what the chancellor of the exchequer said, "that the commander in chief had early intelligence of the intended insurrection on the 23d July."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* denied having used these words. A gentleman, who spoke in the early part of the debate on the night he alluded to (Mr. W. Elliot) having said, that no instructions had been given to the commander in chief, no communication made to the lord mayor; he had said, that instructions had been given to the lord mayor through the superintending magistrate, a police officer well known to the hon. gentleman. He took the earliest opportunity of declaring, that he had not the most distant idea of casting any imputation on the officer alluded to, nor had he heard, except from the hon. gentleman, that there was the smallest idea that any imputation was supposed to exist. He was sure, that whenever the conduct of the late commander in chief in Ireland, came to be considered, it would be found as free from blame, and as creditable to that deserving officer, as any other part of the conduct of the Irish government was, to the general credit which the conduct of that government had obtained.

Admiral *Berkeley*.—The right hon. gentleman has mistaken me. I did not mean to say, that I conceived any imputation against that meritorious officer from the words that he spoke: yet, I do think, they conveyed an aspersion. Ths hon. officer himself thinks so; nor is he the only person who does think so. The right hon. gentleman said, that early intelligence was sent to the commander in chief.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—What I said was, that information had been sent, at an early hour, to the superintending magistrate.

Mr. *J. C. Beresford* observed, that to any gentleman acquainted with Dublin, it could not appear at all surprising, that the insurrection of the 23d of July should happen (even if such had been the case) without the knowledge of government or the commander in chief. It took place in the most obscure part of the city, proceeded only through three streets, and was put down in one hour. He also observed, that the night was remarkably dark. From these circumstances, the hon. member inferred, that this disturbance might have occurred without the knowledge of the civil government or the commander in chief; without attaching any blame to either, for neglect of duty or inattention.

Mr. *T. Grenville* not having before taken any part in the discussion of the measure before the House, did not mean to oppose it in the stage to which it had arrived; nor should he have, on this occasion, troubled the House with any observations, if some expressions, which had fallen from the right hon. secretary, had not compelled him to it, in order to exclude himself from that general conviction of the necessity of the measure which had been said to exist. He should not take up the time of the House, by entering into an inquiry whether the measure were necessary or not? but he would contend, that from the information which his Majesty's ministers had thought proper to give, no inference could be drawn of the existence of that necessity. When his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), on the first introduction of the measure, had applied for a short delay, in order that information might be laid before the House, his application had been rejected on the ground that the smallest delay would be dangerous in the then existing circumstances. Though he was not in the House himself on that occasion, he was at the time fully sensible of the justice of the application, but whatever argument might have applied in that instance against delay, there could be none to apply in the present. The two bills now in their stages through the House, would not expire till six weeks after the commencement of the present session. The session had commenced on the 22d of November, and the bills would of course not expire till the 1st or 2d of January. He therefore put it to the House, what possible argument could be used against a short delay, until such information should be communicated to the House, either by the report of an open or secret committee, as should justify the adoption of such strong measures. It had been more than once his lot to complain of the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, in bringing forward measures of great importance, without laying sufficient information before the House; and he took this opportunity of protesting against the manner in which the two bills before the House had been introduced. There was another circumstance too that should weigh with parliament, and

which materially affected the spirit of the constitution: he meant the operation of such a course of proceeding in the legislative union. Since the passing of that measure, it had become more than ever the duty of his Majesty's ministers to shew to the people of Ireland, that every measure involving their interests, not only claimed but received as much discussion and attention as it would, if their own legislature still continued to assemble. It was particularly their duty to avoid giving the slightest ground of suspicion, or suffering any one to fancy that the affairs of that country were not fully attended to. He did not mean to oppose the completion of the two bills before the House, though, if he were to follow the example of other gentlemen, in stating the ground of his private opinion, he should feel embarrassed, and considerable difficulty in making up his mind on the subject. The House had no documents to ascertain whether the measure were the wisest or most proper for Ireland; they had no official information whether the situation of that country was such as to require coercive measures; they had no ground on which to rest their proceedings, but the language of his Majesty's ministers, that language generally varying, and always changing. He meant nothing ungracious to his Majesty's ministers individually, but, as a member of Parliament, he was bound to speak his sentiments openly, and say, he could have no confidence in their administration, neither in the wisdom of their measures, nor in the activity with which they executed them. The hon. gentleman entered here into a train of severe comments on the conduct of ministers, and on their incapacity. He then adverted to the manner in which the notice of his hon. friend (Admiral Berkeley) had been so quickly commented on by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had expected that his hon. friend's observations would have met with a very different reception. That challenge which ministers had on a former day given, when they deprecated a discussion by a side wind, they now had an opportunity of deciding by the proposition of the hon. Admiral respecting his hon. relation; and the more the House investigated the conduct of ministers, the more fully would they discharge their duty.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* did not intend to follow the hon. member through the details of his speech, because nothing that had fallen from him appeared to him to require an answer. He was anxious, however, to say a few words, which he had not before an opportunity of doing, on the observations of the hon. Admiral. The hon. Admiral had given notice of a motion for certain papers, in consequence of an aspersion which he conceived to be thrown on the character of an honourable relation. His right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had distinctly stated, in answer to the hon. Admiral, that no such aspersion had been meant, either by himself, or any other member of government; and had correctly repeated the language he had used on the occasion. The right hon. Secretary here re-stated what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had before stated in explanation, and insisted that no direct nor implied aspersion was contained in the terms used. Whatever conduct the hon. Admiral should think proper to observe, would be for himself to determine; but after what had passed, he must bring forward his motion, not in consequence of any aspersion on the hon. General, for whom he felt himself a very high respect as a meritorious and distinguished officer, but as a direct charge on his Majesty's government in Ireland, which he should be ready to meet. The right hon. Secretary wished also to state a few words, which he had omitted on a former day, in answer to an observation which had been made by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Elliot), by way of criticism, not of crimination, respecting the Lord Lieutenant's going to the Park on the night of the 23d of July. The usual residence of the Lord Lieutenant was in the Park, whence he used to return every day about two o'clock to the Castle, to receive such information as might have been procured by the subordinate officers of the government. He had come to the Castle, on the 23d, and after receiving the information respecting the projected insurrection, had held a consultation on the expediency of his remaining in the Castle, the result of which was, that it was considered better for him to return to the Park, as the circumstance of removing his family to town might create considerable alarm. Every body who knew his lordship, would do him the justice to suppose that he would not leave Dublin from apprehension on such an occasion; nor was it probable that he should consider a serjeant's guard in the Park a better security than a garrison of 4000 men in Dublin.

Mr. *Windham* thought, that as a charge might arise out of the statement that had been made, either against the Irish government, or the Commander in Chief, that the hon. Admiral might, notwithstanding the explanation that had been given, bring forward his motion, though not for crimination, for the justification of his hon. rela-

tion.——The question was then put, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, December 8.

Their lordships met pursuant to adjournment.—The English Bank Restriction Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, December 8.

[MINUTES.]—The Malt Duty Bill, the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, the Irish Martial Law Bill, the East India Bonds Bill, and the Qualification Indemnity Bill, were severally read a third time, and passed.—The Pension Duty Bill, the Five Million Loan Bill, the Expiring Laws Bill, the Irish Corn Exportation Bill, the Irish and the British Sugar Drawback Bills, the Irish Silver Note Bill, the Curates' Relief Bill, and the Irish Oats Distillation Bill, were reported, and ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—Lord Castlereagh stated at the bar, that his Majesty had been waited upon with the address of that House upon the subject of his most gracious communication respecting General Burton being taken into custody; and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive the address in the most gracious manner.—His lordship informed the House also of the gracious reception of the address respecting the sums of money which that House had voted and had yet to make good.—The Portugal Wine Bonding Bill had several new clauses added, the most prominent of which was one extending the benefit of the act to the importers and proprietors of Spanish Wine. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—The Irish Inland Navigation Accounts were ordered to be printed.

[NAVAL INQUIRY.]—Sir *W. Elford* adverted to a motion which had been made by him during the last session of Parliament, respecting the dismissal of a gentleman from his employment in his Majesty's dock-yards. He wished now to know, and he was happy to find that an hon. baronet was now in his place in that House, who might possibly have it in his power to inform him, whether it was the intention of the commissioners appointed under the authority of that house, to make any report upon the subject?

Sir *C. Pole* said, that in his opinion there was not any such an idea at present among the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry.

Sir *W. Elford* then desired to be informed if it was not intended to mention the name of that gentleman, or make any observation whatever upon the subject to which he alluded?

Sir *C. Pole* then told the hon. baronet that most probably that gentleman's name might be mentioned, but he did not think it a circumstance by any means likely to occur, that any comment should be made upon the subject.

[CURATES' RELIEF BILL.]—On the Order being read for receiving the report of the Stipendiary Curates' Residence Bill,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that, in consequence of the absence of his right hon. friend who had been the mover of that bill, he thought it would be most proper to postpone the consideration of that report for the present; and as he had no doubt that the house would immediately concur in that opinion, he should move that the report be taken into further consideration to-morrow. There would most probably be a good deal of business then before the house, but it could easily be further postponed till a more important discussion should happen to arise. The consideration of the report was then deferred till to-morrow.

[SIERRA LEONA COMPANY.]——Mr. *H. Thornton* presented a petition from the Sierra Leona Company, praying for pecuniary assistance from Parliament.

The *Speaker* observed, that he thought it his duty to inquire, before such a petition was entertained as the present, whether it had received the approbation of his Majesty, as it would, if the prayer should be finally agreed to, be voting away the public money to the use of individuals, which required that fact to be first ascertained.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated, that he thought there could be very little difference of opinion as to the probability, or even the certainty, of his Majesty's giving it a most gracious reception, as a petition for a grant of 10,000l. had at a former period received that sanction.

Mr. *H. Thornton* then moved, that the petition be referred to a committee, to examine the matter therein contained.

Mr. *Dent* stated, that the report of the state of the company's funds had been so very favourable, that in his opinion, that was in itself, the very best reason that possibly could be against granting the prayer of a petition for parliamentary aid.—The question was then put, and the petition referred to a committee.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, December 9

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were heard at considerable length for the Appellant, on the Appeal Cause from the Court of Chancery, J. I. Keighly *v.* the East India Company. After which their lordships deferred the farther hearing of the case till Tuesday.—Mr. Hobhouse, accompanied by several Members, brought up the following Bills from the Commons, viz. The Annual Indemnity Bill, the Malt Tax, the Place and Pension Duty, the Sugar Bounties Drawback, the East India Bonds Duty, the Bank of Ireland Restriction, the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, and the Irish Martial Law Continuation Bills. They were severally read a first time; the two last-mentioned bills were, on the motion of lord Hawkesbury, ordered to be printed; his lordship at the same time gave notice of his intention to move for the second reading of those bills on Monday next.

[VOLUNTEERS.]—Earl *Darnley*, previous to the Order of the Day being read, wished to obtain some information on a subject confessedly of the highest importance: seeing the noble secretary of state in his place, he would take that opportunity. The subject, in his contemplation, was such as not only that house, but many thousands of his Majesty's subjects must regard with the utmost concern. He alluded to the volunteers, respecting whom, he begged leave to ask, if it was the intention of his Majesty's ministers to propose any general regulations previous to the ensuing recess.

Lord *Hawkesbury* shortly replied, that he knew of no intention at present on the part of his Majesty's government, to propose any specific measure, previous to the recess, of the nature to which the noble earl alluded.

Earl *Darnley* resumed the topic: he by no means wished, he said, to pin the noble Secretary of State down to any particular time, for proposing such a measure as he had alluded to; he was fully aware, not only of the importance, but of the delicacy of the subject. He repeated the anxious view in which it was very generally regarded. It was not his intention, however, then to go into any detail upon the subject, but there were one or two prominent points, which struck him so forcibly, that he could not refrain from adverting to them, and endeavouring to press them on the attention of the noble Secretary, as requiring the most serious consideration of his Majesty's ministers, and calling for adequate regulation. He first adverted to the consideration of the way in which the services of several corps were originally accepted on the part of government, which certainly appeared to him to have been done on liberal principles, with respect to allowances, &c. but in regard to those he had to observe, that a system had been latterly acted upon, which appeared to him to be the reverse of the former conduct of government in that respect. The second consideration to which the noble earl principally adverted, and which he seemed to regard as one of extreme delicacy and importance, was the idea of the force in question, appearing, in some points of view, as a species of military democracy. He thought it incumbent on him thus early to throw out those considerations, as meriting the most serious and anxious attention on the part of his Majesty's government. The noble earl also alluded to certain difficulties which had arisen under the present volunteer system, which he thought it would be important speedily to obviate: what he seemed principally to advert to, was the regulation of exemptions, &c.

Lord *Hawkesbury*, in the course of his reply, observed, that he should avoid at present entering into any detailed view whatever of the subject. He agreed with the noble earl as to the great importance of the subject; it was one therefore which naturally attracted the serious attention of his Majesty's government: their lordships, however, would be at the same time aware of the complexity and intricate nature of the general subject, the variety of details which it embraced, and the correspondent difficulty of forming adequate regulations. He agreed also with the noble Earl, that certain difficulties had arisen in the progress of that system of measures, but of that nature as that they could not fairly be expected to be in the contemplation at the time, of those by whom, under the circumstances of the case, the bill was originally framed. He repeated, that the subject certainly occupied the serious attention of his Majesty's ministers; but while he made this avowal, he wished to be understood, as by no means committing himself with respect to the introduction of any specific measure upon the subject.

[BANK RESTRICTION BILL.]—The order of the day being read, their lordships resolved into a Committee on the Bank Restriction Bill, Lord Walsingham in the chair. The different clauses and provisions of the bill were regularly gone through, and approved by the Committee.—On the consideration of the Preamble of the Bill,

Lord *King* said, that if he had been present at the second reading of the bill, he should have thought it his duty to have urged, at some length, those arguments of justice and policy which struck his mind forcibly, as militating against the principle of the bill. The present not being the regular time for discussing the general principle, he should say very little on that part of the subject. He could not, however, avoid expressing his surprize, that a measure of this importance should be so much treated as a matter of course; that the bill should be read twice within two days after it had been sent from the other House, and that it should have been read for the second time without any previous notice, and without even the usual formality of a few introductory remarks from one of his Majesty's ministers. No inquiry was instituted; no reason was assigned for the passing of the bill, nor was any information laid before the House to prove the expediency of persevering in a system, which violated all general principles, and could only be justified by the most urgent necessity. Some very strong reasons ought surely to be assigned for continuing, to a distant and indefinite period, a measure which had not been found necessary in former wars, nor at any period prior to the year 1797, when the restriction was first adopted. It was at that time acknowledged to be a measure of the most questionable nature, and open to the most dangerous abuses. It was now asserted by ministers, and the partisans of the Bank, that the privilege had not been abused, and that no public inconvenience had been experienced. His lordship thought, that it was a great deal too much to take all this for granted, and that it ought, prior to a continuance of the measure, to be made the subject of inquiry. He was convinced, for his own part, that the contrary was the fact; and, though the abuse had not been flagrant or excessive, that the Bank had yielded, in a certain degree, to the temptation, and extended the quantity of their notes beyond the proper limits. By the present measure, the *interest* of the Bank was put in opposition to its *duty*; and in such a competition it was not difficult to conjecture which principle was likely to prevail among a commercial body. Whilst the measure was recent, the Directors appeared to have conducted themselves with great prudence; but since the end of the year 1798, there was reason to believe, that they had uniformly, though in different degrees, been guilty of a breach of their trust. He proceeded to state shortly the principles upon which this opinion was founded. An excessive multiplication of Bank Notes, so long as they cannot be exchanged for specie, had precisely the same effect as a debasement of the current coin; and as the bullion price of silver was the most accurate test of the purity of a coinage, it was the best standard of the degree of depreciation produced by an excessive paper currency. In ordinary circumstances the bullion price of silver seldom much exceeded the mint price, or 5s. 2d. per ounce, or if there was any occasional excess, it was not of long continuance. But, since the year 1798, it had *uniformly* exceeded that price, being at some periods (in 1800 and 1801) 5s. 11d. and 6s. At present it was 5s. 8d. being an excess of 9 per cent. above the mint price. He knew that there were other causes which might produce a temporary effect on the price of bullion; but he considered this uniform and unexampled increase of price, corresponding, as it did, with the increase in quantity of Bank Notes, and the depression of foreign exchanges, as affording a decisive evidence of misconduct in the Directors of the Bank. His lordship illustrated this position by a great variety of calculations and details. He said, that he should propose an amendment to the bill, calculated to give publicity to the proceedings of the Bank, which might operate as a salutary check upon the Directors. He proposed, that the Directors should be obliged to publish quarterly, in the London Gazette, during the period of the restriction, an account of the amount of their notes in circulation on the 25th of each of the three preceding months. By comparing the amount of the notes with the bullion price of silver, and the state of foreign exchange, the public would be enabled to judge at the time, whether the abuse was increasing to any pernicious extent. His lordship concluded by moving a clause in the Committee to this effect.

Lord *Hawkesbury* deemed it unnecessary to follow the noble lord, through the greatest part of what he had advanced, as being partly applicable to the principle of the bill, which was not then under discussion, and as partly foreign from the subject regularly under consideration: there existed, however, a great and an obvious necessity for the present measure: the bill proceeded on similar grounds with that of 1798, and at least an equal necessity existed for the Restriction now as then. The period of the present bill was somewhat different from that of the above year, and was in its nature more definite. He differed from the

noble lord as to the causes assigned by him for the unfavourable state of the Exchange at different periods. He had some serious objections to the adoption of the regulation proposed by the noble lord; first, there was no such provision deemed necessary in any of the former bills which had been enacted on the subject, though any reasons which might now apply for its adoption, obtained at former periods in equal force.—Secondly, as the Bank Directors had never, in the smallest degree, abused the discretionary power vested in them, they were, on the contrary, always most willing to come forward with every necessary information on the subject, and they never shrunk from any inquiry whatever. He additionally objected to the proposition, as it would tend (though perhaps such a thing might not be in the noble lord's contemplation) to reflect upon the Directors, a body who, so far from meriting any reflection upon their conduct, had uniformly discharged the trusts reposed in them with prudence, caution, and circumspection. However, the House would be aware, that in negativing the motion of the noble lord, neither he, nor any other peer, was precluded from coming forward at subsequent periods with motions for specific information upon the subject; and, indeed, such proceedings had taken place, in many instances, on the suggestions of members of both Houses of Parliament. On the whole, he deemed it his duty to oppose the noble lord's motion.

Lord *King* observed, in reply, that if he had not been fully understood by the noble lord, he had no difficulty in distinctly stating, that he imputed blame to the Bank, and it was on this account that he had moved the amendment. He thought that the principle of publicity would be better secured, and the Bank Directors more effectually admonished of the importance of their trust, by a positive parliamentary enactment, than by leaving it to the discretion of any individual peer, who might choose to move for an account of their notes. He wished it to appear upon the face of the bill, that the danger of abuse was foreseen by the legislature, and guarded against by the only expedient of which the case would admit. With respect to the observation, that such a clause was unusual, and that it had not found a place in former bills, he would only say, that it was a principle which militated against all legislative improvements whatever. It was one of those general remarks which applied equally to every new proposition, and was, therefore, undeserving of attention upon any.

Lord *Hawkesbury* contended, that such a consideration was a reason against the adoption of the clause, inasmuch as the omission of the provision in the former bills, was productive of no injurious tendency whatever, nor of any ground of complaint. With respect to the unfavourable state of the course of Exchange at the periods alluded to, it was by no means to be attributed to the issue of paper from the Bank, but in a greater degree to the immense sums which were necessarily sent out of the country at the time for the payment of subsidies, and in consequence of the alarming scarcity which then prevailed.—The clause was negatived.—On the question being put respecting the third reading of the bill,

Lord *Grenville* expressed his opinion, without meaning in the least to resist the progress of the bill, that the passing of such a measure as the present should not be regarded as a matter of course in that House. He should have to offer a few observations, which he thought it incumbent on him to advance, on the occasion of the third reading, respecting the measure, and more especially on points of considerable importance connected with the subject of the bill. He should therefore propose that the bill be read a third time on Monday.—Adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, December 9.

[MINUTES.]—The Speaker acquainted the House, that in obedience to the order of the House made on the 10th of August last, he had transmitted the Vote of Thanks of the House to the different Lords Lieutenant of Counties in Gt. Britain, and to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be by them communicated to the Officers and Privates of the different Corps in the respective parts of the United Empire; and that he had received, through the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, answers expressive of the thanks of the different Corps for the notice which Parliament had been pleased to take of their zeal and exertion.—Mr. Forster, from the Exchequer, presented at the bar an account of the sums of money issued by his Majesty pursuant to addresses of the House, which had not been made good by Parliament. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the Portugal Wine Bonding Bill, which was received, and read a third time and passed.—The Malt Tax Bill, the £5,000,000 Exchequer Bills Bill, the Ex-

piring Laws Bill, the Irish Provisions Bill, Irish Sugar Drawback Bill, English Sugar Drawback Bill, Irish Promissory Note Bill, Curates' Relief Bill, and Irish Oats Distillation Bill, were read a third time, passed, and ordered to the Lords.—The London Dock Bill was read a second time and referred to a Select Committee.—Mr. Secretary Yorke presented at the bar a return of the Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps, as far as the same could be made out, in compliance with an order of the House, dated the 10th of August. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Sir F. Burdett brought up the Pancras Overseer's Bill. Read a first time; ordered to be read a second time.—A new writ was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Sargent, for the election of a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Westloe, in the room of Thomas Smith, Esq. who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

[Army estimates.]—The *Secretary at War* (Mr. Bragge) moved the order of the day that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, and that the Estimates presented by him on a former day be referred thereto.—The House having accordingly resolved itself into a Committee, Mr. Hobhouse in the chair:

The *Secretary at War* rose, and observed, that notwithstanding the magnitude and importance of the subject to which the estimates now under consideration referred, he should not feel it necessary for him to take up much of the time of the Committee in adverting to the different items, or explaining the nature and grounds of the different estimates to which it was his duty to direct their attention. It would be altogether needless to dwell upon the particulars, because the estimates voted last session, comprehended nearly the whole of those now produced, and gentlemen having been familiar with the nature and extent of the former, it was the less incumbent on him to occupy much of their time in his statement and explanation of the latter. He was bound, however, to acquaint the Committee, that the estimates now before them did not comprehend the whole military establishment of the year, because, from the nature and extent of the different services included in it, and the possible variation which might arise from a possible alteration of the circumstances and state of the country, the whole could not with accuracy be ascertained, so as to be produced to Parliament in the shape of an unquestionable document. He could assure them, nevertheless, that whatever estimates were not, or could not, be laid before the House in the present instance, should be submitted to the consideration of Parliament at a more advanced period of the session, when they could be made up with sufficient accuracy. The estimates now before the Committee were classed under ten heads, namely—

	Numbers.	£.	s.	d.
1. Guards, Garrisons, &c.	129,039			
For Great Britain		3,115,456	9	9
For Ireland.		1,161,168	2	11
Total		4,276,624	12	8
2. Forces in the Plantations, &c.....	38,630	1,174,509	16	6
3. India Forces for Great Britain....	22,897	545,628	4	2
4. Troops and Companies for recruiting do. for Great Britain.	533	29,859	14	9
5. Recruiting & Contingencies for Gt. Britain.		180,000	0	0
6. General and Staff Officers, with a state of the particulars of charges		154,647	3	10
7. Embodied Militia and Fencible Infantry for Great Britain.	109,947	2,150,965	10	6
For Ireland.....		640,657	17	0
Total		2,791,623	7	6
8. Clothing for ditto		215,793	14	6
9. Contingencies for ditto for England		50,000	0	0
For Ireland.....		11,129	7	0
Total		61,129	7	0
10. Volunteer Corps for Great Britain....		730,000	0	0
For Ireland.....		1,290,567	13	11
Total		2,020,567	13	11
For Great Britain	301,046	8,346,860	14	0
For Ireland.....		3,103,523	0	10
Deduct for India Forces	22,897	545,628	4	2
Total for Great Britain	278,149	780,232	9	10
Grand Total		10,904,755	10	0

To each of these it would not be necessary for him to advert particularly; and he should, therefore, confine his observations to those items which, in exceeding the correspondent items in the estimates submitted last session to Parliament, seemed to claim a more minute explanation. The first item, therefore, to which he felt it his duty to call the attention of the Committee, related to the force proposed to be voted for guards

and garrisons in the United Kingdom. It would be in the recollection of the House, that the number voted for that service last session, partly in an early part of it, and partly in the month of June, amounted in the whole to 108,901 men. The force now proposed to be voted for that service amounted to 167,669, between which, and the number voted last year, the Committee would perceive there was a difference of 58,768. But the major part of that difference would be made up by the army of reserve, which amounted to 39,467 men. This force was distributed either in augmentation of the old battalions, or in forming eighteen second battalions of 1000 men each, or in sixteen battalions of reserve, consisting of about 750 each. This statement would be sufficient to give the Committee a clear idea of the augmentation, which was proposed to be made to the regular military establishment. The Life Guards were to be augmented by 12,456, the twenty-four Regiments of Dragoons were to be augmented by a proportion, which, in the whole, would amount to 4272 men; and the sixteen Regiments of Foot Guards were to have an augmentation, not exceeding 2000 men in the whole, making an augmentation of about eighteen thousand. This was the only addition that was proposed to be now made to the regular army, with the exception of a small addition of 220 or 230 men to some of the old regiments of the line, and an inconsiderable addition that was to be made to some garrison battalions and fencible regiments, which would not in the whole amount to any material augmentation.—The next head to which it was his duty to call the attention of the Committee, was certainly a large one, he meant the general staff establishment. But when the situation of the country and the circumstances of the essential services rendered by that department, were considered, he trusted it would not appear excessive. The sum at which this service was estimated, was 154,647 l. a sum though large, not extravagant, when it was recollected, that so many brigade officers were found necessary to train the volunteer force of the country. The embodied militia for G. Britain and Ireland, amounted to 109,947. The Reserve Army of Ireland amounted to 9970 men, of which 7055 were to be attched to the old regiments by small additions of 220 and 230 to each battalion The diffrence between that number and the whole force, he allowed, would volunteer into the line. The only addition proposed this year was about 1827 to the dragoon guards on that establishment. The only other head to which he found it necessary to advert particularly related to the Volunteers. He should consider them under two heads, first for G. Britain, next for Ireland. Any calculation under the head of G. Britain, would necessarily be loose and subject to much unavoidable inaccuracy, as it must necessarily depend on so many circumstances, and be regulated by the a tual exigency of the country. He did not pretend, therefore, to submit an exact and accurate estimate of the expense under this head, though it was calculated as nearly as possible on the presumed extent, to which the service of the year might require it to be carried. For the Volunteer Corps, he estimated that a sum of 730,000l. would be necessary, from the 25th of Dec. 1803, to the 25th of Dec. 1804; but it was here necessary for him to state, that as the clothing had been provided for in the expenditure for the present year, that item made no part of the estimate. The estimate had been calculated for the number to which the Volunteer Corps were supposed to amount, but by the account which had been this day presented to the House, it appeared that the actual number far exceeded the supposed strength of the volunteer force. By this account, it appeared, that the Volunteer Corps of G. Britain amounted to 379,943 men. The estimates of the expences of such a body, must necessarily be complex and difficult to be ascertained exactly, as the different rates of pay, according to the different periods of the year at which they came forward, should be taken into the account, as well as the nature of the service, whether permanent, or only for exercise, on which they may be employed. The sum, therefore, at which the estimate was taken, would not appear large, when it was recollected that the number for which it was calculated, was only 320,000. Of the Volunteer force 45,314 served without pay; 42,500 infantry, and 2,500 cavalry. Great part of the clothing had been voted in June, and therefore was not in the estimate: but the allowance of 1s. per day, for 20 days service, for the purpose of training, to such as should accept pay, was estimated at 190,000l.—Agency Officers, and Field Officers, in consequence of the alteration that in each respect had been found necessary in the original regulations, which had been made in June, required an additional expense, which did not, however, exceed 20,000l. This, he was aware, was a loose and rough estimate of the expense that would be necessary, but he was persuaded that it was rather under than over what the service would require.

With regard to Ireland, the state of that country required that the estimates should be higher than in proportion for G. Britain, as well as to provide for services performed, as for those which may hereafter be necessary. The calculation of the numbers of the Volunteers raised in England was under the actual amount; but the estimate for Ireland exceeded the known amount, which was taken at 70,000, but presumed capable of being raised, if the situation of the country should require it, to 80,000l. There was also a considerable difference in the estimate for the two countries, which was unavoidably to be calculated in proportion to the time the volunteers should be called out on actual service. He supposed that the whole of the Irish volunteers would be out four months in the year.—But though the allowance under this head would be larger than the estimate for English corps, he thought, it right to state, that, except in case of invasion, when they should necessarily be employed on actual service, the Irish volunteers received no pay when merely out for exercising, nor when on duty, unless the men should be actually and efficiently present at muster on their parade. He had stated the present volunteer force of Ireland to be 70,000. The estimate, however, had been made, on a supposition that the number could, and would be considerably increased; and he had stated enough, he thought, to shew that the calculation was not excessive. He had now stated all additions proposed to be made to the estimates of last year. He had yet to observe, that there was no estimate respecting a part of the military establishment, which it had been usual to include in the Army Estimates; he meant the foreign corps employed in the service of this country, some of which had already been provided for; and others were now raising in different parts of Europe. The House, he trusted, would excuse him for not stating precisely the amount of the expence of this branch of the service, from the uncertainty of the extent to which it might be carried, and good policy would dictate the carrying it as far as circumstances would allow. Though he could not now lay before the committee the account, he should certainly do so after the recess, and particularly as his Majesty would have to resort to Parliament for the exercise of his prerogative. There was another branch of the military establishment which was usually submitted amongst the other estimates; he had it not in his power to lay before the committee in the present instance, and which he was the more induced to advert to from the question which had been put to him on the subject, on a former night by an hon. Admiral, he alluded to the Barrack department. This department had been unavoidably, from the nature of the situation of the country, carried to a much greater extent than on any former occasion. The expence, however, was not so much incurred for regular barracks, as in providing winter cantonments for the forces on the coast. It was impossible yet to procure such returns as would enable him to lay an accurate estimate before the House, and he was convinced, that the expence would not be deemed improperly incurred, when the House would be aware, that the whole effective force of the country was at present covered by barracks. He should use all possible diligence in making out the account, and though he was not competent at present to bring it forward, he was prepared to give any gentleman who might be desirous of information on the subject, every satisfaction in his power, either with respect to the department itself, or to the contracts which had been entered into respecting it, or any other point to which enquiry might be directed. He should be sorry that forms should preclude any gentleman from seeking information, and he would be happy to communicate any in his power. He had now stated the grounds upon which he should move a vote of the Estimates, which was a subject intimately connected with the most important interests of the empire. He trusted the House would be sensible of the advantage of improving, by every possible means, the disposition which prevailed in the country. Not only the Parliament had called for the exertion of every energy of the country, but the people had manifested an eagerness in the cause, and a desire to employ every energy they possessed, even before they were called. He had thought it his duty thus to state in a plain manner, and he hoped he had succeeded in making himself clearly understood, the nature of the Estimates which he proposed to move. He should now therefore move, the first Resolution.—On the question being put,

Mr. *Windham* began by adverting to the manner in which the business had been opened by the hon. Secretary, which, he said, though very proper at any ordinary time, and though possibly very proper then, was so different from the view which he felt himself compelled to take of the subject, that his observation, he feared, would appear very little to arise out of the statements which the House had just heard. His view of the subject went to the general de-

fence of the country both present and to come. Under that notion, the difficulty was to know where to begin, or how to confine the discussion within such bounds as he should wish to prescribe to it. It was impossible, in the course of such an inquiry, not to bring forward many points that must bear hard upon the hon. gent. opposite. He could not arraign the measures of the time without arraigning the conduct of those, by whom these measures were planned; nor could he suffer his mind to be so engrossed and absorbed, as seemed to be the case with many, by the mere business of defence, as to lose all thought about the conduct and character of those to whom the national affairs were entrusted. This, though in some respects a secondary consideration, inasmuch as it must be founded on proofs to be derived from an examination of their conduct, was, nevertheless, a very important and necessary one, was connected with every part of the subject, and might serve, perhaps, as well as any that could be chosen, to present the subject in that point of view, in which it was most important to consider it. His own general opinion on this head, he could not better describe, than in some lines which gentlemen might have seen on Inn windows and shutters, where the writer, speaking of the faults of men and women, and allowing that many faults belong to men, concludes, most injuriously and ungallantly,

> ——————Poor women have but two;
> There's nothing good they say, and nothing right they do.

These lines, however bad the poetry, and however false the sentiment, in its original application, were, he was sorry to say, perfectly descriptive of his opinion of his Majesty's present ministers. That he might not seem to say this at random, without foundation or proof, he would beg only to take a short view of their conduct, as applicable to the actual state of things. If he were to proceed strictly in this inquiry, though by no means unjustly, he should take up their conduct from the moment of the Treaty of Amiens. It was from that period, according to the opinion of many at the time, according to their own opinion, as declared since, that measures of precaution and defence ought to have begun. They who had declared, that from the moment of the signature of that treaty, the conduct of the enemy was a continued series of *violence*, *insult*, and *aggression*; they whose partisans had told us, that he must be 'nature's fool,' and not the hon. gentleman's, who could ever believe in the durability of that treaty; *they* certainly could refuse to accept the Treaty of Amiens, as the period from which the defence of the country ought to have been a subject never absent from their minds. But as he did not wish to deal hardly with the hon. gentlemen, as it would be mean and niggardly to be sparing of concessions where the materials of charge existed in such abundance, he would be content to date his examination from a much more recent period, and to leave out all the intervening space between the Treaty of Amiens, and the 8th of March, the day on which his Majesty's message was brought to Parliament. He would suppose it to have been perfectly right, that from the moment peace was made, no matter with what circumstances, you were to proceed according to the established rule in such cases, were to reduce your army, dismantle your fleet, dispose of all your stock and implements of war, sell off gun-boats for little more than the value of the old iron, refuse for five guineas men whom you would be happy now to get back for fifty; discharge others, whom you could not get back at all. All this he would conclude to be right, and that, without the observance of these accustomed forms, ministers would never have been able to persuade the country, or to satisfy themselves, that the peace which they had made was a real peace, and not a mere make-believe. He would consider their conduct only during the period subsequent to the 8th of March. The establishments of the country were then happily brought to the standard at which it was proposed they should remain; all the reductions had been completed; no subsequent alteration had taken place; a vote in parliament might have passed, but nothing more: all the means of defence were as much to be re-collected as if the country had never been at war. Giving ministers full credit for the completely defenceless state in which the country then was, he would proceed to consider, what the change was which they had since effected, and what the means which they had possessed for that purpose; so that by a comparison of the means possessed, and the work done, a judgment might be formed as to the degree of blame or merit ascribable to their conduct. And here he would wish to adopt a method, such as was often employed on other subjects, where, when the *quantum* of objects could not be ascertained with exactness, means were resorted to for assigning at least a *maximum* or *minimum*. He had heard, where in the case of exorbitant election charges, in a bill for cockades

for instance, the candidate had offered to pay for all the ribands that could be proved to have been in the shop for the last six months; or where the charge was for liquor, instead of attempting to calculate the number of drinkers, and the average quantity they might severally have drank, he had proposed not only to pay for all that had been in the cellar within a certain time, but *to gauge the House*, and to give credit for all that could have been contained in it, supposing it to have been one entire cistern of liquor from the cellar to the garret. He would pursue a course somewhat similar in estimating the merit of the exertions of the hon. gentlemen. Instead of saying 'so much ought to have been done in recruiting,' so much in completing the militia, so much in procuring defence in other ways,' he would rather beg the House to take a general view of the means possessed by the country, of the manner in which ministers had the disposal of these means, of the time they have had to employ them, and comparing the whole with the result, to determine in their own minds, whether the affairs of the country, in this most critical concern of its defence, had or had not been placed in proper hands. Let the several heads of comparison, as he had enumerated them, be considered more in detail. The means of the country, in its first and greatest article, the basis of all the rest, was a population of fifteen millions: the time, as he had agreed to take it, from the 8th of March, was nine months, three quarters of a year. The wealth of the country was, he must confidently say, for this purpose unlimited. There was nothing that the country was not willing to do in the way of personal service, or to contribute in the way of money. It was long, indeed, before the hon. gent. thought fit to call upon them. Whether it was that they feared to alarm the holders of omnium, according to their own original account, or whether they distrusted the zeal of the country, according to the explanation given of their intentions, in their second edition, when they had had the assistance of a learned commentator (Mr. Sheridan); which ever of these was the case with respect to them, the result of the fact was, that the country was no sooner told of its danger, and summoned to rouse in its defence, than it obeyed the call with an alacrity which the hon. gen lemen have since confessed themselves to have been unprepared for. 'They did not call spirits from the vasty deep,' which refused to answer to their bidding. On the contrary, the hon. gent. had no sooner began to *try* for this zeal, had hardly begun to sink this well, before the national feeling rose so fast upon them, that they found shemselves in danger of being overwhelmed by it, and begged for God's sake to be pulled up again. They no sooner turned this cock than it spurted in their faces. They had nothing to plead, therefore, on the score, that the country did not second their efforts, that it with-held its assistance, that it kept back its milk, as it were: the country was ready to yield its resources to any amount for which they would have declared it necessary to call for them. So far as to the means which they *possessed:* but were the means *employed* inconsiderable, or not abundantly sufficient to prove the improvident management of those who had the administration of them? The money expended for the army of reserve alone, and that too in mere bounties, could not be estimated at less than £1,000,000. For the volunteers, the hon. gent. had just said, that the estimate for the ensuing year must be £700,000; and, therefore, for the year now closed, in which, if some articles were less, others were considerably greater, could not, he conceived, be less than £1,000,000. This, as the sum advanced by government to that object; to which, if he was to add, as undoubtedly he must add, the part contributed by individuals, he certainly should be within the mark, when he stated the whole expense incurred for volunteers at not less than £2,000,000. Here then was a sum of at least £3,000,000 expended in little more than the mere *creation* of a force; and that in a way, for the greater part of it, infinitely more oppressive than if raised by a general tax. What then, they were to ask, was the force *created?* And upon this occasion the statement of the hon. gent. had something very grand and imposing, perfectly in the stile of many statements which were heard in that House. The safety of the country was provided for, it might be said, by a vast mass of armed force amounting to not less than 500,000 men. He was far from sure that the numbers might not even exceed these limits. But, of course, it was not to be supposed, that they were to take this statement merely as it stood in words, without inquiring a little, what this mass, this fabrick consisted of: how much of it was of solid masonry, part of the whole standing force of the country; how much was of a later date and less regular construction; how much might be composed of materials still more recently collected, and more hastily put together, and be liable, in consequence, to various cracks

and settlements; and what portion of it was mere lath and plaster, not distinguishable, perhaps, by the eye, and seeming to be a continuation of the same front, but no more the same with it, in reality, than one of the new temporary barracks, of which they might expect to hear so much soon, was to be considered as a building of the same sort with St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey. It would be found, upon examination, and when this great building came to be regularly surveyed, that a very small part indeed, was regular army; that a large portion of it was militia; that another less considerable part was army of reserve; but that three-fourths of the whole was the mere levy in mass, moulded into the form, and known under the title, of volunteer corps. This is not what would have been understood, at least without explanation, in a report of the force of France, or Austria, or Prussia, or any other military power. Of the two first descriptions of force here enumerated, it was not necessary to say much. The regular army was what they had always known the regular army to be, and never more, than during the whole of the period of the late war. The militia had long been wrought to a high degree of excellence, and was at that time, perhaps, in as great perfection as it was possible for troops to attain, of whom neither officers nor men could have had the benefit of actual service. Of the army of reserve the character must be for some time continually changing, according to their progress in training, and according to the manner in which the men were disposed of, either as selected, and incorporated into old battalions; making however, a very incommodious mixture of men serving upon different tenures; or as put together in battalions by themselves. But in neither way could they be considered, for some time at least, as fit to be classed with the regular troops; nor would it be possible at any time for those so to class them, who refused to admit to the description of a soldier, any man whose engagement of service did not extend to term of life. It would be curious indeed, if those who resisted most pertinaciously, and at the hazard even of having no army, every attempt to change the service of the line from life to term of years, should now find out that soldiers serving both for term of years, and for service within the realm only, were entitled to reckon as part of the regular army. But a great portion of these were, for the present, good for no service either without or within the realm. They were men newly collected together with their pockets full of money, or who had only emptied them by a continued course of intoxication, and had not yet got their grass flesh off, had not got the beer out of their bellies, which they had been swilling for weeks, many of them at the rate of 50 guineas a man. As for those who were left behind in what were called the reserved battalions, they, for the most part, were so left behind and reserved, because no one thought it worth his while to take them, and were of a sort which no time or drilling could ever render serviceable; time indeed, being with many of them the last thing they wanted, as the very objection to be urged was, that they were already past the age of service. The last and most important, certainly the most extensive head of force, was that which comprised the great body of inhabitants to whom arms had been given or promised, the general collection of the volunteer corps. In speaking of these bodies, it was as well perhaps to attempt, though he knew the attempt must be vain, to obviate the misrepresentation, which he was aware, was lying in wait to seize upon every word he should say,

(Hush'd in grim repose expects his evening prey,)

by observing, that what he had to condemn in these institutions was not the individuals, but the system. That in speaking of a body of 400,000 men, he certainly did not mean to say that they were all useless, or worthless, or of a character he knew not what, that was to make them run away at the sight of an enemy. He certainly should not be inclined to say this of any 400,000 men, taken at random from among the inhabitants of this country, and must necessarily be less inclined to say so, of a body which from the manner of its being combined, must contain a greater proportion of the zeal, spirit, and patriotism of the country, than any other of equal numbers taken without rule or selection. To impute therefore to any one a purpose of censuring the volunteers individually, was too childish to be deserving of notice. As little could he intend to say, that the body of volunteers, as at present constituted, were of no use: 400,000 men with arms in their hands, and consisting for the most part of persons within certain ages, could not be so combined, as not to be capable of being useful. All that he meant to say was, that these corps must be for ever unsuited to the sort of service on which it was intended to employ them; and that the methods pursued with them were calculated to render

them as little useful as it was possible for such an assemblage of men to be. The idea was, as had been long foreseen, and long deprecated, to combine these into companies, regiments, and brigades, and to endeavour to make regular soldiers of them. He was of opinion that you never could make regular soldiers of them; and that the attempt to do so was founded in every respect upon false views, both of the nature of those corps and of the military service in general. He grounded his opinion upon circumstances, certainly having nothing injurious in them to the characters of persons acting in volunteer corps. It was no reproach to any one, that he was of an age, or size, or state of health, that did not admit of his performing the duties of a soldier: that he was the father of a family, and could not be spared from the care and superintendance of those who looked to him at every moment as their protector and guide: that he was engaged in a business which he could not leave without ruin, and without ruin to those who depended on him for their support. There was no reproach in all this; but there was a great deal in it, which must prevent corps, consisting for the most part of men so circumstanced, from either performing for any length of time the duties of soldiers employed on service, or from acquiring the expertness and habits by which those duties must be performed. These were truths which would not probably, be much disputed. All the world would agree, that to talk of giving to citizens and householders, ('to resident inhabitants paying scot and lot') to men engaged in professions and callings, who were compelled to live on one spot, were tied down by the care of families, who rejected military controul, were serving without pay, were officered in a great measure by persons of their own description if not of their own choosing,—that to talk of giving to such men the character and qualities of regular soldiers, was the greatest of all absurdities. Yet this which every one would agree in, which no one would be hardy enough to deny, was the utmost that had ever been said, in disparagement, as it was called, of the volunteers. All the rest was a mere military question, by which the volunteers were not at all affected. Once admit that collections of men such as he had just described, were not capable of being formed into regular regiments, that is to say, regiments possessing the properties which were looked for in troops of the line, and it then became a question, to be decided on general military principles, and in which the volunteers were no longer concerned, how far corps of a certain acknowledged inferiority ought to be employed in certain services, or to be placed in certain situations. And here a great mistake seemed to prevail of supposing, that whatever possessed in itself a certain degree of force or strength, must by its addition to any thing of the same description, produce a degree of force more than would be found in either of the parts separately: that strength added to strength would always produce strength. But this was evidently not so. If the addition supposed was not judiciously made, weakness, instead of strength, might be the consequence. No one could doubt that a regiment of four or five hundred men, volunteers or others, must possess some power of annoying an enemy. But was it sure that your line would be strengthened, and your general power of annoying and defeating the enemy be increased by such addition? He would take an example from a profession with which the House and he were, in general, probably less acquainted than they were even with military affairs, but which might happen to be more familiar to them in this particular view. What was the reason that in naval actions, frigates and even fifty gun ships were not suffered to make part of the line? Was it, that fifty gun ships or even frigates were of no force? That their balls did not hit hard? That some of their guns were not even heavier than a part of those which formed the battery of a ship of the line? By no means. It was, he must conclude, because a line of battle at sea was a species of machine, so constructed, as to require a certain proportionate strength in all its parts, the failure of any one of which would draw after it the failure of all the rest. The same was the case with an army. *There* also was a line, and which, as might be collected from the very expression of 'regiments of the line,' could be formed only of troops trained to a certain degree of discipline and regularity. To form it otherwise, to put into the line corps which, from want of experience or instruction, might not maintain the part of the action allotted to them, would not only be to endanger the whole by that particular failure, but might in a thousand other ways, embarrass the operations of an army, and defeat the plans of a commander. Manœuvres must be calculated upon supposed qualifications in the troops and officers, who are to execute them. What must be the situation of a general, if when directing the execution of any pressing service—a hill, suppose, to be occupied, a post to be main-

tained, a wood to be defended, a redoubt to be stormed—in a crisis which left no leisure for deliberation or inquiry he must be comparing the characters of the different corps under his command, and be exposed, at last, to the uncertainties of troops, whose composition was unknown, whose conduct in a day of action was to be tried for the first time, and who, in the mode of service now proposed for them, might involve in their defeat or miscarriage, the discomfiture of the whole army. These were not objections to volunteers in general: so far from it, that he, on the contrary, had always contended for them, to a far greater extent, though on a far less expensive footing than that on which they were now established. His objections went only to volunteers, moulded into the forms, and destined for the sort of service which government had now assigned them. It was government which had given them this most false direction; which by dressing them in red coats had betrayed, at once, the character in which they meant to consider them, and the use they meant to put them to,—a use for which they could never be made fit. This was the point on which he wished to insist. Other objections to the present system he should not now dwell upon; nor consider what might be the future danger arising to the state from bodies of armed men, subject to no regular authority, governed by committees and sub-committees, and having more the character of debating societies than of schools of military discipline. He was considering them merely as part of the defence of the country against a foreign enemy, and in this view he must recall to the attention of the House: first, the immense reduction to be made in our force, when, out of *five* or *six* hundred thousand, *four* were understood not to be soldiers, but only armed inhabitants; and next, when these armed inhabitants were prepared and fashioned in a manner so little judicious, as in the plan now pursued. When to this was added, that by the exemptions given, contrary to the intentions of ministry, and by the mere effect of haste and oversight, numbers had latterly flocked into these corps, as a refuge from other service, and that so large a portion of the active population of the country was thereby locked up, and withdrawn from the service either of the army of reserve or militia, (the regular recruiting was out of the question); he would leave to the House to judge what credit was to be given to the hon. gentlemen on this head of the account. The whole return, the whole force produced by the hon. gentlemen, after three millions expended, and with the command of an unlimited credit, was 1st. 400,000 volunteers, such as he had described, and whose formation operated, as he had described, in respect to the other services; 2dly, a militia, excellent in its kind, but incomplete, and rendered more difficult to be completed by the effect of the measure above referred to; 3dly, twenty, or six and twenty thousand army of reserve; and 4thly and lastly, an addition, (as he should have said) of 5,000, or (as he now understood from the hon. gentlemen) of 7,000 men to the regular army! This was all that the hon. gentlemen had produced at the end of nine months, and as the fruit of all their labour and travail. This was all that the nation had got, in return for its large contributions, its ready sacrifices, its heavy expense, both of patience and money. Five thousand men to the regular army, five pints of reasonably good soup, was the whole that these state-cooks had been able to produce after all their simmerings and boilings, all the hams and chickens, and pounds of beef, which they had melted down, and the bills which they had run up in consequence at the different shops.—Thus far he had gone in considering what a great philosopher of old would have called the *living* instruments of our defence. The *inanimate* instruments must not be overlooked, though he should say but little to all the objects which that class would comprize, such as works, fortresses, preparations by sea and land, every thing that wisdom and foresight could provide or could arrange, towards making the approach of an enemy difficult, or giving force and efficacy to the action of those who were preparing to resist him. In all this he feared a dreadful deficiency. Much as might be wanting in living means, the want of judgment and ability in the application of those means, the want of a presiding mind either to create resources, or to turn to account those already existing, he feared was not less considerable. He would not attempt to enter into a criticism either upon the general distribution of the forces, which so far as it was built upon a system of concentration, or of collecting the force into great masses for the protection of vital parts, he certainly approved, nor would he offer any opinion as to the considerable works going on at Chelmsford and Chatham, having in fact, no opinion to offer. He would touch upon one point only of that sort, and that not so much with a view of stating what he thought

ought to be done, as of remarking on what *was* done, and upon the dreadful weakness and inconclusiveness of many of those reasonings, which governed the conduct of the country, in points where its very existence was at stake. From the northernmost point on the coast of Suffolk, where the protection might be supposed to cease from the shipping at Yarmouth, to a part of the coast of Essex, where a naval defence of another kind might be supposed to begin; (and where he hoped it had at length begun, though, very late in the year it certainly had not made its appearance), there was a line of coast accessible in most weathers, and certainly very commodious for the landing of an enemy in such vessels as those in which they were expected to come. Upon this line he should unquestionably, think it highly advantageous if a defence were provided, formed by the construction of what were known to our officers under the name of Martello Towers, a species of edifice so called from a memorable instance of one at Martello in Corsica; where by a tower of this sort, garrisoned by some ten or half dozen men, and mounted with about two guns, a ship of the line of ours and a frigate, were, during the last war, completely foiled and driven off, though they were able to approach within a quarter of a mile of the object, and though the captain, a most approved officer, would not withdraw from the contest while there was a hope left, nor till he had lost an immense number of his men, and had had his ship twice set on fire. No one would pretend to say, that towers of this sort would not produce a great effect upon an enemy, whoever he might be, that came within the reach of their guns. That they would stop the disembarkation of infantry, he was not prepared to say. On the contrary, he was of opinion that they would not. Great as the loss might be, the enemy, if determined, would still accomplish his object. But would the same be the case with artillery and horses? And would not the slaughter be immense, and the delay most important, were it possible that under such a fire a disembarkation of that sort could after all take place? The objection, therefore, to such defences must resolve itself into the consideration of expense, or into that of the force which it would lock up, and the means which would be furnished to the enemy, should the fortresses in question finally fall into his hands. As to the latter objection, he had clearly stated, what the contents of such towers were, and what the loss would be to those from whom they should be taken, viz. a dozen men at the utmost, and a couple of guns. The value to the enemy would be none; for the guns would never be transportable; and, certainly not the towers; and neither would be of any use to him where they were. But their uselessness to the enemy it was unnecessary to prove, as it was hardly possible that they should fall into his hands. It was of the nature of these small fortresses (quite the reverse of what was the case with redoubts) that they were equally impregnable to cannon and to musquetry, and could not be taken but by such means as the enemy would neither have time nor inclination to employ. The whole question, therefore, was a question of expense: and what would that expense be, incurred once for all, compared with the maintenance of such a living force, (supposing even that we had the force, and could spare it for that purpose,) as would give to any tract of coast the same security which would be derived from the defence in question? Considering the simplicity of the construction of these towers, the little interior fitting they would require, the rude materials of which they might be composed, (the stones made use of for paving London, might serve for the most expensive part,) the facility with which materials would be conveyed for buildings necessarily situated on the edge of the coast, and in its most accessible parts, it is difficult to conceive, that 1000 l. a piece must not be an ample allowance. And thus for a sum of 30,000 l., and with a force of 300 men, thirty miles of coast, in parts the most vulnerable, would be put in a state of security far greater at least than any which they could enjoy without the aid of such precautionary measures. But let the House consider what happened without this. To supply the place of these despised towers, the coast was lined with sea fencibles, armed with pikes, a weapon which had been said, if he recollected right, in some of the circular official papers, to be capable of great effect in the hands of a Briton, fighting for every thing that was dear to him. He wished the House to reflect, what would be the situation of these pikemen, at Aldborough for instance, one of the places, where there was a corps of that sort, and which was situated on the part of the coast to which he had heen alluding. Here was a straight shore with deep water, and a beach, on which in moderate weather vessels might run with confidence, without even shortening sail: and in these circumstances it was supposed, that when vessels should thus arrive, containing each a hundred soldiers, and carrying a four-and-twenty pounder on its bow, men were to stand on the shore with their pike,

and push them off! Was this the idea of a bold Briton? or was it the idea of master Fribble? "Begone, fellow." You might as well suppose, that the enemy was to be kept off by bodkins or knitting-needles. It was certainly not by a force of this sort, that the coast could be defended. The great argument, indeed, was, that it could not be defended at all, and that therefore no defence should be attempted. And here he wished to recall the attention of the House to that sort of loose, vague, inconsiderate style of reasoning, to which he had before alluded, and to which, it was melancholy to think, the very life and being of the state was sometimes entrusted. When a proposal was made, for securing a part of the coast by works, as happened in the case of an hon. friend behind him (Colonel Craufurd) the answer universally made was, that you could not fortify *every* part of the coast; and thence it was meant to be inferred, that it was useless to fortify *any*. But what was the sort of reasoning that could lead to this as a conclusion? In many cases, he was ready to allow, that an argument to that effect would be just. If the question was of shutting mice out of a pantry, the conclusion would be correct, that to stop up one hole was useless, while any other was suffered to remain open. The strength of a chain, according to an old observation, was the strength of the weakest link. To fortify those above it was useless: to add to the strength of those below it might be injurious, as well as useless; because, without adding to the general strength, you might add something to the weight. But were any one to apply that same reasoning to a chain in a figurative sense, to a chain of posts, nothing could be more false and inconclusive. It is not here as in the other case, that the force applied acted through every part. The force acted only on the part to which it was applied; and if that part happened to be the strongest, would be resisted with the power of the strongest. It was true, that if the enemy knew your weak point, and could be sure of carrying his attack there, all that he was arguing against, must be admitted. But would any one maintain, that such was the fact? Was this, what they heard on other occasions? When the danger of invasion was in discussion, how were those laughed to scorn, who seemed to reason upon the idea, that the enemy, once embarked, could say either where he should, or where he should not, touch the land? How much of our confidence was founded, and justly founded, on the uncertainty which belongs to all the enemy's operations, and in the impossibility of his fixing with certainty the point in which his descent must be made? Yet here the tables were suddenly turned; and to attempt to secure any part of the coast, while another was left unguarded, was treated as trifling and childish; because the enemy would be sure to chuse what was weakest, and must be able to guide his armament with perfect precision to the part, whatever it was, that he should chuse. He urged this topic, with a view to expose the sort of reasoning, which was admitted often into concerns of the greatest importance, and might prevail possibly at the present moment in questions more critical and more certain, than that which he had brought forward respecting the coast of Suffolk. There was, in fact, no security any where with persons so wholly unsuited, to the arduous crisis in which they had to act, as the hon. gentlemen. In every part of their system little considerations were mixing themselves with great, so as to spoil the effect of the whole, and prevent its working truly in any of its operations. This was eminently the case in the pecuniary part, where a wild profusion was so combined with a mean parsimony, that it was like the conduct of a man, who in giving a great entertainment with all the dainties of the season, peas at a guinea a quart, should disgrace the whole by a scarcity of clean glasses, or by a coarse and ill-washed tablecloth. With this must be coupled, as it possibly arose out of it, an extraordinary passion for machinery, into which the hon. gents. had been led, partly, as it appeared, by the hope of working cheaper, and partly by that common error, of supposing that a great machine must be calculated to produce a great effect. Their machines were much like that which Hogarth represents, where the wedge, the lever, the axis *in paritrochio*, all the mechanical powers were introduced for the purpose of drawing a cork, an operation which a waiter or butler would perform more effectually, as well as more expeditiously, by a little instrument from his pocket called a cork-screw. It was of the nature of all machinery, that in proportion as the parts were complicated, the movement was likely to be slow; not to mention that if any part should happen to be misplaced, or wanting, or ill-adjusted, the whole must be at a stand. This was very much the case with some of the machines of the hon. gentlemen. In order to keep their expenses out of sight, and to throw as much as possible upon individuals without the intervention of Parliament, they had set up their grand system of lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, lieutenants of division, inspectors of divisions, superintendants of parishes, &c. &c. persons very proper to be appointed, and

to be held in readiness, but very improper for much of the work on which they were employed, namely, that of getting the country into a state of military defence. Of all the instruments to work with for such a purpose, the worst, surely, that could be devised, was that of a deputy lieutenant's meeting. Every one had heard frequently, and almost proverbially, of the slow progress of official business. But at what rate must that business proceed, which had for its office a county? Which, instead of clerks with salaries, amenable to superiors, compellable to a certain attendance, acted by country gentlemen, subject to no authority, who were bound by no especial duty, who might attend as much or as little as they liked, and who might feel possibly that they conferred a favour every time that they attended at all? Offices, too, in which government business was transacted, were open commonly every day, and for many hours each day. But what must be the condition of that office, whose days of attendance were one in a week, and whose office-hours were about three in each of those days? This office was likewise a *corresponding* office: but what must be the activity of that correspondence, where between the letter and its answer there must be an interval always of a week? He took no notice here of the manner in which at such meetings business must necessarily be conducted, where few possibly had given much attention to the object in question, where no one had any right to prescribe to the rest, where many would come more to talk of their own private business or to meet those they were in quest of, than to promote the object in question, where most were impatient to be gone, where all had voices, and, what was possibly not the least evil, where every one had a right to declare that voice at as great length as he thought proper. He would not better illustrate the effects of the system which had thrown business into this course, than by stating what had happened upon the subject of signals. It might have been thought, that the arranging a system of signals, as it must have been among the earliest and most pressing objects of attention, that which, in some sort, was to give effect to every thing else, was the one also which would have been most easily accomplished, and most speedily carried into effect. The mode that had been adopted, was, too, of the most simple kind. A line of stations was to be established along the coast, placed under the direction of persons appointed by the Admiralty, and qualified to collect and to convey, by means of the Admiralty signals, such more detailed intelligence as was necessary for officers appearing off the coast, or commanding at the naval stations; while from this, as from a circumference, other lines were drawn inland, for the mere purpose of giving alarm, or for communicating a few of the more simple results of what had been observed upon the coast. Any one would suppose that this was a work, which would not take long in completing; considering that it was of that sort, which might be going on in all places at once, so that the time necessary for the whole would be no more than what had been required for the latest of the parts; and that in three weeks or a month from the first alarm, that is, from the 8th of March, however much our means of resistance might have been wanting, we should at least not have been liable to see the enemy amongst us without notice of his approach. And so it would have been with any set of persons, who would have done things in a plain way: who would have been content "to draw a cork with a cork-screw." But not so, the savers of money, and the lovers of machinery. By seeking to divide the expense of these signals with the counties, and throwing the business, in consequence, into the train which he had described, the result was (the House would hear it with astonishment) that in some of the maritime counties, immediately exposed to the enemy, and where the attack was most expected, the system of signals, even in those parts of it, which were most essential, and on which the whole depended, was not completed to that very hour. It would naturally be inquired, how this could happen; and the explanation might be given, by stating only what had taken place in the county to which he belonged. When the deputy-lieutenants signified to the lieutenant of division, that stations must be prepared for the reception of the naval officers: the lieutenant of division did not care to stir in the business, till he knew whether the sums which he should advance, would be repaid to him by the deputy lieutenants. The deputy lieutenants on the other hand, were a little shy of engaging for this money, till they should know, whether they could make it good from the county: and, on the part of the county, it was quickly replied, that the lieutenants would look in vain for repayment there: for that the sums in question were no article for a county-rate, and in no county-rate should they be admitted. Here the matter hung for some time, and here it might have hung still longer, if the Deputy Lieutenants, weary of this slow return of correspondence, and impatient of further delay

in a matter so important and urgent, had not resolved to take the risk upon themselves, and to direct the completion of the work, trusting that government would see them finally repaid. This government had engaged to do so; and the county of Norfolk might by that time, perhaps, be in possession of its signals. But by whose fault had it happened, that it was not in possession of them sooner? It must fairly be said, not by the fault of any one. The striking feature of the case was, that with so great a delay and such a succession of persons, no one could be found to whom the delay was imputable. The Lieutenant of Division could not be blamed, for not being willing to advance his money, till he knew by whom he was to be repaid. The Deputy Lieutenants might well have been justified, had they persisted in refusing to the last, to take upon themselves an expense, which they had no means of recovering from the county. The county was well warranted in insisting that their charge was one, which was incurred for the general safety, and which ought to be defrayed by a general tax. The Admiralty were not to blame for delaying to send officers, and commence the expenses of their establishment, till they should know that houses were ready to receive them. But this successive justification of all the parties concerned in the measure, was the most complete condemnation of the system to which it belonged. What must that system of proceedings be, in which, when every party under it had done his duty, nine months could elapse, before the maritime counties were furnished with their establishment of signals? With this example he might safely close his account of the conduct of the hon. gents. as persons fit to direct the energies, and call out the resources of the country, at the present moment. The instance itself, as a circumstance in the situation of the country, was now of no great importance; as it might be hoped, that by this time, or at least in about a month more, the evil was, or would be, at an end, and the maritime counties be prepared with their signals. But it was not so with the state of the army, and of the military force of the country. Here was not only a great misconduct, but a great national evil and danger, present and future. The hon. gentlemen had not only not provided an army, but had brought things to a state, in which, without some great change, it was impossible that an army should be provided. The army of reserve, the only channel of recruiting not yet dry, would soon, possibly, be dry likewise. It had yielded 7000 men: it was doubtful how many more it had to yield. Whatever it gave to the army, was so much in diminution of its own numbers.—How much might continue to ooze in from it, in its decreased and decreasing state, was very uncertain; not to mention the dreadful expense and ruinous example of those successive enrolments—this double bounty. At all events the supply, in this way, had necessarily a termination. It was an artificial, not a natural cascade. As a supply, it must at last run out. When recruits should have entered from this army, equal to the original numbers, the measure was at an end. The army of reserve, therefore, could not be looked upon as a permanent mode of recruiting and reinforcing the army; and, in the mean while, by this and their other measures, ministers had laid the foundation of such difficulties, as would render it nearly impossible that any such mode should be devised in future. The probability was, that after yielding to the army a few more thousands, so much would just remain of the army of reserve, as would be sufficient to preserve the example of this anomalous force, and to make recruiting impossible by contributing, with the militia, to continue the high rate of bounties. In aid of all these mischiefs came the effect of the volunteer system, which, as the hon. gentlemen had managed it, whether by design or by mistake, locked up 400,000 men of the active population of the country. What a blow was here! He was tempted to call out to the hon. gentleman, as the Roman Emperor did to his General, *Redde mihi, Vare, legiones.* Seventy thousand men and more, withdrawn from the supply of the army of reserve, by the militia; and 400,000 men withdrawn from both militia and army of reserve by the volunteers; and the army of reserve, the only source for recruiting the army; with what sort of men, and at what rate of recruiting, was the army likely to be supplied? All this, as a future consideration, the hon. gentlemen thought nothing of.—They had got, or thought they had got (they had in fact got no such thing), what was sufficient for present defence; and, beyond that, they never thought of looking. Defence was their utmost horizon. All beyond was clouds and darkness. But to those, who did not wish to bound their views merely by that consideration, who thought that if the country *was* to exist after the present dangers, it was of some consequence to consider what that existence was to be: to such

persons it would be a matter of anxiety to know, how the country was to proceed without the use of a disposable force, and if such a force should appear necessary or desirable, in what manner it was to be obtained. His ideas upon this subject had long since been declared, and he had not been able, by any subsequent reflexion or inquiry, to get beyond the notions which he had at first formed. His opinion had been, and was, that, as a first step, there should be an universal abolition of the system of substitution. That all commutation for personal service (as commutation there must be), should be made by fixed fine, so as to render government the only recruiter in the market without competition from militia, army of reserve, or any other service. That to meet, and co-operate with the effects of the advantage thus given, service, in the army, should be changed from life to term of years; drafting should be formally abolished; means possibly devised to render service in the West-Indies less frequently necessary; and some other subordinate regulations adopted, calculated to give to the profession of a soldier advantages and attractions, additional to those, not inconsiderable ones, which it already had. With these things done, he was of opinion, that the condition of the country was not so changed, either as to the wealth or inclinations of the lower orders of its inhabitants, as to make it impossible, that, upon a greatly increased population, the army should be recruited as in former times. He was by no means sure, that if these methods had been adopted, at the time when they were first suggested (and still more if they had been adopted at a period somewhat earlier) the army would not have been recruited, and the general defence of the country increased, even at this moment, far beyond what it had been by the boasted measure of the army of reserve. That it would be so in the end, there could not be the smallest doubt. In a comparison of these measures, the same distinction must be observed, as gentlemen, accustomed to planting, knew how to make between a sown and a planted tree: though the latter would have the advantage at the beginning, and it might be, for some few years, it was known which would outstrip the other at the long run.—But should the danger at any moment be such, as not to wait the gradual progress of recruiting, however successful; or should the general success of recruiting, even in the new circumstances proposed, be less than he was willing to imagine, it would be then open to have recourse to compulsory measures; but measures so chosen, (that is to say, of which the abolition of substitution should make part), as to become a powerful *stimulus* to recruiting, instead of presenting any impediment to it. He was as little a friend to compulsory measures, where they could be avoided, as any other gentleman: but he would not court popularity, nor discredit his own judgement by decrying them as unconstitutional. He had shewn, on a former occasion, together with several of his hon. friends; that so far from objecting factiously to any measure of government, or lying in wait to raise a cry against the hon. gentlemen, he was more ready than the hon. gentlemen had seemed to be, to brave that cry, in support of any measure of the sort alluded to, which the circumstances of the times might render necessary.—These were his ideas of the measures to be adopted, for creating that first and most indispensable requisite in the present state of the world, as well for the sake of immediate safety, as with a view to the future condition of the empire,—a regular and disposable military force. Instead of this, the hon. gentlemen seemed by their measures to be looking to any other force, rather than that of a regular army, the augmentation to which was as yet, by their own account, only 7000 men; while by their general conduct they had brought the country to a state, in which, at the end of nine months, a line of cruizers, or (according to the expression of an old poet, whom he did not dare to quote in the original) "a single plank of wood," was all that protected the country, he would not say, from the "grave," but from evils and dangers, of a magnitude not to be described.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke.*—Sir; after the very long, and certainly very entertaining speech, which you have just heard, I fear that I shall neither merit, nor be able to obtain from you and the House, that patience and that attention, which I shall have ample occasion for, in replying to the attacks that the right. hon. gentleman has made on me, and on most of the measures of the present administration. The hon. gent. has quoted a passage of very indifferent poetry, to prove that there is "nothing good we say, and nothing wise we do;" but, in my opinion of the country, and of this House, the present government, if I may judge from the experience of the last session of Parliament, or the actual feelings of the people, has little to apprehend from the opposition of the right hon. gentleman, or the application of what he has quoted. During that session, it must be admitted that we heard many excellent oppositio

speeches (and I should be sorry that the right hon. gent. were deprived of the opportunity of amusing and instructing the House;) but then we had to set off against them some good ministerial votes, the cordial and zealous support of a very great majority of this House. The right hon. gent. has begun by condemning the constitution of the army, considering it as the whole of a military system; and has enforced, with all the eloquence and ingenuity that he is master of, the necessity of a total alteration in it: for considering, he says, the power, the means, and the intentions of France, it is absolutely incumbent on us to effect an entire change in our military system. I need scarcely repeat to the right hon. gent., that peculiarly constituted as the army of this empire is, there is no power, save and except the omnipotence of Parliament, that can operate those changes he so forcibly recommends. The sanction of the legislature must precede the improvements, (if improvements they are) that the right hon. gent. advises. I have no objection to taking the whole of our military system under general consideration, provided that the right hon. gent. will have the prudence to omit the minute details; for, I trust, that every one who hears me will allow, that a Committee of this House is not the best or the fittest place to go into an accurate examination of the merits or defects of such a complicated system. The right hon. gent. has found much cause for disapprobation, in the defenceless and vulnerable state in which some part of the coast has been suffered to remain. In reply to this, I will frankly admit, that it is not in as good a state of defence as it might have been, considering our means and the spirit of the people; but still I shall contend, that it is fully sufficient for the protection of the country, and capable of affording a very serious resistance to any probable effort of the enemy. The right hon. gent. has been particularly severe in his condemnation of two measures of the government, which took place immediately after the signing of the peace of Amiens, the disbanding of the army, and the disarming and dismantling of the navy. I must, Sir, most solemnly protest against the view which the right hon. gent. has taken of those measures, for the true state of the facts will not justify the inferences he has endeavoured to draw from them. At no period of our history was there ever, at the conclusion of a peace, an establishment both naval and military, maintained, that would support any comparison with that voted and sanctioned by this House, subsequent to the ratification of the definitive treaty. Exclusive of that which took place in the cavalry, in which I admit it was considerable, the diminution in the rest of our force, the infantry, I mean, was very trifling indeed; not more than 7,000 men out of the whole of our regular army. The rest of those disbanded were troops whose services were limited, partly consisting of second battalions, who volunteered from the militia, whose time were within a year of expiration, and whose services, for that short time, government, for very cogent and prudential reasons, deemed it adviseable to dispense with. With regard to the numerical enumeration of our force, I can meet the right hon. gent., not only with pleasure but with absolute confidence on that head. I will state, for the information of that right hon. gent., and for the satisfaction of this House, that our regular force has been nearly doubled since last session of Parliament. Instead of 60,000 we have now an effective regular force of 120,000 men. In this number I certainly mean to include the army of reserve, which has been incorporated with the regular army, and which, for every military purpose, is as effective as any regulars, although, perhaps, according to a phrase of the right hon. gentleman's, "they have not yet got the grass out of them." In answer to the right hon. gent.'s objections to the battalions of reserve, I will allow, that although they may not be as good as the others, still I will maintain, that such is the general practice in all, or most, of the great military services of Europe. There is scarcely one of them in which the practice does not prevail of establishing reserved battalions, or battalions of dépot. Such a part of a military system is not unattended with great utility; it is equal to many and very important services, for undertaking garrison duty for instance, and by that means relieving the troops of the line, and adding to the disposeable force of the country. As to the militia, I assert that they are as good as ever. Their number amounts to above 70,000 in England, and to 14,000 in Scotland. They have been inspected and seen under arms by a number of general officers, and they have extorted the applause and approbation of every person of military eminence who has seen them. The volunteers, as I before stated, amount to upwards of 379,000, among which there are 340,000 infantry, with a proportion, and certainly no inconsiderable one, of 17,000 officers. The rest of the volunteer force is made up of cavalry and artillery; and it is this numerous body of men, disciplined almost as well as any equal body of men could be in the time that

the right hon. gent. is pleased to consider as not an effective force. Although, Sir, they may not at the outset be capable of meeting a regular army in line of battle, a ci cumstance, by the bye, not much to be apprehended, or expected in a country like this, yet stil there are many possible contingencies in which they may be eminently useful. By acting on the flanks and rear of the enemy; by making demonstrations; by contributing, with their numbers, to increase to the eye of the enemy, the magnitude of our regular force; on these and similar occasions, they will not prove, as the right hon. gent. has said, an ineffective force, but a formidable and highly efficient one: and whenever the actual struggle comes, whenever they are to contend for their country and their homes, for every thing that is dear to their feelings and to their honour, I am confident that they will all be found to do their duty, and that many of them will enter into the line. As to the right hon. gentleman's objection to their clothing, I must allow that it is a matter of regret, that they have not all adhered to the national colour, and principally because as the departure from it may occasion some confusion. I even am tempted to wish, that they had all adopted the regulation clothing, although that is not of so very much importance, as it is impossible, when acting in large bodies, that an enemy could distinguish the difference at a few hundred yards distance. The right hon. gent., as he conceives, has made a still more serious objection against ministers, for he asserts, that the volunteer system at first made no part of their means of defence. Sir, in reply to this, I will only recal to this House an act which passed in the year 1802, in which, among others, there were express provisions, not only for continuing the old volunteers, but even for accepting new offers. Sir, it must be in the recollection of gentlemen, that such an act was before this House, and that it created no discussion. It was in vain that I wished to call the attention of the House to the whole of our military and volunteer system. The provisions and principles of that bill passed through the House, with little comment, and as little attention. Surely, if there had been any thing vicious in that system, it should have been resisted *in limine*. The General Defence Act, as it is entitled, did not embrace the volunteer system, nor was it meant to supersede it. The proposition for exonerating the parishes, if volunteers should offer to a certain extent, was made with the unanimous concurrence of this House. The whole nation rose as one man, and it was from that cause that the idea of parochial companies was laid aside. Was such an impetuous and gallant disposition on the part of the people, to be rejected by us? Were we to say to them, we won't accept your services, we will resort to our compulsory means? Sir, I need not suggest to the right hon. gent. how culpable, I should almost say, how criminal, government would have been, if they had not availed themselves of the spirit of the people, which we have never endeavoured to repress, as the hon. gent. has charged us with, but which, on the contrary, we have done every thing to promote. As to the state of the arsenals, though that appertains more immediately to the ordnance department, I will assert, that they never were more abundantly provided. Upwards of 400,000 stand of arms have been distributed, and it was the question of arms, and the question of exemptions, which first compelled the government to the determination of restricting the extent of the volunteer-system. I lament, that I possess not the ability to reply to the whole of the ingenious speech, which the right hon. gent. has delivered. With regard to his observation about a directing mind, I, for my own part, will admit, that I am not fortunate enough to possess all the talent that the right hon. gent does; but I will not yield to him, or any man, in the disposition to serve the country with zeal, and, I trust, with effect. We, Sir, will do right, if we can, and while we do so, we will expect the support of the country. With regard to the principle of fortifying, although that is the exclusive province of the Board of Ordnance, yet I shall make a few observations on that branch of our military system. I entirely coincide with the idea, that security is our best economy; and I will candidly allow, that in my opinion, that part of our system has been too much neglected; and it is on that account, that the plan which was submitted to Parliament, so far back as the year 1786, had not been adopted. Not that I think, consisting as the population of this country does of a brave and gallant race of men, surrounded by the sea, and encircled by a navy the most numerous, enterprizing, and well-appointed of any in the world, that we have any occasion to resort to a very extensive plan of that species of defence. As to the Martello towers, which the right hon. gent. has recommended so strongly, and the advantages of which he has illustrated so clearly by an instance which I shall not attempt to dispute, I will say that their establishment depends upon the opinion of military officers,

and, if adviseable, most certainly should be adopted, wherever they are practicable. To the objections which the right hon. gent has made to the particular mode of employing the Sea Fencibles, I will observe, that it is intended that some further arrangements, with respect to that branch of the national defence should be made in this session. Constituted as they are, even at this moment, they are eminently useful. They are competent to the manning of the gun-boats, and in that capacity, I am convinced, would be more than a match for any force of the same kind that France could send against us. Indeed, I think I shoul not say too much, if I hazarded the assertion that they would be able to beat all its boasted flotillas. The right hon. gent. has said much about adopting a compulsory system of recruiting the army, by a novel and rather extraordinary mode of putting an end to the volunteer system. I do not know, at least I have not made up my mind to say, whether the kind of compulsion the right hon. gent. recommends, be strictly constitutional or not. I know that it is within the omnipotence of Parliament to ordain it; but I much doubt that the army could ever be efficiently recruiting by adopting the system of fining, and employing the revenue drawn therefrom in the manner the right hon. gent. has suggested. Much less do I approve of the practice resorted to on former occasions, I mean; that of allowing individuals to raise regiments. The bad effects of that system have been felt from experience, and it has not been thought adviseable to recur to it again. I think there is but one more of the right hon. gentleman's suaggestions, which it is necessary for me to advert to, and that is, the recommendation of enlisting for a certain term of years. To this there is one insuperable objection, and that is, that it could not be done without disorganizing the whole of our military system; for it must be extended to the whole of the army, or it would inevitably produce jealousies and dissatisfaction, that might prove fatal to that strict discipline and prompt obedience and alacrity, without which an army is nothing. I am aware that such a practice prevailed in the Austrian service, and I know that it was one of the greatest defects in it. Let any man only consider the consequence that would attend the adoption of such a system, particularly if a number of troops were ordered abroad, whose period of service was nearly expired, and who possibly might have a claim to be discharged before they could arrive half way to the place of their destination. I am sure when the right hon. gent. reflects a little upon what he has thus recommended, he will have good sense enough to perceive the utter impracticability of it, and candour enough to acknowledge it. I have thus, as far as I am able, replied to every observation of the right hon. gent. which I have conceived to be material. I regret that I have been obliged to trespass so long upon the patience of gentlemen, and that they have been so ill repaid for the attention they have afforded me.

Mr. *Pitt.*—It is not my intention at present, Sir, to follow the example of my right hon. friend, (Mr. Windham) in taking that detailed and comprehensive view of the subject before the Committee; neither is it my intention to go into any retrospective discussion of the measures of government, nor to inquire whether the extraordinary means with which they were entrusted before the last prorogation of parliament, have been exercised with sufficient vigour and ability. Considering the danger with which the country was threatened as not yet past, convinced that the crisis still impends, and that still we have further efforts to exert, and further precautions to adopt, in order to enable us to meet it, I am anxious to direct your attention only to such points as are peculiarly urgent, and on which delay would be inconvenient, if not dangerous; and to suggest prospectively, the consideration of those objects which are immediately connected with the public security. I am still less inclined at present to examine all the questions that might be included in the resolutions presented to the Committee, opening a wide field of discussion of the conduct of government and the state of our defence. I wish to confine myself particularly to what is more directly before us—the nature, the amount, and the proposed management of the military force of the country. I am the more anxious to do this, as I have the misfortune to differ fundamentally from my right hon. friend, with regard to what should be the nature of that force to which we ought to look as a permanent source of safety throughout the whole of this contest, however long may be its duration. No man thinks more highly than I do of the importance of a regular military force, or of the regular force of this country. No man is more convinced that the excellence of regular military forces is unattainable in the same degree by any species of force which can be employed; but, in the last session of Parliament, I professed an opinion, which I still maintain, that there are other kinds of force to which, as subsidiary

to the regular force, and as composing a safe and efficient system of national defence, it is wise and proper to resort. Parliament itself, by sanctioning and regulating the volunteer system, adopted this principle; and if in the execution of that system, government have adhered to the policy which Parliament approved, and to the provisions it enacted, they must stand acquitted of all blame. On that subject, however, other parts of their conduct may be liable to censure. I was formerly, and still am of opinion, that to a regular army alone, however superior, however excellent, that to the regular army, even aided by the militia, we ought not solely to trust; but that in a moment so eventful, in a crisis so full of danger, in a contest so singular in its character, and which perhaps may be tedious in its duration, we ought to superadd to the regular army some permanent system of national defence, either to a certain degree compulsory, or formed upon the voluntary zeal and patriotism of the country itself. This ought to be resorted to as the grand source of domestic security. The army must be the rallying point; the army must furnish example, must afford instruction, must give us the principles on which that national system of defence must be formed, and by which the volunteer forces of this country, though, in a military view inferior to a regular army, would, fighting on their own soil, for every thing dear to individuals and important to a state, be invincible. Looking at the nature and probable turns of the contest in which we are engaged, I wish to see that system of defence employed, not merely for domestic security, but so matured and regulated, as not only to carry the volunteer corps to as high a degree of perfection as such bodies can be carried, but also to enable us to use the regular army in its full extent, in any way which circumstances might point out as eligible, either for annoying the enemy where they are assailable by our separate efforts, or on a large scale, should a prospect open for contributing to the deliverance of Europe from the oppression under which it groans, and for the reduction of that ambitious power, by which the peace of the world is disturbed. —Contemplating all these great and important objects, I cannot but rejoice that the volunteer system has been formed. I see nothing to complain of government for the extent to which it has been carried; neither do I complain that it has fallen short of what we could wish or expect. I wish only that in the provisions which were enacted, with regard to its extent, the numbers had been allotted with some relation to the local position and peculiar danger of the different parts of the country; I only wish that when it was fixed generally, that the volunteer force might be six times the number of the militia, a greater proportion had been assigned, or a facility had been reserved, of increasing it in the maritime counties; or in those most vulnerable and most exposed to the first attacks of the enemy. I am sorry that a different distribution was not adopted with reference to the grand object of resisting and repelling the attempt of invasion, in the first moment it should be made. I am confirmed by the opinions of much better judges than I can pretend to be of such a matter, that a much smaller force would be sufficient to harass or defeat the enemy on their first landing, than a much larger force, after they had landed and recovered from the effects of their voyage. Both, therefore, with regard to the economy of money, but with regard to a much more important economy—that of lives, it would have been desirable that the number of volunteers should have been increased and encouraged in proportion to the proximity to the coast, and to those points which are most liable to attacks. Such a distribution as to the means of defence would be more effectual, and much more desirable, on account of the object. Although the force as now allotted, might and would, when put in motion, be adequate to defeat the enemy's attempt, yet it would be painful to think that any progress should be made in the invasion of this country, and if the volunteers from the more distant parts should at last arrive to take their share in the victory, yet the greater the force that could immediately be brought to act, the sooner would the enemy be subdued, and the less should we have to regret the loss and the disgrace of our enemy fixing himself in the heart of our territory. But, on the other hand, wishing that no effort should be unemployed, that no means of safety should be neglected, I am desirous that while we make provision for meeting the enemy the moment he touches the British soil, prepared to repel him from our shores, to charge him as soon as he ascends the beach, we ought likewise to be ready, in case of necessity, to meet him with fresh armies, to overpower him with fresh armies, and even if it should be requisite, to bring army after army against him till he was finally discomfited. I, therefore, do not condemn the volunteer system, in the interior, in the utmost extent to which it has been carried: all I mean to say is, that it was calculated to be of great utility, and might have admitted a greater extension in those districts on which must fall the first

struggle for the independence of the country.—Having said so much on the volunteer system in general, I come now to consider by what means it may be rendered not merely a nominal force, not a pompous display to alarm the enemy with the multitude we can draw out against them, not merely a number of men upon paper, but an efficient and permanent force, always improving, always approaching nearer to the perfection of a regular military establishment.—As far as I can perceive from the estimates submitted to the House, and from the opening of the hon. gent., no provision is made for introducing any improvement into the volunteer system, or from securing greater benefits from it than we now obtain, or even for maintaining and securing those we already enjoy. Yet, with as much enthusiastic ardour for the volunteer institution, with as much admiration of the spirit and patriotism from which it sprung, as any man can boast, I must say that from all that I have seen, and all that I have heard from those most capable of observing and of judging, it does not appear to me that we should be doing justice to ourselves, that we should wisely and effectually avail ourselves of the means of safety within our reach, if we hesitated or delayed to render the volunteer system, what it is susceptible of being made, a system of solid, permanent defence, a source of great and extensive national energy.—Upon this part of the subject, I am afraid I must totally disagree with my right hon. friend. So far am I from thinking that there has been any fault in endeavouring to introduce too much system into the volunteer institution, and to bring it near to the discipline and qualifications of a regular army; that I think too little has been done to promote what I consider a most desirable object. I cannot agree with him, that the men who compose the volunteer corps would be most usefully employed as a mass. If that were the case, all that would be necessary would be enrolment, arms, and previous appointment of leaders. Even these, combined with the spirit and zeal of the brave people of this country might be ultimately sufficient to ensure us victory, but they would conquer amidst greater disadvantages, and at a greater expense. It was the object of the legislature, in the measures adopted last session for the public defence, to assist and to regulate the spirit and zeal of the country, and by the help and system of discipline and instruction to enable a smaller number to do that which a much larger number would hardly effect without them; to enable them finally to prevail over the assault of a foreign invader, with less expenditure of their own lives, and with less peril to the country.—From what I have observed, and from what I have heard of the state of the discipline of the Volunteers, I am more and more convinced, that in order to bring them to any considerable degree of discipline, they must be assembled in bodies, and that if they continue in companies they will make but little comparative progress. It seems desirable, therefore, that, wherever it can be done, they should be formed into battalions. When that cannot be done, they ought to be formed and brought together into as numerous connected bodies as circumstances will permit, so as to have the benefit of inspection and discipline. It appears to me extremely desirable, therefore, that every battalion of volunteers should, in addition to its own officers, have the assistance of two officers of the service, one a field officer and one an adjutant, to assist in the instruction and discipline of the corps. These officers should be considered as belonging to the army, and should in every respect enjoy their rank, pay, and other advantages, as if they were actually serving in the army. The expense of this arrangement would be considerable; but from what I know of the great superiority which a battalion, with the benefit of such officers, has over one trained under their own officers without such assistance, though with the utmost zeal and diligence, I am satisfied that the expense would be abundantly compensated by the perfection which the corps would attain. I do not know what the expense of allowing two officers of the description I have mentioned would be. At present I see no provision made for such an object. Neither do I know what proportion there is between the volunteer corps formed prior to the 3d Aug. and subsequent to that period; nor how many adjutants are allowed agreeably to the regulations now existing upon the subject. I should imagine, however, upon a conjectural view of the matter, that the whole expense of a field officer and adjutant for every battalion would not exceed 160,000 or 180,000l. a year. Now this expense surely is trifling in comparison with rendering 350,000 an efficient and improving force. If the expenditure of such a sum were to contribute so materially to the efficiency of the volunteer force, no gentleman could hesitate to purchase, at so cheap a rate, this permanent and solid source of public security.—I confess, however, that though I consider this arrangement as of the first importance to the discipline and perfection of the volunteer corps, some farther regulations will be necessary, in order

to obtain the full benefit we desire. Even all the service which experienced officers could render, would be inadequate, if the number of days which the volunteers are by law required to drill, were to continue so limited as it is at present. I understand that the number of volunteers existing previous to the 3d Aug. is 40,000. Where pay is allowed to those accepted and embodied, since that period, it is allowed only for 20 days. All are agreed that this is not sufficient. Even government seem to be aware of this, for the condition of which one adjutant is allowed, is that the corps shall drill 84 days. But, surely, it is unreasonable to expect that these corps, which are to receive pay only for 20 days, shall drill 84, in order to entitle themselves to the advantages of an adjutant. Probably it would be right that some change in particulars should take place, and that the number of days in a year required for drill should be from 40 to 50 or perhaps 60 the first year, and 40 after. These, however, are points of detail to be afterwards considered, and do not affect the general principle of the measure I have thought it my duty to suggest to the committee.—If then it were deemed adviseable, as I have proposed, to increase the number of days for drill, and to allow pay for that additional number, 30 or 40 shillings more for each man would be required. The whole expense for officers and for additional pay, on the principles above stated, would probably not exceed 500,000l. per annum; but if it had the effect to render your volunteers an efficient force, and to form them into a subsidiary army, constantly improving in discipline, I am satisfied that it would be found the cheapest part of our military establishment.—If it should be necessary to detach the regular army on any foreign service, if the enemy were to effect a landing in Ireland, and should a large proportion of the regular army be required to expel them from that part of the empire, we could, without putting too much to hazard, rely on the discipline as well as courage of a national force so constituted. That it may be necessary to send a large proportion of the army on such service, we may judge by the experience we have had how near the enemy, notwithstanding the vigilance and the superiority of our fleets, were effecting a landing in Ireland: and it is our duty to be prepared not only to guard against such accidents, but to avail ourselves of any favourable opportunity of turning our arms to the annoyance of the foe. No man relies more on the valour of Englishmen than I do, or estimates more highly what it is able to perform; but respectable as the volunteers are, I should consider it rash and hazardous to trust solely to their exertions, constituted as they now are, should any emergency arise to oblige us to detach a great part of the regular army. I believe, however, that there is scarce a man who does not concur in thinking, that if any favourable opportunity were to arrive of carrying the war to the continent, if any prospect were to appear of rousing the spirit and supporting the exertions of those states that now bend in abject submission to the despotism of France; if we could rekindle any hope of effecting the deliverance of Europe from the yoke under which it groans; in such objects the army of this country might be most usefully employed; in such undertakings it might gloriously co-operate. Circumstances may arise in which, perhaps, we might aid in various continental operations. Perhaps our arms might be instrumental in delivering his Majesty's electoral dominions from the grinding dominion of France; perhaps they might concur in wresting Holland from the same yoke, and might replace that system of Europe, at least in many points essential to our own safety, which the enemy has overthrown. Is it not of the utmost importance then, to prepare to act with vigour and with effect, when these or similar opportunities present themselves? And if we have the means in our power of establishing a system adequate to domestic security, and calculated to enable us to exert our strength in offensive operations, every man must admit that 500,000l. is a small expense compared with such signal advantages.—I own, therefore, that if these ideas are agreeable to the sense of the committee, I should rejoice to see them speedily carried into execution, that we may the sooner reap the fruits of them. We have now gone through that part of the year, in which the danger of an attack on our own shores was most likely to take place; and when the ports of Holland are locked by the season, there seems to be less probability of the attempt of invasion being made upon England for some months. We should not, however, act as if the danger were wholly blown over, and the attempt wholly abandoned. We should in this interval diligently apply ourselves to complete our means of defence, so that in the spring we may command every species of security, which the resources of the country are calculated to afford. If it be the opinion of the House, that officers should be assigned to the different volunteer battalions, the sooner it is done the better, that they may have time to form acquaintance with

the officers with whom they would have to act, and the men they would have to command, before the season for military operation returns. I should wish, therefore, that even this night, at least before the recess, the House should pass a vote for carrying this object into effect. I am the more urgent for this, because it appears to be the only object connected with the Estimates that calls for our immediate attention. Other points may be reserved for future discussion, but if Parliament separates without making provision for the expenses which the objects I have pointed out will require, there will be no opportunity of making up for the time which must thus be lost in carrying the plan into execution.—But even in addition to this improvement on the volunteer system, it will be necessary, in order to give it due effect, that it should be accompanied with some new regulations of detail, the purpose of which will be to keep up the number of the volunteers to their full amount, to ensure punctuality of attendance, to promote steadiness, attention, and soldierly habits, and, though without putting the corps under martial law, provide for that obedience and discipline requisite to form the military character. Looking forward, as I am afraid we must, to the long duration of the present contest, it is of the utmost importance to prepare a system of defence, which will be commensurate to the necessity of our situation, and adequate to every purpose, both of defensive and offensive war. We have already seen what exertions, what sacrifices, the people of this country are ready to make, under the guidance of parliament, under the impulse of zeal for its honour and independence, under a sense of the danger with which they are threatened. This zeal and this spirit, prompting such generous and unanimous efforts, may perhaps induce the enemy to abandon the project which he has presumptuously conceived and rashly proclaimed. Perhaps, after viewing us on every side after reconnoitring our position, he may be forced virtually to admit that we are unassailable. Perhaps, he may apparently abandon his designs; but we must not suffer ourselves to be lulled into a fatal security. We must not relax our efforts, or intermit our preparations, while any measure of wise precaution remains to be adopted. We must take care that the enemy shall not do, by surprize, what he finds he cannot do when he has given us warning. Indeed we are not to expect that after the force of the country has been let down, the enemy will always be so confident and so indiscreet as to give us ten months previous notice of the attack which he meditates. If, upon the apparent abandonment of the project of invasion, the people of this country were to indulge themselves in congratulation on their escape, there is some danger that the spirit which has proved our safety would subside, and these efforts be relaxed. The volunteer system might thus moulder away. It is necessary, therefore, to give it that consistency and vigour which will keep it alive when the pressure which first produced it has subsided. Thus, even were the enemy suddenly to resume his design, we should be found prepared to meet and to defeat the enterprize.—It is the duty of the House, therefore, to devise means for attaining this end. The House, thinking for the people and providing for their welfare, will adopt suitable measures; to give permanent system to this measure of defence, instead of trusting that the spirit of the people will supersede the duties of the government. Let us be on our guard that no temporary or apparent abandonment of the meditated attack shall induce us to disarm. It would be advisable, that whenever the volunteers become too few in any district, the compulsory act of last session for calling out and disciplining the people, should be put in force. Care must be taken likewise that the volunteers shall fulfil the intention of the legislature in their efficiency as well as number. Regulations must be established by summary fines to secure attendance, and provisions made for enforcing discipline and inducing military habits. Exemptions should not be allowed but where these conditions are complied with, and no person should be allowed to withdraw from a corps without permission of the commander, or without finding a substitute of proper military age. These points I merely hint at, as they are matters of detail that may be afterwards discussed, and are less pressing than those to which I have particularly called the immediate attention of the Committee. If I am right, however, in my general ideas respecting the allowance of officers to volunteer corps, the execution of this measure admits of no delay. I am strongly inclined, therefore, to move a resolution for granting 500,000l for this object.—Before I sit down, I wish to say a few words respecting the exemptions to which volunteers are entitled. It appears that what is understood to be the law on this subject is not what the legislature intended. As the law stands, however, no exemption is allowed unless the person claiming it produces a certificate that he has attended 24 drills previous to the 21st of Sept. But there are many who have attended twice that number

of drills without having such a certificate, and therefore would be subject to the ballot. If any doubt remains as to the exemptions, it is but right that the legislature should pass an act clearing it up, that those who were influenced by the prospect of exemptions, which they conceived were held out to them, may not have cause to complain that they were deceived by the ambiguity of the acts of parliament. There is another point. The law says, that to entitle to exemption the volunteers claiming it must have been exercised with arms; yet in some places it was impossible to procure arms; nor am I surprised at it, considering the great and sudden demand for supplying the Army of Reserve and the great number of volunteers throughout the country. Yet, in such cases, it surely would be unreasonable to refuse the exemption when the claimants had actually learnt many very important, and perhaps some of the most tedious parts of discipline without arms. It surely would be hard, then, that people in this situation should be liable, to the ballot during the Christmas holidays, when by the spirit of the Acts of Parliament, they ought perhaps, in preference to others, to be exempted. — These few observations I have thought it my duty to submit to the Committee, feeling a most anxious wish to avoid every topic that could interfere with the consideration of what is necessary to the public defence, and at the same time desirous to direct your attention to those points most essential to it. The subject of the Sea Fencibles has been alluded to, and I think has been misunderstood by my Right Hon. Friend. Upon this head I may be allowed to speak with some confidence, as, from local situation, I have had an opportunity of examining it with care. If the sea fencibles were composed of men liable to serve in the navy, the objections to it would be well founded; but this is not the case. They are composed of seafaring men, it is true, but chiefly pilots and others, obliged, not merely by their own pursuits, but by their importance to the commercial interests of their country, to remain at the places of their residence. These men are intended to man the boats which have been prepared for the defence of the coast, and only armed with pikes in situations where they could not act with any other weapons. Indeed, I wish that the Admiralty had displayed more diligence in preparing those vessels which the sea fencibles were intended to man. This species of force will, I am confident, be found of the utmost utility in case of any attempt to invade our shores, and will evince the same superiority over the flotillas of France, which the other branches of our navy have evinced over the maritime force of the enemy; and when brought to trial will neither disappoint the hopes, nor lower the character of the country.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* observed, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) had urged the necessity of voting more money than was now proposed for the service of the volunteers, in order to make them, as he advised, more perfect, by means of the addition of a field officer and an adjutant; and he had stated his conviction, that this would have a very good effect. He wished with the right hon. gent. that this important force should be made as complete as the nature of it was capable, consistently at the same time with necessary economy. But he could not help observing on that subject, that time would be necessary to consider this matter before it should be adopted. In all the corps adjutants were allowed pay; but it could not be contended that they should be allowed pay for the whole year, if they had to attend only 84 days, as stated by the right hon. gent., and government should not rashly run into this sort of expense. The last act of Parliament made upon this subject provides, that the volunteer corps should be subject to such regulations as his Majesty should think fit to make, and the compulsory clause in the act for calling out the mass, might be referred to as occasion should require. He observed, that although 20 days pay was to be allowed to those who had been trained for 20 days, yet they were not to be allowed it unless they had been trained and exercised on the Sunday preceding. And most of the volunteer corps had been exercised 40 and 50 days, and many of them much more. Now, all the volunteer corps had not only adjutants upon their establishment, but they were entitled to pay, yet they were not entitled to pay until called out; and upon the principle of economy, he did not think that government would be justified in granting them permanent pay, unless their attention to the station was permanent. It could not be expected that they should receive pay for the whole year, for 84 days, any more than for 40 or for 20 days. He thought, however, that what was stated by the right hon. gent. deserved great consideration. He said he wished to be careful of incurring great expense: he did not say it was an expense that ought not to be incurred, although the price was stated to be 500,000l. It certainly was not absolutely necessary to be voted to-night, because the present resolution proposed to the Committee, if adopted as it stood, would

not preclude the other from being adopted afterwards; for it might be voted at any time, as a sum of money on account of the volunteer service, and that, if necessary, might be very easily granted; but that would be improper now, not only because it was not clear that the plan was eligible, although he did not say it was not, but also because the expense of the volunteer corps, as it stands at present, is not yet well ascertained; for these reasons he should hope that the right hon. gent. would not persist in this plan for the present. With regard to the advice of the right hon. gent. with respect to the maritime counties, that they should have a larger proportion of volunteers than the inland counties, it had been already adopted, he did not know whether to the full extent or in exact proportion that they ought to be in each particular instance, but certainly to a very considerable extent. In Devonshire, for instance, there were not less than 12,000, exclusive of Plymouth and the Dock. The same might be said of Portsmouth. As to Kent, there was a difference of opinion; it appeared, however, that from 10 to 11,000 had been raised there, beside those of the Cinque Ports, some of which were in Sussex, as the Committee knew, but in all they amounted to 5,000 men; so that the volunteers in the county of Kent were not less than 15,000 men. This, he apprehended, would shew the Committee that the maritime counties in the south of the island had been allowed to raise volunteers, in a manner suitable to the distinction stated by the right hon. gent. So again in the counties of Cumberland and Durham, and those that extended to that part of the coast, there was a greater number of volunteers raised than in other counties; not that the inland counties were scanty, but the maritime counties were abundant in the number of volunteers.—Now, on the subject of exemptions, it was a subject on which he should not enter into detail: there had been doubts entertained, and these doubts arose out of the act of Parliament; some of which doubts, he could not help saying, were occasioned by those who had not read the bill. Some of these points he had stated.—However, if these doubts were so considerable as he apprehended them to be, it would be proper, even before the recess, that a bill should be brought in to remove those doubts. He then proceeded to explain what he understood to be the operation of the army of reserve, as it bore on the subject alluded to, by those who had already spoken, and then repeated, that as he understood a considerable number of gentlemen wished to have the matter of exemption of the volunteer corps better explained than it is at present, he should propose to bring in a bill for that purpose, and observed, that he should propose it before the recess; for he thought it essential to remove doubts upon that subject.

Mr. *Windham* explained what he meant in that part of his speech which adverted to sea fencibles, to refer only to the places in which they were to be employed: all he wanted was, that they should be employed in proper places, and for proper purposes.

Mr. *T. Grenville* was surprised that his right hon. friend and relation (Mr. Pitt) had thought it was only expedient at this time, to take a prospective view of public affairs; he considered the present as the natural and fit occasion, not only for examining the military arrangements which government proposed prospectively to adopt, but also for examining what use ministers had made of those powers, which, in a former session, were entrusted to them by Parliament. He did not think any thing said by the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Yorke) such an answer to the objection of his right hon. friend as to have called on him, or any other of those who embraced his sentiments, to make any observations on the present occasion, had it not been from what fell from his right hon. relation (Mr. Pitt). With every wish to agree in any opinion expressed by that right hon. relative, he could not bring his mind to concur in the sentiments which had fallen from him that night. He thought his right hon. friend had taken a contracted view of the subject. No evidence was before the House of the volunteers being at all in a state of becoming effective. How then could it be argued, that they could ever become so completely effective as to prove a substitute for our regular army? It was not, perhaps, common to give an account to the House of the amount of the regular army. It was easy, however, for any gentleman, comparing the statement of the Sec. of State with the other known branches of our military establishment, to know what that force actually was. The whole was stated by the Sec. at War to amount to 120,000. By subtracting the militia we could at once see the amount of our regular force. The militia was 70,000, which being deducted from the whole regular force, as stated by gentlemen themselves, there remained 50,000. In this number, it was necessary to observe, the army of reserve was comprehended. Was it possible, then, to conceive that such was the force of the regular army of this country?—But he did not wish to stand on any small ground of objection. It was known pretty well what was the

state of our regular force in March last, at the commencement of hostilities. The inadequate state of our military preparation, he at that time thought a charge of a serious nature against government. But, if it was then regarded as a crime, that the regular force of this country only amounted to 20 or 25,000, what were we to think of the energy or exertion of that government, which, in the space of eight months, during which every nerve ought to have been stretched to render our situation more suitable to the danger which threatened us, had increased that force only from 8 to 10,000 men; and who had, in the mean-time, been compelling every man to enter into a military service of a different nature, to the destruction of that service, which it was their bounden duty to encourage and support. He had heard from his right hon. relation, that doubts were entertained as to the exemption from the army of reserve in favour of volunteers, and he was still more surprised to hear from a right hon. gent, in administration, that such exemption actually existed. He knew that, in the part of the country with which he was best acquainted, the greater part of the volunteers had been enrolled under the express explanation that they were liable to the ballots under the existing acts. It was only represented to them, that as every person must serve, it might be more agreeable to them to serve in their own particular district, or in any particular corps, than to be drafted into the general levy. This exemption was the very cause of the deficiency of the army of reserve; it seemed, therefore, rather remarkable that it should be conferred on persons enrolled under the express understanding that they were not to be entitled to it. Thus were we destroying our regular establishment, and putting the death-blow to that force which had lately gained such laurels to themselves and to their country! While we pretended to be inviting continental alliances, we were depriving ourselves of the means of profiting by them. The army of reserve he could not view as equal to the militia. They were subject to be drafted into other corps, and therefore their officers could never feel that military pride in them which was indispensable in an effective force. The discouragements, too, which the extraordinary bounties given in the army of reserve must have thrown on the recruiting for the regulars, was beyond calculation; and the army of reserve being raised by such immense bounties, must interfere with the recruiting in the regular army; and, besides this, he conceived the army of reserve and those of the regulars to be a very improper mixture, for this reason, that one man who had received a bounty of 8l. or 10l. and who was bound to go to any part of the world, and to continue in the service for life, would have another by his side who had received 50l. bounty, and who was not bound to go out of this island, nor to continue his services longer than the present war. The one of these would naturally laugh at the other. With regard to the act for regulating volunteers, it was so defective, that many very cruel hardships were felt by volunteers. He stated the case of some volunteers who had exercised sixteen days without arms. The lord lieutenant advised them not to train any more until they had arms; for that otherwise they would lose the benefit of the act, which required that they should have been trained with arms for a part of this time. They accordingly desisted for the four days waiting for arms, but they got none. In the mean-time, they were ballotted in for the militia, and when they claimed their exemption as volunteers, they could not be exempted: thus they lost their exemptions, not by any act of their own, but by the act of government. This shewed the absolute necessity of revising this act. Mr. Grenville concluded by observing, that if government do not take some means to place the regular army of the country upon an effective system, instead of applying themselves to the increase of the volunteer force, much as he respected those corps, yet he must feel the House would not do its duty if it rested contented with a force merely to assist a regular army at home.

Lord *Castlereagh*.—I perfectly concur in the opinion, with which the right hon. gent. who spoke last (Mr. Grenville) has opened his speech; "that the present is the natural and fit occasion, not only for examining the military arrangement, which government proposes prospectively to adopt, but also for examining what use ministers have made of those powers which, in a former session, were entrusted to them by Parliament;" nor should I be disposed to complain that another right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) should have questioned upon the present occasion the policy of that system of measures, to which the sanction of Parliament was formerly given, did not the review which he has taken of that system, appear to me not so much calculated to guide our policy hereafter, as most unjustly to depreciate and disparage the various efforts, which the country has made for its security, and to deny to all, except the troops enlisted for general service, the share of merit and

value which fairly belongs to them in a military point of view.—In examining the use government has made of the powers vested in them by Parliament, I am perfectly prepared to admit, that more ample means were never afforded to any former ministers; that no former occasion called for equal exertions; and, that in no period of our history had the government a people more willing to answer every call upon their exertions, or one more eager to make every sacrifice for the public safety I think it is but fair, that the conduct of government should be tried, as the right hon. gent. has proposed, with reference to the time they have had to act, to the means afforded them, and to the temper of the country, under which those means were to be employed. But, before I state shortly to the Committee what the King's ministers have accomplished for the defence of the country since Parliament last separated, I am anxious to rescue the military system, then decided upon from two imputations, which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) appears to me very unjustly to have thrown upon it.—The first is, "that the measure of the army of reserve and the high bounties resulting therefrom, have essentially crippled, if not destroyed, the recruiting of men for general service," in considering which, the right hon. gent. recurs to his former suggestion of balloting men for general service, denying to persons so balloted the option of serving by substitutes. I am not disposed at present to argue the expediency of a measure of such extreme rigour. I wish only now to state what has been the effect upon the recruiting service of that measure, which he so much condemns. It appears, that out of 35,000 men, already raised for the army of reserve, 7,500 have entered for general service. It is to be observed, that this number has entered in a period of less than two months, the enlisting having commenced only in the beginning of Oct. and having been suspended, with a view to the better discipline of this force, since the 1st. Dec. The hon. gent. will therefore find, that this measure, which he describes as so fatal to the recruiting service, has in the short space of two months produced nearly as many men for general service as had been obtained in the preceding year, by the ordinary mode of recruiting, even at that period, when neither the militia nor the army of reserve were in progress. —The right hon. gent. very naturally conceives, that the high bounty must have altogether suspended the ordinary mode of recruiting; but here again experience is preferable to theory, and we find, that although the number of recruits so raised has been of late diminished, as I understand, about one-third, yet it has by no means had the effect, at least not in the extent which has been attributed to it by the right hon. gent. of injuring the ordinary recruiting service. —The next material objection urged against the system, is with respect to the volunteers. After depreciating the efficiency of that important branch of our public force, and giving the preference to an armed peasantry, unorganised and undisciplined, it is said, that the present force is not only bad in itself, but that it locks up a large proportion of our military population, and deprives us of their services for many more useful purposes. —This objection I must positively deny. The exemptions granted to the volunteers, without doubt, make the ballot both for the militia and the army of reserve fall more severely upon persons not enrolled in these corps; and as we know that, in point of fact, few ballotted men ever serve in person, it certainly operates as an increase of tax upon those who are not thus enrolled; but in what shape can this be said to lock up any part of our population, so as to interfere with their becoming regular soldiers? Is there any thing to prevent a man serving in a volunteer corps from entering into the militia, or the regular army? Is it not, on the contrary, an ascertained fact, that any description of military service ripens and prepares the feelings of men for one more extended? It must then appear evident, that however it may shift the question of expense, in providing substitutes, from one class of the community to another, yet, so far from narrowing the amount of substitutes to be procured, it has the directly contrary effect, inasmuch as it cannot fail to infuse a military spirit into many men, whose minds would never otherwise have received the same direction.—Having, I trust, removed the main objections that have been urged against the system itself, I wish to state to the Committee what has been the result of it, as administered by his Majesty's minsters, and to afford them a general outline of the means of defence that have already been provided, under the heads of army, navy, and ordnance.—In stating the present military force, it appears most satisfactory, to combine the whole number, of every description, at present subsisting in Great-Britain and Ireland. The gross force naturally divides itself into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description

there are at present in Great-Britain and in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, 130,000 men; and in Ireland, 50.000 men, making in the whole 180,000 rank and file. The right hon. gent. who spoke last (Mr. Grenville) seems to have been impressed with an idea that, of this force, but a very small proportion was disposeable for general service, and he attempted to prove to the committee, that we had not the means, if a favourable opportunity presented itself for offensive operations, of furnishing an adequate force for that purpose. To prove this, he supposed the militia quite complete, and deducting the whole number to which that force may by law be carried, he thereby diminishes the real amount of the disposeable force.—I can, however, have no objection to state distinctly the actual composition of the 180,000 rank and file, of which the army of the United Kingdom at home at present consists. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great-Britain and Ireland amount to 84,000 men; the regular force to 96,000, of which 27,000 are for limited service, and 69,000 at this moment disposeble for general service, in whatever proportion circumstances may render it prudent so to apply them.—The next great feature of our military strength is the volunteer force, of which there are at present in Great-Britain, accepted and arrayed, 340,000 men, and in Ireland 70,000, making a total of 410,000 rank and file in the United Kingdom, to which must be added, as connected with our defence on shore, though also applicable to service afloat, the sea fencibles, exceeding 25,000 men. The gross force of rank and file, at present on foot, is therefore as follows: army in the field 180,000; volunteers 410,000; sea fencibles 25,000; total rank and file 615,000, adding thereto officers, non-commissioned officers and drummers. The gross force in Great-Britain and Ireland (exclusive of various other auxiliary means of defence) amounts to not less than 700,000 men, and with respect to the more regular part of this army, namely, that which is kept constantly in the field, it may be considered as applicable, without any deduction, to meet the enemy, as it will be relieved by the other descriptions of force from those detailed services which in general occasion so serious a deduction from the fighting men of an army, whilst the efficiency of the volunteer corps is such as may fully qualify them, if the occasion should require it, not only to co-operate, in their due proportion, with the regular army, but to be brought into the line immediately opposed to the enemy.—I am aware it may be said, that but a proportion of this force is at present armed. Whatever delicacy may usually belong to subjects of this nature, I feel no disposition, and see no reason why I should conceal from the country, in this or in any other respect, its true situation. Of the force in Ireland, consisting of 120,000 men, the whole is armed, and means are provided for arming, without delay, a still greater number of volunteers. Of the 495,000 men at present in Great-Britain, there are armed as follows: Army in the field 130,000, volunteers 220,000, sea fencibles 25,000—375,000. Remaining to be armed with muskets 120,000—495,000.—Of the latter, however, a very considerable number are at this moment provisionally armed with pikes, nearly 80,000 having been already issued from the ordnance. It is further to be remarked, that although the distribution of arms has been, in the first instance, directed, so as to complete the corps of the metropolis, and the counties on the coast, there has been issued, at the same time, such a proportion of arms to the corps of the interior, as was deemed sufficient for the purposes of immediate instruction, and arrangements have been made, which will enable the government to arm from the larger depôts of arms still unissued, and which are daily augmenting, whatever proportion of this force it may be found expedient, under any emergency, to assemble for service.—Such is the present state of our army; that of our navy is not less calculated to inspire confidence, and to ensure the public safety, as far as security can be accomplished by naval means. Without entering into a minute detail of the several classes of ships, of which that navy is at this moment composed, enough to state to the Committee, that the number of ships of war at present amounts to 469, and that in aid of the regular navy, and for the purposes of coast defence, an armed flotilla, to the extent of 800 craft of all descriptions, is nearly completed, and further surveys are in progress for extending that number.—It must be gratifying to perceive the voluntary exertions of the country displayed not less strongly in the naval than in the land defence, and although the exertions of other portions of the community, too numerous to admit of specification, are equally to be admired, it is impossible not to allude to the dis-

tinguished example which has been given upon the present occasion by the East-India company, and the corporation of the Trinity House: 20 armed ships have been furnished for the public service by the former, and 10 frigates have been manned by the latter for the defence of the Thames, which, in aid of its other ample naval defences, may be considered as rendering that important part of our frontier, absolutely impenetrable.—When the committee reflect on the naval means which the country at this moment possesses, and when they compare them with any means of annoyance which the enemy can command, although it can never induce them to trust the protection of the country exclusively to that description of force, which must depend in some degree upon an uncertain element for its means of acting, yet they must feel that they have every thing to hope, as the enemy have every thing to dread, from the exertions of our navy.—It would be injustice not to notice, with the praise that belongs to it, the distinguished share which the ordnance department has borne in the execution of the present armament. In the habits of providing for a military system upon a scale altogether dissimilar to that upon which the wisdom of Parliament has thought it expedient at present to act, the ordnance has been prepared to meet, almost at the outset of the war, the unparalleled demands that have been made upon it. Since the commencement of hostilities, there have been issued by the ordnance 312,000 muskets, 16,000 pistols, and 77,000 pikes, reserving in store such an amount of arms, as, in the event of a campaign, may be sufficient to meet the waste on service of so extended an army, whilst measures have been taken, which will enable it, at no distant period, completely to arm the whole of the volunteers.—The field train, which was fully adequate in the last war to the force then employed, is, in Great-Britain alone, already increased from 346 to 648 pieces of ordnance, completely appointed, and brigaded under experienced officers. The horses attached to the same have been increased from 3,300 to 5,900, and the drivers from 1,400 to 3,000. The quantity of moveable ammunition with each gun has also been nearly doubled. The made-up ammunition for small arms, both distributed and in store, has been increased even in a greater degree, and the general provision of stores in all the other branches is equally abundant. Corresponding exertions have been made for the service of Ireland.—I have thus detailed to the Committee the actual state of defence, in which the country has been placed, during the first seven months of the war. Looking to the aggregate, in army, navy, and ordnance, I venture to put it to the feelings of the Committee, whether his Majesty's ministers have slept upon their post or failed in their duty to the public. I am not disposed to contrast what has been done with the result of any former exertions made in any former war, for I am perfectly ready to admit that the exigency is as unexampled as the facilities of every description which the government has experienced from the nation; but I am desirous of putting it fairly to the Committee (admitting the extent of our resources, and the disposition to place them at the disposal of government, which perhaps never existed in an equal degree at any former period) whether they have not been called forth with diligence, with rapidity, and with effect. I may, without presumption, speak with the less reserve upon this subject, as the department entrusted to my care, although it subjects me to an equal share of responsibility with the rest of my colleagues, entitles me certainly to no participation in the praise which belongs to the successful execution of these measures. I have therefore felt myself called upon, in justice towards the persons who preside, at this important crisis, over the great military departments of the King's government, to state what I have done, and thereby to discharge a debt of gratitude, which I owe to them, in common with the country.—Having said thus much on the past military system and measures of the King's government, I should not satisfy either my own feelings or discharge the duty which I owe to the public, if I did not express those sentiments with respect to the future, which are deeply impressed on my own mind; and, first, as to the improvement of the force now in existence, and in particular, of the volunteers. Although unprepared at this moment to express any opinion upon the detailed suggestions, which have fallen from my right hon. friend (Mr Pitt) yet I have no hesitation in concurring with him as a general principle, in the expediency of improving, as far as may be consistent with a reasonable attention to economy, the discipline and efficiency of these corps. I also concur entirely with my right hon. friend in opinion, that it is not the apparent abandonment by the enemy of their menaces of invasion, or even the failure

of any attempt which they may make upon our coast, which should induce us to relax in the vigilance and exertions, to which alone, in times like these, the safety of the country can in prudence be entrusted. Were even a peace, of that description, which in wisdom we ought to conclude, within our immediate reach (and that such a peace may yet be very remote, who will be so so sanguine as to deny?) we have seen enough of the temper and spirit of the councils which pervade the rest of Europe; we have had such experience of the age in which we live, as can leave us no alternative in true wisdom, but to place the security of these realms, in peace as in war, upon such a basis of internal strength, as shall for ever lay the question of invasion at rest. To such a system alone can we look for the preservation of peace itself. The liberties which have descended to us from our ancestors, and the unexampled and accumulating prosperity which has crowned our own labours and industry, whilst they furnish us with the most ample means of providing for the public safety, have already drawn, and will continue to draw upon us the jealousy and malignity of the enemy. Feelings of this nature can only be met and controuled by demonstrating to him, that our strength, whether in peace or in war, is such, as to render his views hopeless. He may then perhaps learn to respect what he cannot hope to destroy. He may be the more disposed to leave us at peace, when he is taught how little he can effect in war. Whatever may be the exertions, and whatever may be the sacrifices connected with such a course of policy, these the sound sense and persevering character of the British nation will, I am confident, prepare them chearfully to encounter. They will, for their own tranquillity, as well as for their own safety, determine to be no less distinguished in arms, than in commerce and in freedom. The public safety must henceforward be confidedto the manly energies of the country; and we may then hope that the British oak will continue to flourish for ages to come, a proud monument, that as a nation we have had the virtue to defend those blessings, which under the favour of Providence we so eminently enjoy.

Mr. *Fox*.—I do not rise, Sir, to enter into a discussion of all the points that have this night been touched upon in the course of the debate; they are all, no doubt, of high importance, and deserve a distinct and full consideration. But I shall now abstain, as much as possible, from every topic that is not necessarily connected with the subject more immediately before the Committee. I shall first, however, make a few observations on the gloomy presages, the melancholy descriptions with which the noble lord who just sat down, has thought proper to conclude his speech. The noble lord has stated, that, in his opinion, the present war is likely to have a long continuance, and every body knows how much of the wishes and designs of men enter into the composition of their opinions; however, he has argued, as if the expenditure of the country must be increased, just in proportion to the degree of prosperity which it may at any time enjoy, and, that our prosperity renders it necessary for us to become a military nation; in a word, that the present military arrangements are to be permanent, and that they are to "grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength," with all the expense and incumbrances that accompany them. Of this, according to the noble lord, our prosperity is the cause; if so then, our prosperity is productive of a great misfortune; but, I shall not dwell longer on this singular opinion, farther than to say, that it holds out a very afflicting prospect to the country. A right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) has stated, that we should not mix any other consideration with the business of this night, and that we are not to advert to the past, but to take care for the future, and vote the supply, without adverting to the use that has been made of former grants for a similar purpose. But I am not of the same opinion with that right hon. gent., that a retrospect of the past does not form as properly the subject for examination on this day, as any speculation upon or provision for the future; indeed, I do not see how the latter is to be justly considered, if we put out of our view all recollection of the former. If we determine to forget the past we literally determine not to profit by experience; but, as I said before, I shall not take the right hon. gentleman's advice. The noble lord has reviewed the conduct of his colleagues since the last session, but I shall go farther back. I shall refer to the proceedings of ministers at the time the measures which have been commented upon this evening were proposed and discussed. The right hon. gentlemen say this night, in reply to the arguments of the right hon. gent. on the same bench with me (Mr. Windham), with which arguments I most perfectly concur, that their system was at the period I allude to approved of by Parliament. But even so, is that a fit objection to the disapprobation now expressed of that

system. Since that system originated, the House has had the advantage of experience to judge of its nature and effects, and is that experience in its favour? How shall we form any fair opinion of it but from that experience; and yet the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) would, if his opposition to any retrospect were attended to, entirely preclude us from consulting that criterion. In all points of legislation, it is our obvious duty to consider the mode in which the laws are to be executed; but, in the point which relates to the system now under discussion, this manner of execution is the principal thing. We have heard that the machinery of this system was bad, and certainly, in my opinion, nothing could be worse, except the views which induced the proposition of it. And shall it then be said, that although the machinery has been found, from universal experience, to be so very exceptionable, the system is still to go on, truly, because Parliament, in the course of last session, approved of it; but the period which has since elapsed, has proved that it is not calculated to promote the object ministers profess to have in view, namely, the vigorous prosecution of the war. These remarks I mean principally to apply to the system of the volunteers, which forms the most prominent feature in the present debate, and the question with respect to which has been put on very fair grounds by the right hon. gent. on the same bench with me, (Mr. Windham) and with all whose sentiments on the subject I entirely agree. That right hon. gent. stated, that he considered that in the present crisis the defence of the country would be better consulted, and the attack of the enemy better provided for, by the increase of our regular land force, than by the embodying of so many volunteers. He also stated, that the volunteers were rather so many men with-held from our effective force, than so many added to it. He did not, however, say any such thing as that which was ascribed to him by the noble lord, that the regulars were the only army which he would recommend to be raised in the present situation of affairs, but that the description of troops he would propose to be added to the regular army, would be very different from that which the volunteer system had collected. That the patriotic feeling and the martial ardour which the volunteers have manifested entitled them to the highest praise, no man could doubt; but the sentiment of the right hon gent. and mine also is, that this ardour might be much better directed and much better employed in another way. How differently, however, does this right hon. gent. and the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) consider this institution, and the manner in which it may and ought to be used for the public safety. Though the views of both are distinct, yet both agree in thinking the volunteers, according to their present constitution, exceedingly imperfect. The right hon. gent. on the same bench with me does not deny that, even as they now stand, they may be useful, but maintains that a greater degree of utility might be derived from the same men under a different system; that they are not an adequate substitute for the regular army, nor fit to act with them. The right hon. gent. under the gallery considers the volunteers as laying the foundation of a future military association, upon which the country might be able to rely for its defence, in case it should become advisable, in the course of the war, to send all our disposable force out of the country. What! men who, according to the letter of the act, are only required to submit to twenty days discipline in the course of the year, in order to exempt them from being ballotted for the militia, and to shelter them from regular service and martial law, to be reckoned upon as likely to become, in any reasonable time, qualified to supply the place of a regular army, and to have the safety of the country committed to their protection! Really I do not fully understand the meaning of the right hon. gent. on this point. It seems to be his view, that the volunteers are hereafter to be converted into something like a disposable regular force. Such a thing is not within the contemplation of the bill upon which the volunteer system is grounded. I certainly do not so understand it; and I am fully sure that the members of the volunteer associations do not by any means so understand it. I should wish to know the sentiments of his Majesty's ministers upon this question. Last session it was understood that the volunteers were to be drilled only on Sundays, in order that the progress of their discipline should not interfere with their respective avocations. This is a collateral circumstance, but is yet material to the point in view; because, if it were the object of the framers of the bill to make the volunteers, within any reasonable time, convertible into an efficient force, they undoubtedly would, as they ought, to have prescribed that much more time should be devoted to the learning of military discipline; in fact, that no time should be lost. But, according to the original principle of the bill, the volunteers were not in any case to go into the army, that is, to enter into

the regular regiments as regular soldiers. I agree with the right hon. gent. under the gallery, that the volunteers should be allowed pay for such days as they are called upon to attend drill, for it would be extremely unfair to admit the idea, that industrious men of family should be expected, from patriotism, to devote so much of their time to military service for the public good, without any pecuniary compensation; although I cannot comprehend clearly, and where I can comprehend cannot approve, the other remarks he made upon the subject. I should be glad, indeed, to hear in what light those remarks are regarded by ministers, by whom the generality of the observations of the right hon. gent. on the same bench with me (Mr. Windham) seem to be quite misconceived; and I am the more anxious that those observations should be clearly represented, as they happen to be so expressive of the opinions that I myself hold. The right hon. gent. did not say, as the noble lord stated and argued upon, that the volunteers formed a force that was locked up from the public use; but that many of those who might have composed the necessary increase of the regular army were locked up in the institution; and so they are, by the exemptions which volunteers enjoyed from being balloted for the militia or the army of reserve. This was the complaint of the right hon. gent, and it is mine Another right hon. gent. on the same bench with me (Mr. T. Grenville) has observed, that no recruits are likely to enter into the army from the volunteer corps. It does not appear to me desirable that such a thing should be sought for. I hope it can never be in the contemplation of any man to use any compulsion for such purpose, towards those who have entered into volunteer corps, under the express understanding which the bill contains. The honour of the country, and the character of the legislature, forbid it. I trust that in no event will an attempt be made to seduce the volunteers to enlist, because such an attempt would be a violation of the terms upon which they became volunteers: and I am pretty sure that no man has entered into those associations, under the idea that he was at any time to be transferred to a regular regiment; and, from the rank in life which the generality of the volunteers hold, any effort to recruit the army from among them would be attended with very inconsiderable success, if any. Indeed, I do not at all like the idea, as it is inconsistent with the nature of the engagements as they understood it upon entering into the volunteer corps. Whatever I may think of the institution, I wish the members of it to be treated with the utmost respect and attention, as I most sincerely applaud the zeal by which they are actuated; but I can never persuade myself to believe that they are ever likely to answer the expectations of the right hon. gent. under the gallery, even if they were to be drilled 50 days in the year, as the right hon. gent. desired. In what time, I would ask, considering the ordinary habits of the volunteer corps, would they be capable of filling the place which the right hon. gent. would assign them? Certainly not in the next year or the following. Would it be prudent to place the safety of the country under the protection, at any time of war, of a body of volunteers not subject to martial law, nor inured to military discipline? If the rumour of invasion, which, by the by, I never thought so likely to be attempted, and if attempted not so practicable as most people seem to imagine, were to blow over, would the right hon. gent. under the gallery, or any other gentleman, venture to advise the sending of our regular army on any foreign expedition, and depend entirely on the volunteers for our safety against any attack of the enemy on our coast? If in such a case invasion should be actually undertaken, there would, I think, be serious ground for apprehension and alarm. From these considerations I deduce an opinion correspondent to that of the right hon gent. on the same bench with me, that the machinery of the volunteer system is bad; and that the present system is never likely to produce such a force, even with the aid of that right hon. gentlegentleman's (Mr. Pitt) utmost ability, as he professes to entertain a hope of. I am persuaded that the volunteers will not answer to act with the regular army in the field of battle, opposed to the enemy's troops, as they are at present constructed, nor to form the ground work of such a force as the right hon. gent. under the gallery has alluded to. I should have no objection to a general armament of the people under any circumstances when the country was in danger. But the volunteers, in the light which I view them, cannot be considered as an arming of the people. If they are to be so considered they are in numbers quite too weak; but if they are to be regarded as the foundation of a future army, as the right hon. gent. under the gallery has hinted, they are too large. For the latter purpose 400,000 men would be too much, and for the former one million of men would not be very considerable. Therefore, in either case, the volunteer system is unsuitable. It struck me, as somewhat strange,

in the noble lord's description of the forces of the country, that he never stated the precise amount of the regular army, as contradistinguished to the militia. Why this was not told, I cannot say; but no doubt it was not, because they were so numerous that they could not be counted. The volunteers seemed to be the favourite subject of the noble lord's description, enumeration, and praise. No doubt the volunteers themselves are justly entitled to applause; but I must say, that the character of the country is not advanced by the frequent repetition of such applause. What, was the House to feel so much elated as if it were matter of wonder that when the country was declared in danger, the people of England were emulous to step forward and defend their homes against a French invader? In such a crisis they had stood forth as was to be expected, and in such numbers that ministers thought proper to resist their increase, and yet they were not likely to afford all the utility of which, otherwise constituted, they would have been capable; what a melancholy reflection!—— Among the other objections of the right hon. gent. on the same bench with me, is that which he professed to the manner of the volunteer clothing, an objection of which I also approve; and by those who have commented upon it, I think it has been put on a very wrong footing. I do not like giving men red coats merely to give them the appearance of soldiers, without the material ingredients necessary to form such characters. When I hear ministers talking of the propriety of dressing the volunteers in military uniforms, I ask, do they mean merely that the French troops should take them for soldiers? As masked batteries are used in war, perhaps you mean to fight the French in masquerade? or do you mean to hold out the volunteers as mere targets to be fired at? You might make use of them in various other ways, but you destroy their utility by attempting to make them soldiers. No man will think me apt to favour any system opposite to civil liberty; but yet I cannot help saying, that nothing appears to me more absurd than the idea of making men effective soldiers for the resistance or attack of an effective regular army, without martial law or military discipline. By this project of the volunteers you send men to impede the movements of your regular force, which men might be employed most usefully to annoy the enemy in various ways, to protect the villages, in fact, by other means to defend the invaded against the invader; but the battle in the field with the troops of the invader must be fought by your regular army; and victory to our arms, in such a contest will, I hope and trust, ever be the result. The prospect of victory to us, indeed, is strengthened by the various advantages which always present themselves to the invaded country. Upon these advantages, independently of the gallantry of our regular troops, we reckon with just grounds of confidence, if we could look to the active assistance of an armed peasantry; but where are they to be found—they are absorbed in the volunteers! What I would wish is, to see all men in their proper places, the soldier in the army, the peasant in the country, and the people throughout in that situation where they could be employed each in his proper department.—It may be observed, that it is inconsistent in me, who last year approved of the reduction of the regular army, now to call for its increase; but the times, it is to be recollected, are somewhat different; we were last year at peace, and whether I may be considered "nature's fool," or the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, I certainly did think that peace would continue; and at the commencement of the war, I stated very fully the reasons why, I thought it might with proper management, and ought to be preserved; but if I was "nature's fool" in thinking the peace of Amiens likely to continue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer certainly took a great deal of pains, gave many flattering descriptions, and used all the arguments in his power to confirm me in my folly. Under the influence, therefore, of that folly, I recommended the decrease of our armed force at the commencement of the last sessions.—With the hope expressed by the right hon. gent. under the gallery, I heartily join, that we shall not long confine ourselves to mere defensive war; that so soon as circumstances favour the project, we shall proceed upon vigorous offensive war; that we shall not always limit our glory to the mere security of our own country; and that we shall not suffer ourselves, according to the old observation, to "be swallowed up in the channel." But what description of offensive operations does the right hon. gent. deem practicable with the present construction of our armed force? If ever the invasion of Ireland were attempted by the enemy, and that they actually landed a considerable force, would he feel it safe to send any material proportion of our regular army to that country, leaving England to the defence of the Volunteers? I for myself should deprecate any such idea. I beg to be understood distinctly as meaning no disrespect whatever, in what I have observed, to the individuals who compose the Volunteer Corps, who are

deserving, I am confident, of all the regard I feel for their motives. I nevertheless think, that no abilities can possibly turn the Volunteer Corps into a regular army. Now we recommend another mode: augment your regular army. In other cases, when men are compelled to do something in haste, they don't reason like our Ministers. When you want something done in a hurry, you don't set about teaching the whole art or science. If you wanted to take a servant with you abroad, and would teach him a few words of a foreign language, that he might know how to order your supper, or take care of your horses, or enquire his way—suppose it was the Latin language—would you give him two or three ordinary words, such as bread, beer, &c. or send him to Eton to learn his *propria quæ maribus?* Those who know me, know that I have a very great respect for the study of Grammar, and that is certainly the way to make a man a scholar, though not to teach him readily to do a few necessary things. Now, what are you doing? What is the first thing for a soldier? Why to aim and fire. But you are tutoring men into all the punctilios of the parade, making them hold up their bodies and turn out their toes, all proper enough when there is time for it. Remember, that if the Volunteers are wanted in Dec. or Jan. so they were in Aug. or Sept. But, in September, when we were told to expect the French, how many of them had never fired a gun (the case with great numbers of the English peasantry, &c.) and still fewer knew how to clean it, and to take care of it? That was your case then. But if Ministers were so miserably ill prepared in Aug. last, I confess I am obliged to suspect they now are proportionably so. You have been teaching the Volunteers a variety of matters that some of the best writers on military affairs (Marshal Saxe for example) consider as trifles—evolutions which had better be avoided in action. We say the Volunteers compose a main part of our national defence, and that they consist of the greater part of the young and active men. Now I want this description of persons for two other purposes; first for the regular army, and secondly for the armed nation, not for a sort of half army, that you are to put on the top of a hill, to frighten the enemy if he should dare to land. An hon. friend of mine (Mr. Sheridan) at a late public meeting, did me the honour to compliment me as being a private in one of these Corps. No doubt his motive was kind in toasting my name as a private in the Chertsey Corps; but I am obliged to decline the honour he intended me, for this plain reason, that I never was a private in that Corps; nor will I become one in any Corps, because I will not undertake a situation, the duties of which I am not competent to perform; my age disqualifies me for it; I could not endure the fatigues of a soldier's life; though, I must confess, I have seen many gentlemen worse looking than myself, parading in the utmost pomp of military array. It may be said that the influence of example ought to be considered, and probably, from that consideration, most of his Majesty's Ministers have become Volunteers. But, what kind of example are they likely to give? Why, if the French should invade this country, they would immediately desert; for they must either desert their offices or the Volunteer Corps, and it is easy to judge what choice thy would make. No doubt they would, previous to their desertion, apologise to the Corps they might belong to, that a necessary attendance at their ministerial duties obliged them to depart. And what would be the effect of such apologies on the different Corps? Why this, that it would be a precedent to justify the desertion of every other Volunteer, who could assign any plausible reason of pressing business, &c. I see no good example, nor any public spirit in such things. This vaunted influence of example, however, is quite of a piece with the theatrical, ostentatious foppery of the Volunteer system, which seems only fit for nothing but to be put on the top of a hill to be looked at.—It is quite a different kind of thing when a gentleman puts himself at the head of any Corps, where he can be of use. For instance, the right hon. gent. who opened the debate (Mr. Windham), is, I find, a Volunteer Officer in his own county, where, from local circumstances, he probably may be of more use than any other person, or in any other way.—As to the affair of the exemptions, it is the crudest thing I ever heard of. I thought I could see a great deal of regret in the Sec. of State's speech on that point. But his reason is truly curious. He says, 'Why did not you all tell me of it? It's all your own fault. You were all placed here to watch me, and you said nothing.' A great number of Volunteers, as has been observed, were enrolled without any exemption whatever. There were several parishes, where people entered into subscriptions to provide for the Army of Reserve. Substitutes have risen to an enormous price, frequently to £50. Parishes cannot get them. Poor men, who never were Volunteers, who cannot afford it, are too old, or perhaps infirm, insure; by and by, comes another ballot, till the parish pays off its whole debt, as the

case is in many parishes in the county where I live.—As to the arms: the ordnance, it is said, had as many as could be expected. I am not quite of that opinion; it might have been so in former times, but in a modern view of the business, I say, with the foresight Ministers say they had of the designs of the enemy, it ought to have been better stored. They concluded their peace would not last; we, who were "Natures fools" and mere idiots, could not know that. But did they provide for war? My credulity must be greater than they thought it, before I can bring myself to believe it. But did they think of a war with France without the threat of attempting an invasion? It seems hardly possible. It was, therefore, necessary to guard against it. I say that, in such case, they must have seen the necessity of providing more than 300,000 muskets. Why they should seem so disposed to boast of the state of the country, I don't know, unless it be that they are themselves really surprised at their own exertions. They have been quite astonished; and, looking round on one another, 'Oh,' say they, 'who could have thought it? We never could have imagined that we were capable of such exertions.' Of the country it was impossible for them to think meanly: nor do I see why any man should be surprised or astonished to see Englishmen coming forward manfully to defend themselves. What they might think of themselves is another matter: if they foresaw the danger, there could be no impediment to foreseeing the want of arms. I do hope, that some things have lately happened to render that danger less. I say, that if Admiral Cornwallis could, during the week Parliament met, lay off Brest with his fleet, and effectually blockade that port, he has materially lessened the danger, and has gained laurels as great at most as ever were gained by a victory. The utmost degree of praise is due to that gallant Commander for his skill and bravery in this most important affair, which I think of the highest consequence to the Country. I certainly however by no means say, that on that account we ought to relax at all in our defensive preparations. But here perhaps I may be biassed. Always thinking an invasion attended with many difficulties, and particularly under these circumstances, but deeming it equally necessary to be fully on our guard against it; I say, I may be biassed, but I can't help saying, go on in your preparations, but let them be such as may be most speedily converted into the means of offensive warfare, and if I gave an additional vote to night, it should be to the regular army.—Now, Sir, having stated my difficulties as to the converting the Volunteer Corps into a foundation for the regular army, I wish to say a word as to their duration, more particularly as the Noble Lord spoke of them as not being intended for temporary purposes. Now suppose, whether justly or unjustly, the war should become, in any respect, unpopular, if you should exact from the Volunteers nothing but what is perfectly compatible with their other necessary pursuits of life, they will go on very well; but I think, that on the petty pay allowed them, should certain circumstances, unforeseen at present, arise, the keeping of them up, on their present footing, may not be impossible, but I will say improbable. The Noble Lord talked of making us a military nation. I do not see the matter exactly in the same light with him; but I have no objection to see the nation more military in its character even in time of peace, so far as that every class of persons should be better skilled in the use of arms; peasants, artizans, and commercial men, &c. This would be of considerable advantage to the country. But we are asked, how else are the people to be employed in the public service? Why, the Sec. at War says, he is not a military man. Modesty is a good quality. But I humbly think, that at a time when the country is threatened with a formidable invasion, and we are raising such immense forces to oppose it, the Sec. at War should be somewhat of a military man. But he refers to General Officers. Every General Officer, I think, will tell him, that the best way of arming the people, is by training them to their proper uses.—I cannot help repeating the opinion which I gave last session, and upon which a motion was ineffectually made in this House; namely, that there should be a responsible military authority, to which the Parliament and the people might look for the whole conduct of the army department. I have great personal respect for H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, but I am persuaded, from my personal knowledge of his character, that he would not be pleased with the flattery, that he is himself capable of the very difficult task of governing this department. It requires, above all, that the responsibility should be clear and positive. I may be allowed to say, that there is an obstacle in his high birth to the responsibility which belongs to his situation. There is a delicacy in questioning the measures of a personage of his illustrious rank, which deters men in general from the duty of calling him to account. It is not too much to say, that all the arrangements of the mili

tary system for the last summer have been unsteady, vascillating and capricious. Early in the summer a staff was appointed, which, to say no worse of it, gave considerable surprize to military men. Generals were appointed to the command of districts, who no doubt had just pretensions to employment, but men were disposed to enquire why others of the greatest experience, gallantry and distinction were omitted! Names were missed that, in a situation of the country so critical, ought, in the public opinion, to have been the first thougt of. Thus it was conceived that Lord Cornwallis was not so old as to be overlooked; and surely my noble friend, Earl Moira, was not so destitute of activity, zeal, energy, and experience as to be left unemployed. And yet, in the first instance, his name was not to be found. A general promotion, however took place, and this altered the arrangement;—Lord Hutchinson, who had been employed at first, was now put off the staff, and Earl Moira was most properly appointed to the chief command in Scotland—an appointment which gave me the highest satisfaction, as it must do to every one who truly regarded the defence of the country; but why, if the noble earl was proper to be trusted with a great military station in Oct. was he overlooked in May? It was answered to all this, that it was the King's prerogative to change his Generals, and that he might change them every day. Most true it is his prerogative, but his ministers are responsible for the exercise of this prerogative capriciously. The country have a right to the employment of the best talents and experience that the army can supply, and the characters of officers are an essential part of the public strength. Men are not to be changed by caprice. Where nothing has happened to alter the circumstances, it betrays a levity inconsistent with the character of a strong and efficient government to change, take officers up, and put them down without a reason assigned, or an argument of any kind.—Every part of the service has been left to chance. Even in raising the Army of Reserve, there was the same want of attention. After men had paid £40 or £50 to find a substitute for the Army of Reserve, and the substitute had marched to the appointed rendezvous, he found no one there to receive him. This had happened in many instances, and the substitutes not knowing what to do with themselves or their money, had deserted in post chaises and four. Was there ever an admistration so trusted, so supported—so left with almost uncontrolled power as the present—with the spirit of the country raised to the highest enthusiasm—with no party differences to molest them—with the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties all eager to second their views; and yet what had they done with all this power? Had it not been the chief employment of those Lords Lieutenants to comprehend the instructions they had received—the explanation of the explanations had occupied almost all their time; and not merely in regard to their signals in Norfolk, but to all their system there had been such a system of confusion, contradiction and vascillation as to make it impossible for the proper officers to understand what they were to do. I am speaking now of their military system, not of their boasted income act, of which we shall hear enough hereafter.—Now I am speaking on the general subject of ministerial changes and confusion, I am led to mention a circumstance respecting a near relation of mine (General Fox), concerning whom the conduct of government has been such as I cannot comprehend. He was sent, after the commencement of the war, to a very high and important command (in Ireland); an appointment at which I felt much more of anxiety than of pleasure, notwithstanding the knowledge I had of his character. A disturbance broke out in Dublin on the 23d of July, in which Lord Kilwarden was murdered. It excited universal astonishment, and in a few days he was no longer commander in chief. I may be told, indeed, that his departure thence proceeded from his own request: but from all I have been able to learn upon the subject, a wish on the part of the civil government of Ireland was expressed, that he should be recalled. After this, there was no man of spirit but would say, "I will no longer stay in your way, since you wish my removal." When he comes over here, he is immediately entrusted with the high and honourable command of a district near the metropolis, a clear proof that ministers did not think ill of his conduct. But why then was he recalled? Because, it seems, it was the wish of the Irish civil government. I say, that this circumstance happening so very soon after the 23d of July, who would not feel themselves justified in saying that it was in consequence of misconduct? Did both parties, the civil power and the commander in chief, act perfectly well? How? By getting intelligence? By following up that intelligence? Was it true that the Lord Lieut. instructed the commander in chief, and then withdrew to the Phœnix-Park, a few hours before Lord Kilwarden was murdered? Nothing that I can see but a surprize, a total and complete surprize, can justify the Irish government in that affair,

or they must be a sort of accomplices in the murder of Lord Kilwarden. It ought to be publicly known, that whatever intimation was given to the commander in chief, was given with an idea that it was not to be relied upon. Not even the Lord Mayor knew any thing of it: and, when it is alledged (pitiful excuse!) with great formality, that the superintendant magistrate of the city of Dublin was informed of it, pray was he directed to communicate it to the Lord Mayor? If he was, he did not execute his orders. Was there any one civil magistrate active on the occasion? And yet it was afterwards insinuated that blame lay where there was not the smallest reason to lay it, and the Lord Lieut. wishes for a new appointment of the commandership in chief. I have heard of other and very different reasons. The press in Ireland, though not so much enslaved as at Paris, is, I believe, not so unshackled as it is here, and is not very likely to convey to the world that which is thought to be disagreeable at the Castle. Well, Sir; from this press, a paragraph has made its appearance, stating, "that the Commander in Chief was the brother to Mr. Charles Fox, of the English House of Commons, that he was first cousin to the Duke of Leinster, and, of course, was related to the late Lord *Edward Fitzgerald*." This, Sir, was a strange offence, if, indeed, it was an offence at all. No man of Gen. Fox's rank has, I believe, mixed less, at any time, in the politics of the day. What could be the true cause of his recal, I know not; for I, who am no judge of military matters, must, setting aside feelings of relationship, consider him to be a good officer, after his recent appointment. What, then, was it that induced the Lord Lieut. and his Majesty's ministers to act with such unexampled, such unaccountable caprice? I say there must have been some scandalous inattention at the Castle. Strange conduct! They are actuated only by the dread of giving alarm. From morning till night they do not seem afraid of riot and murder, but of giving alarm. I, for my part, wish the citizens of Dublin had been alarmed, and then there might have been some safety. But why all this fear of alarm? Why, but because there was a charm which they feared would be broken. Why, but because the friends of government had been crying out here last spring—"All's safe! All's well!" and then were afraid of the idea of danger. "This will spoil all our story, and we shall never be believed again. If the danger goes off we are safe. There has been no alarm; if danger breaks out we must run the risk; but we will take our chance for it"—There is another subject of a still higher nature, on which I feel it my duty to say a few words; I mean, the situation of the Heir Apparent of the Crown. Last session, we understood, he had made very handsome offers of his services to government. Not only were they then not accepted, but nothing since, it appears, has been done to soothe his mind, or carry into effect his liberal and honourable offer. I shall hear, that this matter is dependent on the prerogative of the Crown. Who questions it? But are we to understand from that, that the King's will is every thing, and the public opinion nothing? This may be very good doctrine, but I must say I am too old to learn it. I should think this a subject on which I may claim a right to observe, because I consider the active services of the Prince of Wales of great importance in our present situation, for exciting the spirit of the country, and, therefore, as being a material part of the public defence. I hope, and indeed am inclined to think, that there is as much loyalty in this country as there ever was at any former period. To all loyal persons, must it not be grateful to see the Heir Apparent actively employed in the contest, and sharing, with the public at large, in the danger and in the glory of defending the country? That danger, notwithstanding my confidence in our success, may God forbid! But are you to be justified in omitting to use such material means? He has been long in the army. It *was* natural for him to say—"My situation in society is such, that rank is an inferior consideration; whether I am colonel or general, is of little importance." But at *present*, is not the case quite different? "If France lands her armies on our shores, all your other brothers in the army shall have a high command; but you, under the colour of saving you from danger, shall be deprived of any glorious opportunity." Look at his situation! At the head of the regiment he commands — but who thinks that to be colonel of a regiment of light horse, is a situation, in times like these, fit for the Prince of Wales? I can easily imagine, that such is the frame of some men's minds, that they could reconcile themselves to the idea of shutting him up like an Eastern Monarch; but I am sure his mere colonelcy is what no man here will say is a situation becoming him. I cannot enter into motives. I am sure the consequences will be honourable to the Prince of Wales, and not so to those who have advised his Majesty to refuse his offer.

They may by such advice take away from him an opportunity of rendering himself popular, and becoming one of the most beloved princes in our history. Why this is not desirable, I really cannot understand. We, however, have a right to state to ministers our opinions upon a subject, to which we may think the interests of the public are deeply concerned, and which certainly involves topics peculiarly grateful to the feelings of the Prince of Wales.—I hope, Sir, that this debate will have a good effect upon the public mind; and that they will see the Parliament disposed to look that ministers do justice to their energies, and to the burthens they chearfully bear: for their voluntary expenses are as real a burthen as their taxes. I hope the people will see that we are ready to do what is owing to their love of freedom, their public spirit, and their zeal and bravery in the public cause.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—I join with my noble friend (Lord Castlereagh) in the necessity of this country redoubling her energies, in consequence of the envy and immoderate ambition of the enemy with whom we are now seriously contending. It is unquestionably true, that it is a melancholy consideration, that our present necessity is created not by our wealth and our freedom, but by the envy and hatred that wealth and that freedom have excited in the breast of our enemy. The hon. gent. who spoke last, I was happy to hear express his strong conviction of the necessity of putting forth all the energies of this great country. I have now risen, Sir, chiefly to make a few remarks on his wish to know what was the view government have of the character of our numerous and patriotic volunteers. One right hon. gent. dislikes to see them in regimentals; he wishes them not to look like soldiers, and to wear no uniforms. Another right hon. gent. wishes to see them approximated much nearer to regular soldiers. My opinion, Sir, inclines much more to the latter right hon. gentleman's suggestion. I do wish to maintain that force in its strength, and render it available to all the great purposes for which it was instituted. But I wish it to be considered, that upon the present system on which our volunteer strength has grown up and flourished, there is such a hearty and universal cooperation and affection among the various corps, that it might be very unwise to try any sudden changes. The hon. gent. who spoke last says, we should increase the regular force, and that my noble friend, in his statements, has blended the accounts of the forces in England and Ireland. I am confident that there is no wish in government to conceal any information on this important subject. I am very willing to relieve the minds of any persons who want to be satisfied upon it. I believe I state accurately, when I say, that the whole regular force is 69,000 men, of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, disposable to any part of the world; which added to the militia, make up 180,000 men, exclusive of 27,000 of the army of reserve, not yet incorporated with the line, and 410,000 volunteers. I hope, after this statement, I shall not hear again, that we have totally destroyed the regular army; but I am ready to concur in expressing an earnest wish, that this great force should be augmented; and I have the satisfaction to see, that the system has succeeded in augmenting the regular force, in a more effectual way, than at any time previously, except by the offers of the militia last war. In ten weeks 7,500 had volunteered for general service; and, notwithstanding the interruption of recruiting, the diminution of number was but a third: in all, not more than 1,500 for the whole year. What I regret exceedingly is, that gentlemen should have so much under-rated the volunteers, as fit only to protect villages and carry provisions; and as being taught matters not conducive to the species of utility within their reach. I have a great opinion of the authority of that hon. gent. and of the right hon. gent. on the same bench; but in military matters, I think I must prefer those of Lord Moira, whom the hon. gent. has so deservedly praised, now commander in chief in Scotland, who, addressing the Edinburgh volunteers, says, he would head them confidently against any foe; and of Lord Cathcart, the present commander in chief in Ireland. Nothing requires greater caution or more delicacy than the adoption of any new system in regard to the volunteers. I deprecate any attempts that may destroy that unanimity and cordiality that at present happily subsist among all ranks. I am afraid to draw the string too tight. Another hon. gent. (Mr. Grenville) thinks we should have had ten times the number of volunteers. Now, of the male population from 18 to 60, I apprehend one-fourth to be actually under arms. It is true, when the bill was first brought in, nothing was said about the limitation, but afterwards a number was stated, much below the present number of volunteers, namely, three fourths of the first class.—And now, Sir, have ministers done their duty to the public? I readily grant, that no administration ever received more cordial support from the public, in all measures calcu-

lated to promote the public welfare; and we should indeed be without excuse, were we deserving of the censures we have received.—The right hon gent. has referred to the Treaty of Amiens, and says, then we ought to have made out our plan for keeping up the army. Whenever I hear the assertion of our reducing the army made, I must contradict it. None but a body of 7,000, partly invalids, were reduced; but of all the regular infantry of the country, only 3,000. I aver that, subsequently to that treaty, I thought that peace would last, but that its duration would be entirely dependent on our strong establishment, and the consciousness of our own security. The right hon. gent. spoke of our "thread" of naval defence; but surely the observation of the hon. member opposite to me, confutes that remark by his praise of the fleet off Brest.—Mr. Addington, after several remarks, noticed the project of a responsible military council. Many respectable persons wished for such an establishment when it was first proposed, who have now almost generally changed their sentiment. It would lay the foundation of weakness, and destroy all hope of distinction, all just and generous responsibility, which H. R. H the Duke of York charges on himself, and would produce distraction and imbecillity.—But there was another subject of still greater delicacy, to which the hon. gent. referred; that of the first subject of the realm not being in a situation which he thought due to his exalted rank, and which H. R. H. himself desires. When this subject was before mentioned, I stated that no authority short of his Majesty's commands, or the joint authority of this House, should compel me to say one word on that subject. Since that, nothing has intervened. But I really cannot account for the silence of the hon. gent. on this subject, last war. Nothing, however, shall make me change, but what I have described.—As to the charges of vacillation and confusion, they are utterly unfounded. With respect to the gallant officer alluded to, late commander in chief in Ireland, I see no complaint against General Fox; the best proof of which is, his subsequent appointment. Sir R. Abercrombie returned, it is true, from Ireland, but that left no discredit on that brave general. Nothing but ignorance of the subject could induce a gentleman of the hon. member's candour and sagacity, to attach any blame to the Irish civil or military government. All the inculpations of persons in either department, I aver, are unfounded, and if enquiry can be made, it will redound to their honour.—Mr. Addington concluded with expressing his hope, that the proposition, of which notice had been given, might not be pressed. He was sure the proposition came from one who was a sincere friend to the volunteer system, and he felt the force of many remarks which had been made. As to the exemptions, a right hon. friend of his would bring in a bill on that subject.

Mr. *Fox*.—With respect to the impenetrable silence of the right hon. gent., unless on condition of his Majesty's command, it might be well, perhaps, if he had extended that discretion to the case of Ireland also. He is asked, if the government of Ireland did not express a wish for the recall of the commander in chief. He does not say, I never knew of such a wish, but "I see no complaint against General Fox." This is no answer whatever, and the right hon. gent. had better have wrapped himself up in state silence, than have made any such reply. To evade is next to saying nothing. He is silent as to the Prince of Wales; as to the affairs of Ireland he evades the question. How is it possible the Lord Lieut., I again repeat, could at such a moment wish the recall of the commander in chief, and not cast a censure on him? It could not be. I assert that government here, when they knew the disposition and opinion of the government of Ireland, did not take proper means to investigate the cause of their wish, and ascertain where the blame, in fact, existed. In such a state of the case it is trifling to say no censure is implied. It is not consistent with common sense to exact martial law and suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, for a riot so contemptible, as the rising of the 23d of July was now represented. In the nature of things, it cannot be that ministers are sincere on that point; and, if the rising be once serious, blame must attach somewhere.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—I can only repeat on that subject what was said upon it by a right hon. friend near me, (Mr. Yorke) when the debate relative to those bills took place. If the right hon. gent. did not then chuse to attend in his place, he has no right now to call on the subject pending another discussion.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke*—"Sir; the unprovoked way in which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) has thought proper to attack a noble relative of mine, and the unusual terms of asperity he has used, makes it necessary for me to say a few words. Upon the subject of Ireland, I say, let every one come forward and explain what he knows: then, "Fiat justitia ruat Cœlum." If the right hon. gent. means, in the exculpation of the

commander in chief, to attach blame to the civil government of Ireland, then must I oppose his object. The facts of the case are nearly as follows. No information was in possession of the government of Ireland of any intention of a rising being near, till the explosion of the powder-mill on the 18th of July. Of this event intelligence was sent in a letter to the commander in chief. He had left Dublin on a military tour, and did not receive it till his return on the 20th. Next day, the 21st, a gentleman waited on government to say, from certain appearances among his men, he conjectured a rising would take place the next day. On the 22d he came again, saying all appearances of commotion had since subsided, and that he thought he was wrong in his ideas yesterday. He returned on the 23d, and declared his conviction that now in earnest it was about to break out. Other circumstances and intelligence concurring, the government of Ireland was convinced of the fact. The Lord Lieutenant, who was at the Phœnix Park, was sent for, and, calling on the commander in chief, they came to the castle in his coach together. Here the officers of state were assembled, and the communication was made by the respective officers in the presence of the commander in chief and Lord Lieutenant. The opinion, as to a rise that day, and the grounds of them, were thought not to be of importance, and it is justice to say, government did not know of the dêpot or intended rising in other parts of Ireland. It certainly was not thought serious; but who would not have thought, on this statement, that the commander in chief would have taken every necessary precaution? I will ask you, if, on this intelligence, known equally to both, it was not more the office of the commander in chief to warn his officers than the Lord Lieutenant? Without exciting alarm he might at evening parade have told the officers and men not to stay from quarters that night. If he did not, surely it was not the fault of the Lord Lieutenant. So, if ammunition was wanted, that was not the fault of the Lord Lieutenant. It was with the commandant of the place as it would be here in London or any other town. As well might Gen. Fox be said to be an accomplice in the death of Col. Brown, for not warning that officer, though only 500 yards from his own house, of the rising, as the civil government of Ireland be called accomplices in the murder of Lord Kilwarden, because they had not taken precautions they did not deem necessary. It is known, I was very glad on the appointment of the late commander in chief, and always thought highly of him. After the events of the 23d of July, I believe the government of Ireland did not make any official application for the removal of the commander in chief; but a coolness took place between the Lord Lieutenant and him, which shewed that a longer continuation together would not be proper. In fact, after absenting himself some days from the castle, the commander in chief gave in his resignation. I will not however disguise, that the Lord Lieut. did think, under all circumstances, that either himself or the commander in chief should withdraw.

Mr. *Fox*.—In no sense can my observations be considered as an unprovoked attack, as the consideration of the character of general officers arises naturally out of the subject now before the House, and I always thought it right to go into those points. I have some reasons to think, that the government of Ireland was well attached to the commander in chief, and that between him and the Lord Lieut. a perfect good-will subsisted, previous to the events of the 23d. After that period a coolness arose between them; the abuses which took place, might have arisen from certain rumours, traceable to the castle. As to one, I can say, he conceived the other had spoken of him in a way which he did not deserve, and that he had not been informed, as it was intimated, of the intended rising on the 23d. If he had been so informed, was it not natural the lord mayor would have been told? It is impossible it could be otherwise. I repeat again, that the government of Ireland must have been surprised, or they were accomplices in the death of Lord Kilwarden. In the same situation, I equally should have said the same of the commander in chief. The question is, whether that officer had communicated to him any sufficient ground of alarm, to authorize him to take measures of precaution, and, in particular, to apprize Col. Brown of the risk. What, if it can proved that the Lord Lieut. gave him orders not to alarm any one! And, as to the steps taken by him, what, if his lordship sent to express his surprise, and said, I suppose, by what you are doing, you must act on some information unknown to me! The letter sent to the commander in chief was not received; so the Lord Lieut. had more ground than he to conceive the extent of the danger. On the existence of a coolness, which compelled the government here to choose between the Lord Lieut. and commander in chief, they did, as was natural, determine for the former; but what I complain of is, that they never instituted any inquiry into the cause of that coolness. It was, however, obvious to common observation, that two such persons could not originate a misunder-

standing on light grounds. This should have been done; they should not have been like the Lord Lieut., fearful of giving alarm; but, inquiring into the cause of the coolness, they should, if they found his lordship's insinuation groundless, have given him a reprimand.

Admiral *Berkeley*.—I am sure the right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) is above all wish of being misunderstood. Does he mean to say, that the commander in chief of Ireland knew and was apprised of the intended rising on the 23d of July.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke*.—I meant to say, that the commander in chief had every opportunity of knowing the information disclosed at the Castle, on the morning of the 23d, that the Lord Lieutenant had.

Mr. *Corry*.—As I have been in Dublin since the unfortunate events of the 23d of July, it may be expected I should say something on this subject, upon which I made it my business when there to make a minute inquiry. The civil government were apprised of an intended rising on the 23d of July. This clearly appears. In consequence they warned the civil magistrates, at the head of which was the superintendant of Dublin. The mistake is, that officer is unknown here. The lord mayor of Dublin is not like the lord mayor of London. It is not he, but the superintendant who has the charge of the peace. He was informed of the rising, and actually armed, and called out an additional number of peace officers; from this, it is clear, the government of Ireland were not surprized, and that they took every step which would be thought essential. The interview at the castle, between the commander in chief and the Lord Lieutenant could be proved. The details of the intelligence were then laid before them, and the civil government had certainly a right to conclude, that the commander in chief had taken every military precaution which the circumstances would warrant. Whether he did or not, or what those precautions might be, I am not prepared to say, as, in fact, I made no inquiry on those subjects. That the conspiracy existed, and that to a dangerous degree, I conceive to be the foundation of the late bills, for continuing martial law and suspending the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act. With this object, the late insurrection is unconnected. That was, in truth, contemptible. On the confusion of these two circumstances, the former insurrection and present conspiracy, depends all the difference of opinion now and lately expressed; whereas, in fact, there is no inconsistency, no contradiction. The insurrection was contemptible; the conspiracy is dangerous. Nothing in what I have here said, I trust, will be construed to the disadvantage of the commander in chief, relative to whose conduct I had no means of inquiry, and never have formed any opinion concerning it.

Lord *de Blaquiere*.—I cannot admit, Sir, that the insurrection on the 23d of July was a matter to be lightly treated. It was, in my opinion, a rank and dangerous rebellion. The castle of Dublin was certainly surprised. A plan was on foot to stop the mail coaches, and if that had taken place, the whole country would have risen. Under these circumstances, I think inquiry should be instituted, for heavy blame must attach somewhere.

The Hon. *C. Hely Hutchinson*.—Sir; upon a question of national defence, and at a moment critical as the present, I feel it to be my duty, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, to trouble you with a very few observations. I give ministers full credit for the exertions they have made in calling forth the strength of the country by the volunteer associations, undoubtedly a force highly constitutional, and although not new in theory, has now, for the first time, been thus extensively adopted. Notwithstanding the firm reliance I place on the zeal and loyalty of the volunteer force, which I doubt not, will in the hour of attack be found highly serviceable and solicitous to encounter every danger, I cannot at the same time but lament, that ministers have not deemed it advisable to decrease that species of force, and in a very considerable degree to augment the troops of the line; but, upon this topic, I purposely refrain at this late hour from enlarging, particularly as it has been already so ably and fully discussed. My principal, indeed sole object for troubling you at this moment, is in consequence of a subject which has been introduced by an hon. member (Mr. Fox) who has lately spoken. Upon it I have long had a decided opinion. I consider it a subject of great public moment, and I feel that in times like the present, to hesitate to deliver such an opinion, would be to shrink from the discharge of my public duty.—Such is the nature of the contest in which we are involved, so awfully critical the present state of things, so inveterate our foe, so various and formidable his resources, and so unceasing his machinations to destroy us, that it has been found necessary that his Majesty should avail himself of the appearance in arms of almost every description of his subjects; and so serious does his Majesty deem the meditated attack, that he has been graciously pleased to gratify and animate his faithful subjects, by declaring his royal

intention, in the event of invasion, of putting himself at the head of his troops, determined in person to defend the constitution, the laws, the religion, and the liberties of his united empire. At such a crisis, the Prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the crown, the person most interested in the event of this struggle, naturally anxious to share in the danger and the glory of the day, solicits to be placed in a situation, where, by his presence, he may contribute to collect thousands round the royal standard; and evince, by his firmness and zeal, the ardour with which he would support the throne of his Sovereign and Father; but in this his ardent hope, and first expectation, he finds himself disappointed! And yet, Sir, we have been but this moment informed by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), that we must not suffer ourselves to be lulled into a state of security, or to consider this any other than a contest likely to be most durable; and he has even gone so far as to suggest the propriety of our resolving to fashion ourselves into a military nation. With the din of war constantly assailing the ear, and the cry of universal armament being incessant, that the Illustrious Personage alluded to, the most interested, should be the only one prevented from occupying his proper station, appals one with astonishment!!!—Sir; I have ever admired, as the surest foundation of the liberties of these countries, as the most valued right of the subject, and as the most glorious characteristic of the monarchy, that maxim of our constitution, which asserts that the King can do no wrong; the prerogative of the crown, (for the wisest purposes) most extensive, seems only to be limited, where it is possible that in its operation it can affect the welfare of the community; the King, as sole executive, and only fountain of honour and of mercy, beholds these his prerogatives upholden by the unqualified approbation of his people. But, Sir, the same spirit of legislation which declared that the prerogative of the crown could not operate to the injury of the subject, has also wisely attached an awful responsibility upon ministers for the fit execution of that prerogative; and, among the various duties incumbent on the members of this House, that of not suffering this responsibility to be evaded, imperiously demands their most watchful attention. I am decidedly of opinion, that the illustrious personage in question, being at this moment appointed to an ostensible command, would bring great additional strength to the public cause, and that ministers in neglecting to advise his Majesty to this moasure, are highly censurable.—I cannot conclude without declaring, that I give my most unqualified support to the vote now proposed, as I have done to every measure deemed necessary to strengthen and support his Majesty in the present arduous and necessary contest in which he is engaged, and in which I rejoice to perceive he has already received the cordial co-operation of every description of his subjects.

Mr. Pitt and the Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively spoke in explanation, relative to some points which had been discussed in an early part of the debate.—Mr. Windham and the Chancellor of the Exchequer also spoke severally in explanation.—Mr. Pitt, in further explanation observed, that a sufficient number of field officers for the purposes he had mentioned with respect to volunteer corps could without difficulty be obtained. He did not mean persons who should hold that rank at the time of their coming to those corps; there were a number of persons of the rank of captains, of a certain number of years standing, who would be fully competent to the purpose, and would make very respectable field officers.—The questions were then put, on the different resolutions moved by the Sec. at War, as well as those moved by the Sec. of the Ordnance Department, all of which were severally agreed to by the Committee. The House then resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.—The Committee of Ways and Means, and the other orders of the day were then deferred till Monday, and at 3 o'clock the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, December 10.

The bills on the table were forwarded one stage; and the Curate's relief bill, sugar duty drawback bill, Irish distillery bill, and Irish provision bill, were brought up from the Commons.—Adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, Dec. 10.

[Minutes] Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the commitee of supply. The resolutions were agreed to *nem. con*.—Mr. Secretary Yorke presented an abstract of the volunteer corps accepted by his Majesty subsequent to the 10th of August last. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Corry presented the annual petitions and estimates from the Irish charitable institutions. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Corry wished to give notice, that on Monday he would move the

usual grants for those institutions, pursuant to the act of union. After some remarks from the Speaker on the shortness of the notice, it was stated by Mr. Corry, that there was the same interval between the notice and the motion as last year; and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the sums and services were the same as last year, and every year, as provided for by the articles of union; and, therefore, that the House was already in possession of the subject. On these grounds the notice was allowed to stand.

[VOLUNTEER EXEMPTION BILL] Mr. *Secretary Yorke* in pursuance of the notice he had given yesterday, rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the acts of 42 and 43 GEO. III. so far as they related to the exemptions to be enjoyed by volunteers. From what he had heard in the House yesterday, and what he had learned from other sources, he knew that much difficulty existed in the interpretation of these acts. It was indeed hardly to be expected that every person should have read them over, so as to know precisely their provisions in the manner the law required. He therefore thought it right to prefer this bill for the purpose of explaining those acts in that part where explanation was most immediately necessary. The bill which he meant to prefer would go only to regulate the exemptions. There were other points also, he was aware, which required explanation, and it might perhaps be necessary to go into an entire review of the volunteer system, in ordre to correct and strengthen it; but as this should be done not hastily, but with mature consideration, he thought it better to defer it till after the recess. The object of the bill he meant to propose would be, first to enable such commanders of corps as had not given in their returns to give them in now, and to provide that the certificate of such commander should be effectual to secure the benefit of the exemption to the individual. This exemption extended equally to the militia and the army of reserve. The return should specify, whether the men attended with arms and otherwise accoutred, so as to be considered as effective; if he attended without arms, there was to be a special return, stating the reason why, and this special return, and the certificates founded upon it, should also give a title to the exemptions. It was extremely advisable, while the exemptions were secured to every person who was entitled to them, to do every thing that could be done to prevent abuses arising from too much relaxation: he thought it necessary to provide that from the 1st of May next, 24 days regular attendance in training and exercise should be required, to give a title to the exemptions. The former of the acts which the bill would go to explain and amend, being passed in time of peace, required only five days. It would be obvious to the House, that a longer attendance would be necessary in time of war, and particularly in such a war as the present, than in time of peace. He proposed therefore, that 24 days attendance should be required of the infantry, and 12 of the cavalry. The returns would be made three times a year, and therefore 8 days in every four months would be required of the infantry, and four days of the cavalry. He concluded with moving for time to bring in a bill to explain and amend the said acts.

Mr. *Curwen* was sorry the right hon. gent. was not prepared at present with any measures to enforce the continuance of the service of the volunteers. The danger was, that many of them as soon as the present ballot was over, would attend no longer, and thus being lost to the militia and the army of reserve, would be lost also to the volunteer corps. He wished therefore, that the present measure were coupled with some general regelations for the corps. He thought it wise in ministers to be as saving of the public money as was consistent with the public interests, and the public safety, but at the same time he thought it would be wise to enter on some general plan for the improvement of the volunteer corps. He did not think that the plan proposed last night (by Mr. Pitt) would go down. The volunteer officers were pledged to their corps to accompany them whereever they should be ordered, and of course they would not like that a field officer should be put over their heads, neither would the appointment of such an officer be agreeable to the volunteers who composed the corps. He thought it would be much better to give serjeant-majors and adjutants in greater numbers, to give a second serjeant, and a corporal, with permanent pay. It was well known that the discipline of the men depended on their having good non-commissioned officers. He was sure too much could not be said of the honourable principles and feelings of the volunteers in general. But though an ignominious discharge from the ranks would have the fullest effect in many instances, it would not in all. He thought it better that intoxication, disorderly and unsoldier-like conduct should be punished by a small fine, peremptorily and immediately enforced. He was sure that the effect of this, and some similar regulations, would produce a degree of good conduct and emulation, which would

extend with the most beneficial effect to the army and militia, as well as volunteers Looking to the military face which the country wore at present, every thing should be done to realize the appearance, and if ministers deferred for a time bringing forward such regulations as were necessary to this effect, he hoped it was only to bring them forward in a more systematic and digested form; at no distant period. He wished the House also to bear in mind, that in the country, where several corps were called together from their homes, and from their daily labour, by which most of them subsisted, obliged to give up their usual emoluments, and to live at public houses at an unusual expense, it would be impossible to find men, and unreasonable to expect them without allowing them pay. The additional expense would not be more than ten shillings a man in the year, perhaps not more than five.—The general officer of the district in his attendance at the reviews, and the inspecting field officer on Sundays could guard against any abuses. He considered, that with some advantages of this kind the volunteers would soon be as good a force as any we possessed for defence; that we trust to them with security, and spare our regular forces for foreign expeditions. The spirit of the volunteers was a proof that this reliance could be placed on them, and they were animated with this spirit, because they felt that the contest in which we were engaged was unavoidable.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* was pleased with the bill that was proposed, but at the same time he concurred in the propriety of what had been said by the hon. gent. who had just sat down. He was sure that the plan proposed last night would not do; if it would be compulsory, it would excite discontent; and if it were to be optional, it would be nugatory, as very few would be inclined to avail themselves of it. He believed at present there were only four or five corps in the kingdom that had field officers of such a description. He was sure an adjutant would be a more effective person; and it should be recollected that five years service in the army was necessary to qualify those adjutants.—But whether those adjutants could be expected to attend drills 84 days without a larger allowance? It was impossible for day labourers, of which description of men the greater number of country corps consisted; that which he had the honour to command consisted of them exclusively, to attend without pay. He had taken upon himself the risk of having his corps imperfect from the want of an officer of that description recommended by the hon. gent. Serjeant-majors, who, he thought with the hon. gent. were absolutely necessary, were never allowed only to corps 1000 strong. He asked whether it was possible for an adjutant, who had only six shillings a day, and no horse allowed him, to attend a number of separate parishes, as he was now obliged to do, in the parts of the country which were thinly inhabited. The right hon. secretary, from being long a colonel of militia, must know that the description of officers recommended by the hon. gent. were most essential. But as the volunteer laws now stood, few could avail themselves of this benefit. For himself, he knew the want and the benefit of them by experience. Others, he was sure, were in the same predicament.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, there was this general regulation at present to render the volunteer corps complete and effective; that the corps would be disbanded, and the compulsory clauses resorted to, if they were not filled to the amount required by his Majesty's government. This was the standard which it was thought fit to adopt at present. Several other regulations may be useful, but he thought better not to press them now. He did not think his Majesty's ministers would be justified in entering at once into the expense which would be required for the measure recommended by the hon gent. It was the best way to commence with an expense as low as possible, which could be increased if that was found necessary, whereas, if we commenced with a high expenditure, which we afterwards found we could not reduce, the improvement could not be made without the evidence of our actual loss. He begged also to impress the point urged by a noble lord (Castlereagh) last night, that it would be impossible to furnish such a number of officers from any army so much drawn upon already. There were 1500 corps, and if an adjutant were to be allowed to each at 100l. a year, the expence of this alone would be 150,000l. Permanent pay should not be given unless permanent duty was performed, and in the country these things were not always performed in the strictest manner. He hoped every measure would be taken which would tend to render the volunteer army effective, but he hoped that gent. would not press the introduction of any thing into this bill but the single principle on which it was founded.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* concurred in what had fallen from his hon friend, and in a great measure with what had fallen from the hon. gent. over the way (Mr. Curwen). He concurred in the principle of what had been proposed last night, as far as it was consistent with other principles, and parti-

cularly that of carrying with us the feelings of the volunteer officers, and the volunteer corps. The suggestion of the propriety of brigading the corps had his concurrence; but he doubted whether the introduction of field-officers, whatever advantage it may give in respect of discipline, could be reduced to practice. He feared it would hurt the feelings of the commanders of corps, that it would tend to diminish their respectability in their own opinion, and to impair the respect and influence which, on very just grounds, they at present have with their corps. He agreed that every facility should be given to the introduction of adjutants and serjeant majors; at the same time, as the whole of this subject required consideration, he wished that these points should not be pressed now, and that the present bill should not be incumbered with any thing extraneous. Every one concurred in the propriety of every thing that could improve the discipline of the volunteers, without violating their feelings.——The question being put, leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time. On the question for the second reading, in answer to a question from Sir W. Milner, who said that doubts existed on this point, the Attorney General stated from the acts, that of last session being to be understood with reference to the act of the session before, that all corps whose services were accepted by his Majesty, were entitled to the exemption.—The bill was ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, December 12.

[MINUTES.]—The Marquis of Stafford was sworn, and took his seat, on his accession to that peerage; as was also the Earl of Bristol, on a similar occasion.—The Lord Chancellor presented a petition from Allen M'Leod, who had been sentenced to be fined and imprisoned, stating his inability to pay the fine inflicted, and praying that their Lordships would be pleased, in consideration of his long confinement, to grant him remission of the fine. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.—Lord King moved, that the proper officer be desired to lay before the House an account of the Bank of England Notes in circulation on the 25th of each month, from Feb. to Nov last, distinguishing those under £5. Ordered.—On his Lordship's motion, a similar order was made relative to Notes of the Bank of Ireland.—The Bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages.

[EXPIRING LAWS BILL.]—The Expiring Laws Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

Lord *Suffolk* requested the House to take notice that certain annuities granted in the time of Queen Anne, for carrying on the war, expired in 1804. He wished to know from a noble Sec. of State (Lord Hawkesbury) what was the amount of this sum, what was its intended application, and whether it was destined to go to the consolidated fund?

Lord *Hawkesbury* replied, that he was not then prepared to state the amount nor the application. But this could, however, be no obstacle in the way of the bill, as Parliament would still have the power of disposing of this money in any manner that might be thought exepedient.

[CURATES'S RELIEF BILL.]—On the motion for the second reading of the bill for granting a sum of 8000l. towards the relief of curates,

The *Earl of Suffolk* observed, that although he entirely approved of the principle of the bill, which he considered as calculated to ameliorate the situation of inferior clergymen, he could not think it went far enough. The sum which it provided towards their relief was not sufficient. Indeed, so very hard was the condition of them, that he had received several letters stating, that the salaries which they enjoyed had not in many instances been paid to the full extent provided by the legislature. The noble lord suggested the propriety, in order to obviate these difficulties, that the money should be paid into the hands of some banker in the neighbourhood of the place where the party resides.—The bill was read a second time and committed for to-morrow.

[IRISH HABEAS CORPUS AND MARTIAL LAW BILL.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* rose to move the second reading of the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill.—His lordship began his speech by stating to the House, that though it might not be exactly in order, he should, with the view of fascilitating any discussion which might take place, introduce any observations which occurred to him to be necessary to justify the motion for the second reading of the Irish Martial Law Bill, which would follow the motion for the second reading of the bill now before the House. He felt himself authorized in pursuing this course, more particularly when he considered, that the same arguments which would convince their lordships of the necessity and expediency of the one bill, would be equally applicable to the re-enactment of

the other. The circumstances which rendered the renewal of both bills necessary and expedient were now so similar to those under which they had been renewed at former periods, that he did not feel it his duty to trouble their lordships at any great length. When, however, he rose to propose any measure of such magnitude as that now before the House; when he rose to move for the renewal of bills which, to a certain degree, suspended the ordinary privileges of the constitution among a very considerable proportion of the population of the united empire, he certainly considered it incumbent on him to give some explanation of the grounds on which he called on their lordships to vest the ministers of the crown with these extraordinary powers. He trusted that their lordships had seen nothing in the conduct of his Majesty's ministers which could induce them to believe that they would call for such extraordinary powers without the sincerest conviction of their imperious necessity. He would refer to every measure which they had taken, to prove that they had in no instance been forward to avail themselves of opportunities of getting such extraordinary powers entrusted into their hands. In every case of the renewal or re-enactment of bills which went to invest them with powers which for a time suspended the usual privileges of the constitution, they had proceeded on the ground of such imperious necessity. They had seen, on former occasions, that such measures had contributed in a material degree to the salvation of the empire, and they conceived themselves bound, under circumstances nearly similar, to resort to measures of similar precaution and similar vigour. As his Majesty's ministers had not been forward to call for powers which they were conscious that they exercised under a most perilous responsibility, so their use of it certainly evinced nothing of a wish to employ those powers for any other purpose than the preservation of the public tranquillity in Ireland. He was happy that he could state, without fear of contradiction, that no one instance had occurred in which the powers granted by these bills had been exercised with wantonness, indiscretion or cruelty. With respect to the Martial Law Bill, he had to state to their lordships, that the powers which it granted were resorted to only in one solitary instance. In every other case the ordinary common law tribunals of the country had been resorted to. The result of this was not unknown to their lordships, and it was not unfair, from this past experience, to infer, that the same individuals who had exercised their powers with such moderation, would not be likely to abuse them in future. It was the unfortunate state of Ireland which compelled ministers to resort to measures, which every friend to the constitution would adopt only when he viewed them as essential to the preservation of the state from the greatest miseries which could afflict a kingdom. He referred their lordships to the conduct pursued by ministers on the appearance of a most diabolical conspiracy in this country. On that occasion, several individuals had been convicted, on the clearest evidence, of a most atrocious conspiracy to compass the death of the sovereign, and had suffered the sentence of the law. What, he desired their lordships to recollect, had been the conduct of ministers? Satisfied with having brought atrocious criminals to condign punishment, they had resorted to no extraordinary measures. They had not come to parliament and called on them to suspend any of the ordinary privileges of the constitution; they had appealed only to the common law courts of the country, and the cause of loyalty had been signally supported, while treason had suffered the punishment which it in every case merited. The Habeas Corpus Act continued in full force. The idea of introducing martial law was not thought of, even for a moment. The reason of this their lordships must clearly comprehend. It was the result of a conviction on the part of ministers, that the loyalty of the great mass of the population was sound to the core. They found that a few frantic individuals had meditated a most desperate attempt on the life of our beloved sovereign; but they knew that the people at large were attached to their king, and devoted to the constitution of their country. They punished criminals, but they did not invade the privileges or suspend, even for a moment, the liberties of a people who had given so many instances of their unalterable loyalty. Very different, however, their lordships would agree with him, was the situation of Ireland. He needed not to expatiate on the circumstances of that country in the year 1798. At that period their lordships were aware that a rebellion, the most extensive, the most desperate, and the most malignant which it was ever the fate of a government to combat, had broke forth with the greatest possible fury. It was not necessary for him to recall to the recollection of their lordships, that the object of that rebellion was nothing short of the dissolution of British connexion, nothing less than the establishment of an independent government by means of the assistance of France. Fortunately, the valour of his Majesty's forces, aided by the co-ope-

ration of the loyal part of the population, had succeeded in putting down this rebellion, and in restoring tranquillity, at least tranquillity so far as the efforts of general rebellion were concerned. It was not, however, in the nature of things, that all the agitation, animosity, or revenge, which the atrocities of the rebellion had created, should at once subside. It was natural to expect, though rebellion was put down in the field, the spirit of its adherents was not broken. They dared no longer contend with the regular forces arrayed in the field; but they might be supposed to follow their former views in secret, and, unobserved, to prepare the means of new insurrections and new crimes. This was the conclusion which a general knowledge of human nature justified, and, certainly, events had fully demonstrated its truth. From the time of the rebellion in 1798, there had been various evidences of a spirit of disaffection. Without, however, enlarging on these, he should at present content himself with alluding to the transaction of the 23d of July. With the events of that day their lordships were sufficiently acquainted. The evidence on the trials of the wretched individuals who suffered for their guilt clearly explained the object and views of those engaged in the conspiracy. He would not now take up the time of their lordships, in any attempt to point out the extent or the force of this attempt at rebellion. One thing, however, was undoubted, and he begged leave to call it particularly to the attention of their lordships, and that was the circumstance of the abortive attempt of the 23d of July, having in view the same object, directed to the same end, of destroying the connexion betwixt this country and Ireland, by the assistance of the foreign and common enemy of both countries. Under these circumstances, he begged leave to appeal to the candour and fair judgment of their lordships, whether the notoriety of these events did not furnish a fair parliamentary ground of necessity for the renewal of the bills. A good deal might be urged as to the severity of the measure of establishing martial law. He would never pretend that this was not to be regarded as a measure of an extraordinary nature, and only to be justified on grounds of an extraordinary emergency. Their lordships would recollect that his Majesty, by the exercise of his prerogative, had the power of proclaiming martial law, when it appeared to him to be called for by the circumstances under which any part of the empire might be placed. It was not, however, unknown, that when martial law was proclaimed in this way, all the ordinary forms of law were, for the time being, suspended. In fact, the common law was in the interval considered to be extinct. When circumstances required such an exercise of the prerogative, it was obvious that every member of the community must be subjected to material inconvenience. The object of the present bills was to operate as measures of precaution. They were designed to repress the views of the disaffected, without interfering with the course of civil and criminal proceedings in the ordinary courts. He viewed the Martial Law Bill not as a measure of severity, but of extensive clemency to the loyal part of the community of Ireland. In the course of the rebellion of 1798, the excesses committed on both sides were the subject of much animadversion. The rebels were accused of giving vent to their fury, by acts of barbarous cruelty. On the other hand, many individuals attached to the government, and active in their exertions to put down the rebellion, were charged with the commission of many acts of savage retaliation. Believing, as he firmly did, that there was a great deal of exaggeration respecting the conduct of both parties on the occasion to which he had referred, he could not but allow, that, to a certain degree, they were founded in truth. It was impossible, in the nature of things, that excesses could be altogether avoided. He was convinced, that the enactment of the Martial Law Bill was the measure which, more than any other, put an end to those excesses. It was clear to every one who reflected for a moment on the subject, that when individuals had the redress of their own injuries, real or supposed, put into their own hands, they were too seldom guided by moderation. The more unworthy passions of our nature too frequently gained the ascendency; and resentment, not satisfied with the punishment of a particular injury, proceeded the length of savage and deliberate revenge. The enactment of martial law put an end to this system. Government were then armed with powers sufficient for the suppression of rebellion. The loyal part of the community felt a confidence of receiving adequate protection. Their individual passions no longer descended lower than the performance of their public duty, and those scenes which, at the origin of the insurrection, disgraced and afflicted humanity, were no longer repeated. This was

a view of the subject which he considered to be of the highest importance, and he earnestly intreated their lordships to weigh well the inference which it warranted. In this consideration of the question, every argument drawn from the severity of the measure was materially diminished in its application; particularly when it was recollected that, hitherto, it had never been resorted to, with the exception of one case, as he had already occasion to mention in the beginning of his speech. But, perhaps, it might be argued, that the circumstance of the powers granted by the bill not having been used, was the best proof of its not being necessary. He must be permitted to protest against any such inference, which did not at all appear to him to be conclusive. It was not by any means unfair to conclude, that the very existence of the powers granted by the bill, was the reason for their never being actually exerted. This was no uncommon circumstance in the history of human affairs. Precaution frequently prevented evils of the greatest magnitude. The apprehension of certain punishment, paralysed the efforts, and blasted the hopes of the most desperate offenders. He had, he trusted, shewn their lordships, that the measures which he proposed were not urged on light or frivolous grounds. He had begun by saying, that he at all times should feel reluctance in proposing measures of severity, or measures which, even for the shortest time, put any part of his Majesty's subjects out of the enjoyment of the ordinary privileges of the constitution. The principle of our constitution, and the principle of which we were proud, was, that the people should enjoy as great a portion of practical liberty as they could enjoy, or, perhaps, he might add, as great a portion of liberty as ever was enjoyed by any civilized community since the beginning of time. It was not to be forgotten, however, that while it was the excellence of our constitution to grant to the people the greatest portion of practical liberty, it was one of its wisest provisions, that extraordinary powers should be vested in the executive government, on the appearance of circumstances of extraordinary emergency. The object of this wise provision was, to enable the executive government to take proper measures of precaution for the safety of the state when threatened with formidable dangers, and at the same time, as far as possible, suffer the ordinary tribunals of law, to go on with their ordinary functions. Such a power as this, which he had now stated grew out of the constitution, and was essential to its perfect application. It was an arrangement for affording to the well-affected part of the empire, the enjoyment of their usual privileges, and, at the same time, arming government with such powers as would enable them to put down rebellion, whether openly arrayed in the field, or secretly meditating the means of renewed insurrection. It was to the government, a measure of strength; to the well affected, a measure of confidence and protection; to rebels, a measure of punishment and terror. In whatever light he regarded it as applicable to the present situation of Ireland, it appeared to him the wisest measure of precautionary power, that, under existing circumstances, could be adopted. Nothing but a conviction of its absolute necessity, could have induced his Majesty's ministers to urge its adoption. They had hitherto shewn no disposition to innovate on the privileges of the constitution, and, therefore, in proposing measures at this moment, which every friend to the constitution could propose only from a persuasion of their necessity, they were entitled to full credit for the sincerity of their motives. The noble lord, after a few more observations to the same effect, sat down by moving, first, that the bill for the continuance of the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill be read a second time.—The question being put from the chair,

The *Earl of Suffolk* rose, to offer a few remarks to the House. It was not his intention to oppose the motion of the noble Secretary of State for the second reading of the bill more immediately before the House; nor for the second reading of the Martial Law Bill, by which it was to be followed. He lamented exceedingly the necessity of such measures, but, believing them to be necessary, he could not, consistently with his duty, object to their adoption. What he chiefly rose to advert to at present, was the extraordinary deficiency of information which their lordships had to complain of respecting the present situation of Ireland. For his own part he was quite at a loss to know what was the state of that country, from any thing which had fallen from his Majesty's ministers. This was, however, a subject so extremely interesting, that he could not reconcile it to himself not to make some attempt to obtain fuller information. The adoption of measures of severity proved that there was considerable disaffection, and that the people conceived themselves to labour under grievances which alienated their affections from the govern-

ment. When he heard of the existence of such grievances, he was naturally induced to inquire from what causes the complaints of the existence of these grievances proceeded. He really knew not where to apply for an answer to this question. He was at a loss to ascertain where he had reason to expect the solution of his doubts on the subject. With this view of the subject, he could not but think, that it was the duty of Parliament to make it the ground of specific inquiry. Till the real situation of Ireland was known, it was impossible for the Legislature to know what were the measures most expedient to be adopted. When the grievances under which the people laboured were considered and understood, then, and then only, could an adequate, extended, and permanent remedy be applied When insurrection existed in a country, and when that insurrection was suppressed, it then became the duty of a wise government to endeavour to discover what was the leading cause which induced the people to desert their allegiance. An inquiry into the state of Ireland was the indispensable duty of Parliament. He had pledged himself already to several of his friends in private, and he now distinctly pledged himself to the public, that unless some noble lord of greater ability took up the subject, he should certainly feel it his duty to bring the subject of the affairs of Ireland under the serious consideration of the House. He wished to explain to the noble Secretary of State opposite (Lord Hawkesbury), the views which he entertained on this subject, and the sentiments which he felt respecting the best mode of proceeding in the redress of Irish grievances. He begged leave to remind their lordships of what took place when the rebellion in Ireland, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was suppressed. It was then the advice of one of the greatest and wisest men that ever existed in any age of the world, he meant Lord Bacon, to her Majesty's government, that they should appoint a commission to enquire into the existing grievances of the people, and to consider of the most effectual means of redressing them. This was sound advice, which every wise and humane government would be disposed to follow. Force might put down rebellion in the field; but it was only the union of lenity and justice which could restore the alienated affections of a people believing themselves to labour under hardships of a most grievous nature. This, his lordship said, was the plan which he meant to recommend. He wished that a limited number of individuals, Members of both Houses of Parliament, unconnected with Ministers, with Opposition, or with any party whatever, should be appointed as commissioners to collect full and accurate information respecting the real situation of Ireland. Uninfluenced by prejudices of any description, it would be their duty to examine things exactly as they were, and on their return to furnish a full and impartial report. By the adoption of such a plan as this, the Parliament would have a fair opportunity of examining the subject of the affairs of Ireland, not on a partial, confined, and in some degree unintelligible scale, but on an ample and comprehensive view of the present circumstances of that country.—His lordship having thus explicitly put the House in possession of his views, in case the subject was not taken up by other noble lords, sat down by declaring, that after the declaration of Ministers, and in the present absence of information, he could not, however reluctant he was to measures of severity, refuse his assent to the motion with which the noble Secretary of State had concluded his speech.

Lord *King* followed, and took occasion to animadvert strongly on the situation in which their lordships were called on, to pass bills of the nature which were now under their consideration. The fact was, that not a single tittle of evidence had been produced, to establish either their expediency, or, what was more important, their necessity. Ministers had called upon their lordships to pass bills, which they themselves allowed to be of a description only to be resorted to on occasions of an extraordinary nature, without adducing a shadow of evidence, to prove that the situation of Ireland was such as to require such proceedings. It was not to be forgotten, that such a call was not of a trivial or unimportant kind. It made an appeal to their lordships of a description which demanded the most serious consideration. When the question was, whether their lordships would pass a bill which would have the effect of literally putting about four millions of subjects out of his Majesty's peace, he begged leave to ask, whether it was either decent or parliamentary to call on Parliament to consent to a measure of such magnitude, without some striking proofs of its necessity or its expediency? It had been urged by the noble lord who introduced the subject, that the powers vested in the executive government by the Martial Law Bill were in no instance abused. His lordship contended, that this was not at all an argument which ought to have any considerable force. The question was not how the powers

granted by the bill were exercised, but whether such powers were necessary and fit to be intrusted to any executive government. He did not mean to say that the government of Ireland at this moment were guilty of any acts of cruelty under this bill, but he meant to state that, independent of acts of cruelty, many severities might be experienced, many inconveniencies might be felt. When he said this, he wished to shew their lordships how his observation was fully justified. The Martial Law Bill, in his opinion, contained such provisions as entirely put it out of the power of any part of the inhabitants of Ireland fairly to represent the grievances under which the country laboured. He would put it to the candour and liberality of their lordships, whether any man would choose to put himself in a prominent situation, with all the terrors of martial law hanging over his head. The most respectable individuals in Ireland might be anxious to come forward and lay before the public an impartial representation of the grievances under which they conceived a large proportion of the population to labour; but was it to be supposed that they would do so, when they knew that by adopting this conduct they would expose themselves to obloquy, if not to the positive vengeance of individuals who would be desirous to misrepresent their views and expose them to the suspicions of government? This his lordship thought a matter of most grave consideration, and urged on the attention of their lordships what would be the consequence of passing such bills in the absence of all evidence of their necessity. What would the people of Ireland think of the conduct of the United Parliament, if they met with nothing on their part but measures of coercion? Would they not be ready to ask, and that, too, with every claim of justice, that at least some proofs of the necessity of such measures should be adduced? Even now there were many persons in Ireland not reconciled to the Union. It was surely, therefore, no more than what common justice demanded, that the Irish people were not now more severely treated than they were during the existence of a local legislature.—His lordship having urged this point with considerable force, declared that he could not vote against the motion of the noble Secretary of State, limited as was his present information respecting the actual situation of Ireland. He could not, however, sit down without declaring his conviction of the absolute necessity of a full and impartial investigation of the state of Ireland, a view of its grievances, and a plan of the best means of affording them effectual redress.—In the course of his speech, the noble lord passed some severe strictures on the unsatisfactory and contradictory views given of the insurrection of the 23d of July. At one time it was represented as a miserable contemptible riot. At other times it was described as a widely extended, and formidable plan of rebellion. He did not pretend to decide which of these representations was correct; but he called the attention of their lordships to them, as an additional proof of the necessity of inquiry. If, on a subject of this notorious kind, there was a difference of opinion; if even his Majesty's ministers were not agreed on the subject, he really could not figure to himself a more decisive argument, to establish the necessity of a general systematic inquiry into the state of Ireland.

The *Marquis of Sligo* rose, he said, merely to say a few words in explanation. He supposed he was one of those alluded to, who had given a favourable view of the general loyalty of the population of Ireland. He had no wish to retract what he had formerly asserted on this subject; he only wished, that what he had said should be properly understood. He had asserted, that the temper of the people of Ireland was materially improved, and he had seen nothing to induce him to alter this opinion. True it was, that on the 23d of July, an insurrection had broke out, attended with circumstances of the utmost atrocity. In point of numbers, this certainly was a most contemptible and a most abortive attempt. He must, however, fully accede to the opinion delivered by the noble Secretary of State, that the insurrection, contemptible as it was in point of numbers or efficiency, was founded on the same principles which the rebels had avowed. These principles were, separation from Great-Britain, the formation of a separate government, and that plan aided and abetted by the power of France. He was decidedly favourable to the re-enactment of both the bills. He was sure that they were essential to the maintenance of the tranquillity of Ireland, and if they were not passed he dreaded the most disastrous consequences.

A short pause having ensued, the Lord Chancellor was again proceeding to put the question from the woolsack: this called up

Lord *Grenville*, who, in common with the other noble lords who had preceded him, declared, that he did not rise with the view of giving his decided opposition to the motion of the noble Secretary of State, who had begun the discussion. He professed, however, that he rose under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment, to offer his senti-

ments shortly on the subject. The fact was, that at this moment their lordships were wholly without information on the subject of the state of Ireland, while his Majesty's ministers called on them to pass two bills, of a nature not less extensive than that of a power of depriving a large proportion of his Majesty's subjects of the most important privileges of the constitution. As the noble lord had thought proper to introduce the arguments in favour of both bills in the same speech, he had no objection to follow the same course, though he should have occasion, before he sat down, to shew, that the arguments which might establish the necessity of the one, would not at all apply in favour of the other. With the general principle laid down by the noble lord, in support of the measure, he most cordially agreed. His opinion on this subject was most decidedly recorded by his conduct. He certainly had always thought, and should on every occasion maintain the same opinion, that there were times and circumstances, when in conformity to the principles of the constitution in its best times, extraordinary powers were to be granted to meet extraordinary circumstances of danger. It was, however, always to be recollected, that the circumstances which established the existence of this danger, should be clearly and unequivocally established. When this was the case, he should never pretend to object to extraordinary powers. Independent of such information, he did not see how any noble lord could in conscience give his support to any call on the part of ministers for extraordinary powers. At present, he thought that Parliament was placed in a most awkward predicament. He felt for himself personally, that he could not offer any decided opinion on the subject of the renewal of the bills. It could not be imagined that any noble lord should be adverse to any plan or measure, for the suppression of rebellion. On the other hand, it was a very serious matter to vote for measures of such magnitude as those now before the House, independent of all evidence of their necessity. At this mo ment, the only official information which the House had of the state of Ireland, was contained in his Majesty's speech from the throne. He desired their lordships to consider what was the effect of the information so communicated. Why, the fact was, that four months after what the noble Secretary of State had been pleased to call the transaction of the 23d of July, his Majesty's ministers had advised his Majesty, in his speech from the throne, to assure Parliament, that, since that time, there had been no appearance of insurrection, but that, on the contrary, Ireland had remained in a state of undisturbed tranquillity. How far this was an accurate view of the state of Ireland, he had not the means of ascertaining. This, however, he had to observe, that it was the only official knowledge since the 23d of July, laid before Parliament, relative to the present state of Ireland. It was worthy of observation, however, the language used respecting this transaction. On the one hand, it was represented as a most formidable conspiracy; while, on the other, it was described as a most contemptible riot. How were their lordships to judge amidst such contrariety of statements? How were they to judge of the necessity of measures, the necessity of which could only be judged of by an accurate knowledge of the circumstances on which the bills were founded? Their lordships must see that they were proposed on grounds very different from any that had hitherto been brought forward. In proof of this, he needed only to refer back to the circumstances under which they were introduced at former periods. At their first introduction into the Parliament of Ireland, their lordships were aware that rebellion actually raged in the country; that armies were levied by the insurgents, who disputed with the troops of his Majesty the possession of the island. After the experience of such circumstances, the bills had been repeatedly renewed by the local legislature of Ireland. How did the matter stand at the commencement of the first session of the United Parliament? By the local legislature the duration of the bills was limited to the twenty-fifth of March. At that time, certain circumstances which would be in the recollection of their lordships, but which it was not now necessary for him particularly to explain, prevented the necessity of any inquiry being instituted, as to the propriety of renewing the bills. It was judged, however, and in his opinion very properly, that it was not giving too much credit to the local legislature to allow them on their authority to be renewed for a short period. The bills were accordingly renewed on the same grounds. But what was the course which Parliament immediately thought it expedient to adopt? A Secret Committee of both Houses was appointed, and it was not till the report of these Committees was produced, that the legislature re-enacted the bills. So far, generally, he must be allowed to say, that no evidence of the necessity of either of the bills was laid before Parliament.—He wished to make some observations more particularly calculated to explain his objections to

the Martial Law Bill. In the outset of the few observations which he had thrown out to their lordships, he had remarked that the noble lord who began the discussion, had not been altogether correct in mixing the question of the renewal of both the bills. As to the bill for the renewal of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, though he saw no evidence of its necessity, still he must be permitted to contend that it stood on a footing quite different from that of the other measure. Their lordships would easily see that this assertion could be supported without much difficulty. In forming a judgment of measures of such magnitude, it would not be denied, that the character of those by whom extraordinary powers were to be exercised, was a matter of the highest importance. With respect to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, it would be seen that those who were to exercise the powers which it vested, were persons of the highest rank in the state. Every step they took was a step open to future censure. Every measure they adopted was liable to the severest responsibility. Very different, however, was the situation of those who were to exercise the powers vested in the government by the Martial Law Bill. Their lordships needed only to look at the bill to be convinced, that many of those who were to carry its provisions into effect, if unfortunately it should be necessary to reduce them to practice, were individuals in whom no responsibility of the nature to which he had referred could attach. They might decide from want of adequate knowledge. They might labour under the influence of prejudice. They might in some cases be led away by local prepossessions, or decide under the pressure of temporary passions. He was sure that their lordships would agree with him in thinking, that when such inconveniencies might be experienced, the powers of the nature which the bill granted ought not to be lightly conferred. But, further; he requested of their lordships to reflect, that even allowing that evidence had been given of the necessity of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, the other measures could only be defended by arguments of a nature totally different. He begged leave shortly to explain the views on which alone he had supported, or ever could support, a bill for depriving any part of his fellow subjects of the ordinary privileges of the constitution. When martial law was first introduced in Ireland, a rebellion of a most formidable nature raged with the utmost violence. That rebellion, by the valour of the king's troops, and the spirit and zeal of the loyal inhabitants, was suppressed. As was to be expected, however, much rancour and much malignity continued to agitate those, whose open attempts at rebellion had been defeated. When they found that they could not attack the king's troops, or the loyal part of the community in arms, it was necessary for them to change their mode of attack. A system of murder and intimidation was accordingly introduced, and a regular conspiracy was formed to interrupt the ordinary forms and proceedings of the courts of common law. Magistrates were prevented from performing the duties of their office at the peril of their lives. Judges were prevented from presiding at trials at the peril of their lives. Jurors were deterred from giving verdicts on the clearest evidence at the peril of their lives. Witnesses at the same hazard were deterred from giving their evidence. In a word, the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts of the country were totally suspended. A system of intimidation had, for the time, annihilated every form of law, and every privilege attached to fair and equitable justice. What was to be done under such circumstances? Some strong measure must have been immediately adopted, or the country must have been left a prey to all these horrors. The measure of martial law was adopted, and the effect which it produced on the restoration of tranquillity was immediate. Government vested with extraordinary powers, was enabled to arrest the progress of these atrocious conspirators. Rebels seeing the prospect of martial law before them, ceased to have any object in obstructiug the proceedings of the ordinary tribunals. Things reverted to their former order, and the establishment of martial law, so far from suspending, was, in fact, the means of restoring the operation of the common law courts. It was from a contemplation of these circumstances, and a knowledge of these effects, that he had, on former occasions supported the establishment of martial law in Ireland. Though he would not go quite so far as to assert, that these were the only grounds on which he could feel himself authorised in voting for a bill which went the length of establishing martial law in any part of the empire, yet he would assert unequivocally, that they were by far the strongest grounds which could induce him to sanction such a strong measure. Having laid down this general principle, he begged leave to put it candidly to their lordships, whether any such evidence had now been adduced to justify the measure? Had the noble lord at all insinuated that any

system of intimidation at present prevailed in Ireland? Were magistrates impeded in the exercise of their functions? Were judges unable to perform their duties without turbulence and anarchy? Could jurors not give verdicts according to the dictates of their conscience? Could witnesses not deliver their evidence without the dread of fatal consequences? He was confident that the noble lord would not make any one of these assertions. He appeared, on the contrary, to glory in the idea that the utmost tranquillity prevailed; that the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts experienced no interruption; that criminals were tried without molestation, and that they suffered the sentence of the law without any violation of the public tranquillity. He professed himself astonished, after such admissions on the part of his Majesty's ministers, to hear them gravely asserting the necessity of establishing martial law in Ireland. He would concede to the noble lord, or any other of his Majesty's ministers, that in case of actual rebellion the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts must necessarily be suspended. Common law was in that interval annihilated. It was, during the continuance of such a calamity, virtually extinct. *Inter arma leges silent* was equally the institution of society and the dictate of reason and nature. He was far from wishing to dispute so obvious a position. But he must object to the introduction of any system to reconcile the existence of martial law and common law at the same period. If the courts of common law could go on with their functions, martial law was unnecessary and dangerous. On the other hand, if martial law were really necessary, the common law, however much the event must be lamented, must for a period lose its application and efficiency. On these principles he must, in an abstract view of the subject, disapprove of the re-enactment of the martial law bill. At the same time he had to lament what he observed at the outset of his speech, that he was so situated that he could not give a decided negative to either of the bills. He did not see sufficient grounds to induce him to think that they were necessary; but, as his Majesty's ministers had declared them to be necessary, he could not at such a moment as this oppose their future progress. He had thought it his duty shortly to deliver his sentiments, and he trusted he had said nothing which was inconsistent with his duty as an honest and independent member of Parliament.

Lord *Limerick* made a short but spirited reply. He had himself but a very short time ago left Ireland. He had made it his business to examine carefully into the present situation of that country, and he now rose to state to their lordships what was the result of that examination. What he was about to state was grounded on no loose or idle rumours, but was the result of positive knowledge and of honest feeling. Standing, then, in his place as a representative of the peerage of Ireland, he took on himself decidedly to assert, and he was confident that he should not be contradicted, that the re-enactment of both the bills now before their lordships was essentially necessary to the continuance of tranquillity in that part of the united empire. He could, with equal safety, make the same declaration in behalf of all the loyal part of the community in that country. They, to a man, expected that the bills would be renewed. They would consider any government which would not propose their renewal as indifferent to their best interests, and would curse the hour in which a united legislature was formed, which would not pass for their protection the measures which had been found so beneficial under a local legislature. The noble lord took occasion to allude to what has been said about the atrocity of the 23d of July, an atrocity, the infamy of which he was afraid would not be easily effaced from the character of his unfortunate country. With those who described the insurrection of that day as a contemptible riot, he could not possibly agree. Contemptible with regard to number it certainly was; but when its objects and ends were considered, it was of a very different description. He would assert, without fear of contradiction, that it bore distinctly all the features of the rebellion of 1798; that it looked to the same object of Irish separation from this country, that it was fomented before the breaking out of the war by French influence, and that latterly it was encouraged by the hope of French assistance. Such were his ideas of the insurrection of the 23d of July, and such he was sure were the views entertained of it by all the best affected, and most intelligent persons in Ireland.—As to the want of information adverted to by noble lords, he protested that he was altogether astonished at such language. The insurrection of the 23d of July, and the events which distinguished it, were matters of universal notoriety, and it was absurd to say that they did not furnish grounds to shew the necessity of the measure. It had been contended against the

necessity of renewing martial law, that the business of the ordinary courts of law was not suspended, that criminals were condemned and executed without molestation. This he did not wish by any means to deny; but he could account for it in a most satisfactory manner. It would be recollected, that the greater part of the late state trials had taken place in Dublin. Now, what he desired their lordships to know was, the state of that metropolis while these trials were going forward. At that time there was a force of armed men of not less than twelve thousand. Not a motion of insurrection could go forward. Not a step could be taken by the insurgents without an almost certain detection; under these circumstances it was not to be wondered at that tranquillity prevailed. It was unfair, however, to suppose that, if trials had taken place in remote districts, the same good order and peaceable conduct would have been observed. He was persuaded that the contrary would have been the case. There were, it is true, commissions in the counties of Antrim and Down, and there too no riot or disturbance was experienced. He was proud also to admit this, but at the same time, he thought it necessary to say, that in these counties the spirit of loyalty was decidedly prevalent. The noble lord considered, nevertheless, that nothing short of martial law could effectually keep down a spirit of insurrection, always ready to avail itself of favourable opportunities. A noble lord (Earl Suffolk,) had said a good deal of the grievances of Ireland, and had intimated his intention to move for a commission, composed of individuals connected with no party. He could not help considering this as a most extraordinary sort of proposition. Irish grievances formed now a very hacknied topic; but, even at present, he declared himself somewhat at a loss to understand the exact import of the term. He believed that those who dilated so much on this subject would collect much useful information from the testimony of Doctor Macneven, Doctor Arthur O'Connor, and Doctor Emmett, the brother of the young man who had lately forfeited his life to the violated laws of his country. What were, he desired their lordships to reflect, the sentiments of these most reverend doctors on the subject of Irish grievances? Was it catholic emancipation they sought for? No! this was beneath their notice. Was it equal representation? the thing was ridiculous. Was it the abolition of tythes? this was equally contemptible. In a word, it was nothing short of Irish independence, and the abolition of kingly government. These were the grievances of Ireland, about which, some noble lords appeared so concerned. The noble lord, after dwelling a little longer on this topic, sat down by giving his decided vote in favour of both bills.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that he would not have thought it necessary to trouble their lordships on the present occasion, had he not deemed it a duty which he owed, both to himself and to the House, in a question of a constitutional nature, to express openly and broadly the ground on which he supported the measure. He, along with the noble lord who spoke last, had, on a former occasion, given his most decided approbation of the adoption of a similar measure in this country at a period when the exigency of the case seemed to demand it. He felt gratified at the recollection of that circumstance, and he entertained, and, to the last moment of his existence, should entertain, the deepest sense of gratitude to the noble lord, and to his colleagues in office, for the adoption of that measure. To it, he was morally convinced, their lordships were indebted for their present tranquillity and comfort, and for the privilege which they now enjoyed, of deliberating how far they should submit to a temporary relinquishment of part of their rights, for the permanent preservation of the whole. That the measures now proposed were necessary he was conscious in his own mind. The whole circumstances, which had occurred, had convinced him of that necessity. He agreed with the noble lord, that it was not on the word of ministers that such necessity was to be taken for granted. Noble lords must be convinced that it actually existed, before they could agree to any measure which had for its object to encroach on the constitutional liberties of any part of the community. In considering this point, he could not throw out of his recollection that a measure, similar to the present, had been adopted with regard to Ireland, on the representation of several of the members for that country, after it had been previously gone into by their own legislature. Whether properly or not, he should not pretend to say, the measure had been allowed to drop; and another application for its renewal became necessary in consequence of the proceedings of the 23d July. It had been said this was a contemptible riot, and no insurrection; and that, therefore, we were not called on to continue the harsh enactments now proposed. His lordship said, that it was difficult in such a case, to say what was contemptible, and dangerous to sport with a

danger because it was apparently trifling. What in one hour appeared an inconsiderabe, or contemptible riot, might in a week be a formidable insurrection. What to day was an insurrection, might be in a condition to-morrow to brand with a similar epithet, the regular government which it had originally opposed. It was imprudent; it was worse—it was a desertion of our duty to tamper with popular feelings, or popular prepossessions, to disaffection. But, it was said, his Majesty's speech declared that every thing was quiet in Ireland, and held out a hope that the deluded people of that country had come to a sense of their folly. This, he maintained, was not a fair inference to be drawn from his Majesty's speech. By the vigilance of government, and by the effect of the late trials, any open appearance of disaffection had been stopped; and the speech, too, held out a hope that his Majesty's deluded subjects in that country were now restored to their senses. Might it not, however, be fairly inferred that one of the grounds of that hope was the existence of the very measures now under consideration, and the consciousness that such measures were calculated to aid the loyal subjects of that country in maintaining good order and tranquillity. He could not refrain from paying, not a compliment, but a merited tribute to the criminal jurisprudence of that country, for the temperate, yet firm and vigorous justice, which on the late trials it had administered. While its temperance and moderation must have conciliated the minds of those not lost to every sense of justice and reason, and have taught them to prize that law which, as British subjects, they enjoyed, its vigour must have greatly tended to keep in awe the licentious and unruly, and to convince them that its firmness was equal to its moderation and justice. The circumstance, that it was only found necessary on one occasion to resort to the extraordinary means now proposed, so far from evincing that such measures were not necessary, only shewed the delicacy which government observed in the use of them, and that such powers were properly entrusted to the Irish government. The knowledge that such powers might, when necessary, be employed, might have been the very cause which rendered the adoption less frequent. The notoriety of the recent outrages in Ireland; the uncertainty whether they were completely crushed, and the spirit of insurrection totally extinguished, were, his lordship conceived, sufficient grounds of the measure. Other grounds might exist, but it was unnecessary to press them forward, when circumstances to justify the measure were notorious to all. His lordship concluded by giving his hearty assent to the bills; an assent which, in similar circumstances, he should deem himself deficient in his duty were he to with-hold from similar applications, as to this country.

Earl *Darnley* insisted that no parliamentary ground was laid for the present measures. He did not, however, presume to say that they were not necessary. The House, however, ought to be fully convinced of their necessity, and that upon parliamentary grounds, before they passed them. He adverted to the conduct of the government of Ireland, which he was clearly of opinion, was surprised on the 23d of July. Blame, on this account, must attach to ministers, and the recal of the commander in chief seemed to fix it upon him. A noble lord (Limerick) had quoted the opinions of certain *state doctors*, viz. M'Neven, Emmet, and O'Connor.—" For my part," said Lord Darnley, " experience has taught me to expect no " good in politics from *a doctor !*"

Lord *Hobart* said, that he would not have troubled the House on the present occasion, had it not been for the concluding observations of the noble lord who spoke last. He knew that no blame did attach to government on that day. They were aware of the attack, and had given intimation to the commander of the forces and to the Superintendant of the Police. Government could not divine in what street the insurrection might break out; but had the rebels proceeded to the Castle, to the Bank, or to the depôt of arms, they would have found every thing in readiness for their reception. He thought it proper to state, that no blame was imputable to the commander of the forces. His dismissal from that situation was at his own request, and his immediate employment afterwards was not meant as a recompence for that situation, but because government would have deemed themselves culpable, had they allowed the military talents of an officer of such known abilities to remain unemployed at the present period.—The two bills were then read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, December 12.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Baldwin presented a petition from the prisoners confined for debt in the county gaol of Cardigan. Ordered to lie upon the table.—Mr. Corry brought up an estimate of the expenses attending

the Linen Board in Ireland for one year, from Jan. 5, 1804, to Jan. 5, 1805.—Leave was given to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to grant certain lands in Chertsey, &c. to H R. H. the Duke of York.—Mr. W. Dundas gave notice, that he should not bring forward, till after the recess, the motion which it was his inteution to make respecting the militia of Scotland.—Leave was given to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of their quarters.—Leave was given to bring in a bill for the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore. —Mr. Secretary Yorke moved the second reading of the bill for explaining two acts, passed in the 42d and 43d of his present Majesty, relating to volunteers and yeomanry corps. It was accordingly read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow. —The House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, in which a variety of small sums were voted for the maintenance of convicts at home and abroad, and other miscellaneous services voted annually.—Mr. Corry also moved the miscellaneous services for Ireland, which were agreed to ; and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[REPORT ON THE ARMY ESTIMATES.] On the motion for bringing up the report on the army estimates,

Colonel *Craufurd* rose and spoke as follows : — Sir ; in the debate which took place on Friday last, the Committee was so long occupied in attending to the speeches of gentlemen either the most distinguished for their talents or of the greatest weight from their official situations, that I thought it better to defer offering my opinions on the subject until the report should be brought up.—Amongst the various topics which have been, or naturally may be introduced into this discussion, there is no one which more prominently presents itself to my mind, than that which in the last session formed the ground of a specifick motion in this House. I mean, the establishment of a military council.—At a time when (in addition to the immense sums that the public is called upon in other ways to contribute for military purposes) Parliament deems it necessary to vote establishments so large and expensive as those contained in the estimates now before us ; at a time, Sir, when we are engaged in a war the most arduous and critical in which this country was ever involved, it undoubtedly is the first duty of every member of this House, to suggest all those means which in his judgment would conduce to the bringing our military system to the highest pitch of perfection, and to the placing the national defence and security upon a great, solid, and permanent basis ; and the accomplishment of these most important objects would, in my opinion, be greatly promoted by the establishment of a military council, properly composed. — When this subject was mentioned on Friday, last by an hon. gent. not now present (Mr. Fox), the Chancellor of the Exchequer told us, that he had reason to believe that many of those who formerly had wished for such a council, were now, upon further consideration of it, convinced that it would be productive of no advantage, and of many inconveniencies to the public service.—I cannot pretend to say what change may have taken place in the opinions of others, but I think it right to declare, that mine remains unaltered, that the vote which I formerly gave, when the question was agitated in this House, was not lightly given, and that having fully considered the subject since, I am confirmed in my conviction of the propriety of that vote.—But, before I proceed to state my reasons for adhering to this opinion, I cannot help expressing my surprize, that whenever the measure has been recommended on the one side, and resisted by his Majesty's ministers on the other, it has been resisted chiefly on the ground that it would imply a want of confidence in the abilities of the commander in chief.—For my own part, Sir, I am very sure that I never made any proposal, never stated any opinion or uttered a single expression in this House, which, if liberally or fairly construed, could possibly be considered as conveying any thing disrespectful or disparaging of that illustrious personage ; although I well recollect that such insinuations were thrown out against me both in and out of this House. —I am, however, totally regardless of what may be the effect of these or similar misrepresentations ; they shall never deter me from freely and openly delivering my opinions ; and, therefore, I have no hesitation in declaring that, in the present situation of affairs, I do not believe his Royal Highness to be capable, without further assistance, of doing ample justice to the country in the administration of the various branches of the military department of the public service. When I say this, it is not that I do not think as highly as any man of his Royal highness's abilities and exertion ; but I do not hold *him* to be equal to such a task, because I believe that no one man can perform it.—I am fully sensible, Sir, of the great advantages which the country has derived from his being placed at the head of the army ; and I know that he devotes himself to the discharge of his public duties with a degree of laborious assiduity, rarely to be met with in any man, and still more rarely, per-

baps, in a man of his high birth. But, completely occupied as he is, in dispatching the urgent and pressing business that daily occurs in the command of such a force as we now have on foot, it is not possible that he should have sufficient time and leisure left for reflecting, as deeply and maturely as the subject requires, on all the possible means of improving the national defence, and establishing it upon one great combined and permanent system.---But, it has been said, has he not already a council of able officers to assist him? Are not the staff this council?—Undoubtedly, Sir, his Royal Highness's staff is composed of very able and respectable officers; but they, too, are fully engaged with the details of their respective departments.—It has also been urged, that all the general officers who are employed, are, in fact, his council, as he has constant opportunities of having recourse to their advice; but here, again, I must object, not only that these general officers are greatly occupied with the particular business of their respective commands, but also that their being necessarily dispersed, at a great distance from the commander in chief, and from each other, is an obstacle to their rendering that service, which might be expected from such a council as I have in view.—But let it not be supposed that I am proposing a council, for the purpose of controlling the commander in chief, in the direction of the active operations of the army in the field. What I mean to recommend is a council, comprising within it some officers of great experience and acknowledged abilities, who would devote the whole of their time to the mature investigation of every means, that might be proposed by others, or should occur to themselves, for increasing our military strength, digesting and combining the whole into one great and comprehensive system.—The establishment of such a council, of which the commander in chief would be president, and the master and lieutenant general of the ordnance (amongst others) would be members, would have the advantage of uniting and bringing, under one view, those different branches of the military service which are now independent of each other; as every thing relating to the military branch of the ordnance department would come under its cognizance,—I say the *military*, as contradistinguished from the *naval* branch.—I also think, that, without being accused of speaking slightingly either of his Royal Highness the commander in chief, or of the noble lord at the head of the ordnance, I may be allowed to say, that any proposal for the defence of the country, coming from such a council, would carry with it greater weight than if proceeding either from the commander in chief or from the master general; and that ministers would feel, that in neglecting to attend to such a recommendation, they would take upon themselves a serious responsibility.—Ministers, indeed, and those who approve of their conduct, contend, that nothing necessary for the defence of the empire has been neglected; from whence they infer, that we have not felt the want of such a council; but, as I deny the premises, I cannot grant the conclusion. I contend, that there has been much neglect and mismanagement; and, to prove this assertion, I must shortly revert to a period which was referred to in the former debate, I mean that immediately subsequent to the treaty of Amiens.—Without at all entering into the merits of that treaty, I shall merely say, that, even if after the conclusion of it, the conduct of the French government had been apparently pacific; yet, when we consider that by that treaty we recognized them as legitimate sovereigns of the Netherlands, and that the possession of that country, which at any time would have given France a predominant influence in Holland, does in the present state of Europe give them the absolute command of it; it undoubtedly behoved us to adopt a new and more enlarged military system than had ever before been deemed necessary, and to employ ourselves during the peace in strengthening our means of defence in proportion to the increased means of offence which France would possess in case of a renewal of war.—This, I say, was obviously necessary, even supposing the conduct of the French government had been apparently pacific. But, what was their conduct? What it really was, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to examine; it is sufficient for my argument to consider in what light his Majesty's ministers themselves viewed it, which they have fully explained to us in their declaration on the renewal of hostilities.—They there tell us, that "It may with truth be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult on the part of the French government." That "it is impossible to reflect on the different proceedings, and the course which the French government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident, but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted, for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his Majesty and his government." Now, Sir, I ask, is it possible that his Majesty's ministers, viewing the conduct of France in

this light, should really have thought that the peace would be of long duration? Is it possible that any set of men, composing the government of this brave and powerful nation, of a people jealous of their honour, and at all times ready to resent an insult offered to themselves or their Sovereign? Is it, I say, possible, that the ministers of such a country should have been capable of believing, that we could long remain at peace with a government which, as they themselves tell us, had, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, acted upon a system of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his Majesty and his government? Under such circumstances, I cannot help supposing that they must at least have considered the duration of the peace to be very precarious: and if it was easy for them to foresee the probability of war, it was no less easy to foresee what would be the *nature* of it. Has a single circumstance occurred which was not expected? Did they reckon upon the co-operation of allies, who have since deserted them? No; they could have no such expectation. Is Buonaparté's project of invading this country any thing new and unexpected? Certainly not. When they made the peace of Amiens, they knew he had it in contemplation, if the war had continued; and, therefore, might be sure that if it should be renewed under such circumstances, he would again prepare to invade us? Since then, they must have foreseen both the probability of a rupture, and the precise nature of the war that would ensue. Did it not once occur to them to consider a little what measures were or might eventually become necessary to meet such an attack? Did they not consider that a rapid increase of the army would become necessary, and that, therefore, it was their duty to prepare beforehand the means of effecting it? Could they not foresee, that in a war of such a nature, they would be obliged to call upon a great part of the population of the country to assist the army in its defence? And did it never occur to them, that, in order to enable the people to fight, it would be necessary to give them arms? I am perfectly ready to admit, that the statement made by a noble lord (Castlereagh) on Friday last, respecting the number of arms that have been issued, is more satisfactory than circumstances had led me to expect; and I have no hesitation in declaring, that, in my mind, it fully acquits the board of ordnance of any imputation of neglect or want of exertion since the breaking out of the war. But, I am not the less of opinion, that the ministers were, in the highest degree culpable, for not having long ago enabled that department to fill the arsenals; and, it is a notorious fact, that much less than two months ago, nay, at the very period (I mean Michaelmas) when, by the general Training Bill, as first brought into the House by his Majesty's ministers, all exercising and drilling was to have been suspended till Lady Day next, not one half of the volunteers were armed. Another precaution, which the situation of this country, after the peace of Amiens, naturally suggested the propriety of adopting, but which appears, during that period, to have been wholly overlooked, is that of defensive works: and no man, I think, will deny, that if these had been commenced, as they ought to have been, during the peace, our coasts would now have been in a state of much greater security, than any which they can derive from such imperfect works as have since been hastily thrown up. No man, for instance, can doubt that the towers mentioned on Friday by my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) or other works possessing the properties of these towers, I mean security against assault, would afford much more effectual opposition to disembarkation, than can be expected from low and weak batteries, which may be easily taken possession of by the enemy's infantry. These, Sir, and other such measures of defence and precaution, would probably not have been neglected by his Majesty's ministers, if they had been recommended, as no doubt they would have been, by such a council as I have proposed; because, as I have before observed, the neglecting to attend to the advice of such a council (recorded as it would be on their minutes) would have thrown upon ministers a greater degree of responsibility than attaches to the not adopting the advice of any *one* man, however elevated his rank.—It will be said, I suppose, that all these measures would have been expensive, and that it was, therefore, advisable to practise economy, to keep up the funds, &c.; a mode of reasoning which does not deserve an answer. But, what will be the excuse for having neglected those precautions which were not attended with any expense? If it was foreseen, as it certainly must have been, that a rapid increase of the regular forces, and a great armament of the people would be necessary, why, at least, were not those laws prepared at leisure, which, when a rupture took place, it would become the duty of government to propose to Parliament for the carrying these measures into effect? As an excuse for the imperfect state in which the different bills were brought forward, it is said, that they were framed under the pressure of critical

circumstances. and that such a system could not be expected to be made perfect at once. Now this, which they allege as an excuse, is, in fact, the very ground of my charge against them. Their defence, in this case, like their justification of the Irish government, only makes the matter worse; for, I ask, why were these measures hastily framed under the pressure of critical circumstances? Why were they not maturely considered and digested before the renewal of a war which must have been foreseen?—A most serious evil resulting *entirely* from the mistakes committed in drawing up these bills is, that we now have nearly 400,000 men exempted from the army of reserve and militia ballot. I have, indeed, heard the right hon. Sec. of State maintain, that the granting these exemptions was not, as I contend, the effect of a mistake; but that it was in the contemplation of Parliament, at the time, to give to the act, under which the volunteers claim the exemption, the full effect, which it has since been discovered to have produced. Now, I am perfectly convinced, that the great majority at least of this House had no such intention; and I have good reason to suppose, that his Majesty's ministers themselves had it not; for it appears, that sometime after the close of the session, the Sec. of State wrote a letter to the Attorney and Solicitor General, desiring to know, whether, in their opinion, the volunteers were really entitled to these exemptions? It is, indeed, curious to observe, how this clause, granting exemptions, got into the system.—In passing the act for raising the army of reserve, the greatest anxiety was shewn by the Committee, to confine the exemptions within as narrow limits as possible; and the act provides, that only such volunteers should be exempted as had been accepted before the 22d day of June, 1803.—In the general Training Bill, which followed the above, it is expressly enacted, that this act is not to exempt persons from being balloted for the militia or army of reserve.—In the 120th ch. Geo. III. being an act for amending the last mentioned, no notice is taken of exemption from ballot. But there comes a Bill, of which, from its title, it was impossible for any member to suppose, that any thing contained in it would repeal one of the most important provisions of the preceding acts, but which has since been discovered to have produced this effect.—It is the 121st chap. Geo. III. and is entitled, "An Act for billetting Volunteers when assembled, for subjecting to military discipline Serjeants, Trumpeters, Drummers, and Buglemen, who receive constant pay; and for the further regulating such Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps." And this is the Act, which, in the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, given in answer to a query from the Secretary of State, is declared to have repealed that clause of the Army of Reserve Bill, which denied the exemption from ballot to any volunteers, excepting those who had been accepted before the 22d of June. I, therefore, cannot believe that this was intentionally done by his Majesty's ministers; and I am very sure it was without the knowledge of by far the greater part, if not the whole, of the other members of this House. Now, this general exemption, which I consider as the effect of a *mistake* in the framers of the last Bill, is, in my opinion, by far the greatest defect in the whole of the volunteer system. It greatly interferes with the recruiting the army of reserve and militia; it gives to certain persons in the volunteer corps a very improper power of deciding, who shall or shall not be subject to the ballots, accordingly as they please to accept or reject the offers of those who wish to enter their corps; and it gives a dubious character to the whole volunteer institution, inasmuch as it is now impossible to distinguish those who come forward from pure zeal and patriotism, from such as are actuated only by a desire of escaping the operation of the other Bills.—Sir, before I conclude, I must take the opportunity of again reverting to the subject of fortifications; and, without entering into any detailed reasoning, I will assert, that, without fortifications, every defensive system must be extremely imperfect. To execute them on a great scale is, undoubtedly, a work of time; but, I ask, has any such system been *commenced?*—In Ireland, for instance, where the necessity of fortresses has been recognised and pointed out, I believe, by every officer who ever gave an opinion on the subject, I do not understand that government has gone the length of even marking out a single spot of ground for the purpose. With respect to the extent to which it would be advisable to carry the system of fortifications in England, there may be some variety of opinion; but there is one subject upon which, *if we are really exposed to invasion*, no difference of opinion can possibly exist. I mean the propriety of fortifying a great military dépôt and place of arms; that is to say, of fortifying it at least to such a degree that it cannot be taken without a siege: for, although I go, perhaps, as far as any man, in believing that the enemy may effect the disembarkation of a great force in this country, yet, I am aware,

that he will have very great difficulty in landing all the ammunition and military stores that are necessary for a long operation. If, therefore, our military dépôts were secure against a coup de main, the enemy, unable to possess himself of them, would find the difficulties of an invasion infinitely increased, as he would be under the necessity of attempting to form a magazine of his own, and of preserving a communication with it. I must repeat, that if such a council as I have proposed had existed, I do not believe that all these precautions would have been so completely neglected, as they appear to have been.—With respect to the estimates themselves, they appear to be little different from the establishment voted during the last session, and I have, therefore, little to remark upon them; but as it is, undoubtedly, of the utmost importance that the regular army should be increased as much as possible, I must again repeat my regret, that the measure which was successfully adopted last war, has not again been resorted to; I mean that of recruiting from the militia; for without disparagement to the latter, I may be allowed to say, that the former is a more efficient force. I also regret that the militia of Great-Britain and Ireland has not been made interchangeable: a measure which always appeared to me, to be *one* of the advantages that would naturally result from the union.—There is another species of military arrangement highly deserving of attention (I know not how far it has been carried); I mean an extensive organization of the unarmed peasantry into corps of pioneers. It is impossible to estimate too highly the benefit which we should derive from their assistance, particularly when we consider, that the face of this country, covered as it is with enclosures, is of a nature that greatly impedes the action of those two descriptions of force in which we shall be so decidedly superior to an invading enemy, that is to say, cavalry and artillery. The advantage of this superiority we shall be in a great measure deprived of, without the aid of numerous bodies of pioneers to facilitate the operation of these two arms. I should, therefore, be desirous of seeing a great proportion of the peasantry immediately enrolled into corps for this purpose; and I should recommend that they should, at the same time, be armed with pikes, the manufacture of which requires very little time or expense, and which they can make use of without any previous instruction. With this arm I am convinced, that, in opposing a disembarkation, and on many other occasions, they would add very powerfully to the effect of an attack, if they were judiciously managed, and not exposed to the enemy's fire until the moment presented itself for charging him.

Mr. *Rose* said, it was by no means his intention to oppose any of the resolutions, but he wished to make a few observations connected with the general subject before the House, The principle point on which he meant to trouble the House, related to the measures necessary to be adopted in the event of marching volunteers to the coast. It appeared to him that the sum, proposed to be voted for volunteers, was too small, because, upon the best calculation he could make, it would require very little less than one million. If they were to be employed at all in that way, he thought that some provision ought to be made for their families. Upon this subject he had lately had some correspondence with one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and he begged to acknowledge the great readiness which that right hon. gent. had shewn to attend to his representations. There was in one of the acts a provision upon this subject, in case the volunteers were called out upon actual service. Some doubt had arisen respecting the word "called" out on actual service; but, in his opinion, if they were out, some provision ought to be made for their families, Some of the corps in his neighbourhood were now upon actual duty, and when they offered their services for that purpose, they made no stipulations upon the subject. When he learnt from the Lord Lieut. that it was wished that some of the volunteers should march to the coast, he assembled the corps nearest to him, and when the proposal was made to them, they cheerfully offered their services: of 296 there was but one man that made the smallest objection to it. Afterwards, some of them came to him, and represented the impossibility of their maintaining their families. The corps, to which he alluded, was in general composed of labouring men, who earned, upon an average, about nine shillings a week; with this they were enabled to maintain their families. If they were marched from home, they would receive a shilling a day, out of which it was obvious they could not maintain both themselves and their families, it would, therefore, be absolutely necessary that some provision should be made for their families, otherwise it would be impossible for them to

continue, in the service. The corps to which he alluded, were animated with the most ardent desire to devote their services to the public, and to go wherever their services could be useful. When he was speaking to them about marching, and explaining to them their district, they said, "Don't tell us, Sir, about districts, we will follow our officers any where." Out of 296 men, of which the corps was composed, 294 marched from home, and were now actually on duty. He had heard regularly from the commanding officer, ever since they marched, and every letter was full of applauses of the conduct of the men. This spirit was not confined to the spot to which he alluded, it was, he was sure, general all over the country, and he should be sorry indeed to see such a spirit damped. It at first occurred to him, that the allowance to their families ought to be paid by the county; but, upon consideration, he thought otherwise, because the burthen would then fall peculiarly heavy on the maritime counties, where the volunteers would be most frequently required to march to the coast, and therefore he thought they ought to be paid out of the general fund. This was a subject on which he really felt much anxiety, and therefore the House, he hoped, would excuse him for occupying their time. With regard to the state of defence of that part of the coast with which he was acquainted, it was not his wish to make any observations which could convey any information to the enemy. Indeed it was not in his power, because he was sure they were as well acquainted with the state of the coast as we were. They knew that many parts of it were unprotected. It was not a great many weeks ago (and the circumstance was known to one of his Majesty's ministers, who was not far from the place at the time), that a spy actually took a boat and went over to France, with two recruits for the enemy. He was happy to say, however, that measures had since been taken to prevent this. With regard to the volunteer force in general, he was perfectly convinced, that it would turn out completely efficient. — Upon this subject, he totally differed from a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham). He did not speak upon his own judgment, because he would never give an opinion upon a subject upon which he was incompetent to form one correctly, but he spoke from what he had heard from every officer with whom he had conversed, particularly the reviewing generals—From them he had never heard but one opinion, and that was, that they would do their duty as well as any regular troops.—Nothing certainly could be more desirable than to take every opportunity of bringing small volunteer corps together, so as to act in batallion, and this he was convinced would not be so difficult as many gentlemen imagined—He saw very lately 1,400 men assembled, many of whom had marched 13 or 14 miles; they went through their evolutions, and marched back again without a single murmur, though the weather was uncommonly severe—He therefore hoped that every means would be used to bring them as often as possible into batallion. He was perfectly convinced that they would not give way even in line before any troops to which they might be opposed. The only apprehension he entertained was that if they were brought into action, they would be impetuous. If history was looked into, innumerable instances would be found where troops not so well disciplined or instructed had stood firm and defeated veteran troops. But even if they could not stand in line they would be of most important use as light troops and as rifle-men. A friend of his who had seen a great deal of service, particularly in Holland and Egypt, declared, that during these campaigns he had not seen the French above twice in line. It was known that a great part of their troops consisted of tirailleurs, who were not used in line but as light troops. The hon. officer who spoke last had alluded to the possibility of the enemy effecting a landing. He by no means agreed with those who thought it was impossible for the French to escape our blockading squadrons. He believed it was impossible for any officer, however vigilant or skilful, so completely to block up any port, as that it should be absolutely impracticable for the enemy by any accident to effect their escape. But if the enemy should escape, he begged the House to consider what a line of defence we had upon our own coasts. He had heard with great satisfaction that we had no less than 800 armed vessels employed for the defence of the coast. He could state, from his own knowledge, that on that part of the coast with which he was acquainted, there were eighty of these vessels armed with carronades, ready to start from every creek to annoy the ennemy on their approach; they were manned with men who perfectly understood the management of these vessels, and were thoroughly acquainted with every inch of the coast, and he had no doubt, but they would very nearly destroy any flotilla the enemy could send, before they could make any impression upon our coast. If, therefore, the volunteers were encouraged, he had no doubt but that, with the assist-

ance of that force to which he had just alluded, the country would be completely safe. He was only anxious that the volunteers should meet with that encouragement and protection which they deserved.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* entirely concurred in the opinion of the right hon. gent. who had just sat down; but thought the subject might be more properly discussed on the particular resolution than on the report. The volunteers, in his own opinion, were not entitled to such allowances, either by the 42d or 43d of his Majesty, though the Board of Treasury had issued orders to the receivers general to make them, in case of volunteers called out on actual service. But if any doubt existed in the minds of other gentlemen on the subject, a clause to remove it might be introduced into the Bill, now before the House, for amending the Volunteer Acts, which he proposed to have read a second time this day, in order that it should be committed to-morrow. Government had not called on the services of the volunteer corps to the extent that might have been thought desirable, from the difficulty of procuring accurate returns. The number now on duty voluntarily was about 14,000. He was not aware of any thing more he had to say: when the resolution should be under the consideration of the House, he should take that opportunity of stating his opinion as to any observations it may give rise to.

Mr. *Pitt* did not mean to object to the Report, because he fully concurred in the resolutions contained in it, to the utmost of their extent. He rose only to correct some mistatements from misconception, which had been made of his sentiments on a former day. With respect to a proposition which he had thought it his duty to submit to the House, on that occasion, for the formation of volunteer corps into battalions, and the appointment of field officers to each battalion, one misconception had possibly arisen from his wish to save the time of the House, in not going at length into the explanation of his proposal. So far from having for its object the appointment of field officers, who were to have a controul over the colonels commandants of the corps, nothing could be more repugnant to his feelings or sentiments. He had, he thought, distinctly stated, that his sole and great object was, to afford the commandants of corps the benefit of the assistance and advice of officers not their superiors; but, from experience, competent to aid them effectually by their instruction; and the more he reflected, the more he was convinced of the advantages that would result from the adoption of his proposal. No commandant could look with confidence to the period of leading his men to actual service, if refused the advice of professional men, capable, by their skill and experience, of promoting the discipline of their corps; and he took this opportunity, both on his own account, and on the behalf of others, who entertained the same sentiments with himself on the subject, to apply for such assistance. How far others may be disposed to accept such assistance, he could not take upon himself to say; but he should sincerely rejoice that other commandants of volunteer corps could go with confidence into action without such an advantage. He hoped, however, that if many should be found desirous of the benefit arising from the advice and assistance of experienced officers, they should not be deprived of it in consequence of an opposite opinion on the part of others. Another misconception was, that his wish was to make the regulation general, but he had never proposed extending the appointment of regular officers to any battalions, but those which should apply for them, and he sincerely hoped that all would do so. He had discharged his duty in submitting his proposition to the House, which he did not mean to press in the present instance; but, unless he should hear more weighty arguments against it than mere considerations of economy, or of its being likely to be unpopular, he should consider it his duty to persist in his object, which he looked upon as material to the most important interests of the country. How far the principle should be carried, he could not take upon himself to say, neither should he enter into a detailed consideration of the mode of applying it in every circumstance, because he was no friend to any general rule, any unbending maxim, where the variety of circumstances might, in many cases, render a departure from it necessary. He was sure, however, that too much attention could not be bestowed on the instruction and improvement of the volunteer force of the country in military discipline and evolutions; and he was persuaded, notwithstanding the opinion entertained by a right hon. friend opposite (Mr. Windham), that there were many regiments of volunteer corps already in a state of discipline to fit them for actual service, and whenever it should be necessary for them to act in line, that the volunteer corps would not be found the weakest part of the line. He should not consent to invert all the ordinary maxims of prudence, he should not let it be said, that they were making Acts of Parliament, putting the country to vast expense; and that, after all, what they had done was good for nothing, and absolutely inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended. He

looked upon the volunteers as completely capable, with proper attention, of rendering the country impregnable, but he must think, however, that the service, as light troops, which seemed to be most approved by gentlemen, for volunteers, in place of requiring less discipline, was that which required the highest degree of discipline. It was a simple operation to make them act in line, but it required a much higher state of discipline to enable troops, after suffering a temporary disorder to re-assemble with regularity and return to the attack. It was like a slow and regular machinery at first, which, by progressive improvement, might be afterwards advanced to the highest pitch of nicety and precision. He did not mean to enter further into the discussion, but, as an humble individual, he could not neglect this opportunity of putting in his claim on the part of those who are prepared to devote their lives in the cause of their country, that assistance should not be denied them in any instance of their applying for it. Let it not be said, that because we have three or four hundred thousand men, ready to act as armed peasants, that we are therefore satisfied. Neither should it be said, that because they had made considerable progress in military discipline, they had reached the perfection of military science. Much had been done, but much remained to be done, and it was only by constant, renewed, and active attention, that the common object of all was to be accomplished. By persevering in a wise system of instruction and discipline for the volunteers, every year would afford an additional improvement, which, in the end, would defeat every attempt of an inveterate enemy, would enable us to continue with spirit and confidence the contest in which we were engaged, tedious as it was likely to prove, and conduct us to a long series of years of secure and honorable peace. Thus much he had thought it necessary to say: he should only add, his conviction, though much more had been done, than some gentlemen were disposed to admit, much less had been effected than sanguine persons were too apt to suppose.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* agreed with his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) in the opinion he entertained respecting the efficiency of the volunteer corps. He was also ready to admit, that every possible effort should be made to render them as perfect as possible in discipline. He, however, doubted much whether the proposition of his right hon. friend could be carried into effect to the extent he wished. Adjutants and serjeant-majors, he did not deny, ought to be appointed in every case where the members of the corps required them, provided care were taken that none but proper and competent persons should be appointed, and that the places should be filled rather with a view to the public interest, than, as on former occasions, from favour. He feared it was impracticable to procure field officers from the line, if his hon. friend's plan were to be pursued, in sufficient numbers. There were 604 troops of cavalry, 102 companies of artillery, and 3,947 companies of volunteer infantry. The cavalry alone would require sixty field officers, and the others in proportion. The officers on the half-pay list had been provided for in the reserve, and many could not be procured from amongst those who had retired, many having been appointed inspecting officers of the volunteers. He was aware the right hon. gentleman would say that field officers would not be required for all the battalions; but as these should be taken from the regiments of the line, either field officers or the oldest captains, he thought it impracticable. Besides, he should be loth to interfere with officers of that descrrption, who may be dissatisfied at their removal. In the next place, he was as little disposed to be deterred from the pursuit of a measure of national importance by the apprehension of its unpopularity as any hon. gentleman, yet he could not think it would be acting altogether fairly with the captains of volunteer corps, over whose heads field officers would necessarily be put, though they may not be superior to the colonels. Here the right hon. Secretary begged to remind the House of the conduct of Parliament last session with respect to the introduction of regular officers into the militia. They had authorized the admission of subalterns and captains; but they stopped short at field officers, and this appeared to him a kind of parliamentary barrier. He had himself, as a militia officer, and from having turned his thoughts particularly to the subject, entertained an opinion, that the introduction of regular officers, even field officers into the militia, would have promoted the efficiency of the regiments, and he had doubts of the policy of limiting the admission to captains and subalterns. He did not mean any disrespect to the militia in saying this. There was another objection, which, though not very material, ought not to be lost sight of, he meant the expense. Three hundred or three hundred and fifty would at least be necessary, and these would be placed on half pay at the end of the war, whereby they would lose their prospects of promotion in their profession.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he would take an opportunity of bringing forward his proposition on the resolution respecting the volunteers.

Mr. *Curwen*, as one who had mistaken the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), declared himself satisfied with his explanation. He thought the appointment of field officers would be too expensive, but was of opinion, that adjutants and serjeant-majors should be appointed to battalions, and that the adjutants should have the rank of captain by brevet.—The Report was then received. On the first resolution, that a force of 129,039 men be granted for guards and garrisons, being read,

Mr. *Pitt* expressed his satisfaction at so large a vote, but desired to be informed what the actual effective force of the country was at present, what its deficiency from the number in the vote, and what mode was proposed for supplying the deficiency?

Lord Castlereagh supposed the right hon. gentleman alluded to a statement of his on Friday; he had then stated the effective force of the United Kingdom to be 176,000 men, 80,000 of whom were militia, and of course 96,000 regulars, of whom 26,000 were only for limited service, so that the force for general service was 69,000 rank and file. The most material deficiency, therefore, was in the regulars. There were of the 50,000 of which the army of reserve was to be composed, 14 or 15,000 not yet raised, which arose from the time of the year at which the act passed, in harvest. In Ireland, too, it was later, but the execution of it was proceeding favourably at present, and if the country were to continue its efforts, that deficiency would soon be made up. The crown would have a discretion in promoting the recruiting of the regular army from the army of reserve, by allowing a bounty.

Mr. *Pitt* wished to be informed by what mode the deficiency, below the number voted, which, in his view amounted to about 23,000, was proposed to be raised in a short time. He considered the reserve as regulars, though engaged only for limited service. As drummers and non-commissioned officers were not included, they, he supposed, might be considered equal to 9 or 10,000.

Lord *Castlereagh* replied, that the deficiency, making allowance for drummers, &c. did not exceed 20,000, which was to be made up by the 15,000 of the army of reserve, not yet raised, and by such modes as should be deemed most likely to promote the general service of recruiting. If the country would put its shoulders to the business, there would be no reason, on the meeting of Parliament, to regret any deficiency. With this supply from the reserve, there would only be 5,000 deficient, and on the gross militia of the United Empire, there was only a deficiency of 8,000.

Mr. *Pitt* observed here that the army of reserve was by the act intended to have been raised in proportion to the population of the several districts, and no substitute was to have been received who should not be of the same, or of an adjacent county. The provisions of the act were violated whenever crimps were employed to procure substitutes, and considerable inconvenience was felt in many places, by adhering to the dispositions of the act.—After a few words from the Secretary at War and Mr. Fuller, the resolution was agreed to.—The several other resolutions were then read and agreed to.—On the question being put on the last resolution relative to the volunteers,

Mr. *Pitt* said, he was sorry to be obliged on this resolution, again to address the House, on the subject of his proposition. The objections of the Right Hon. Sec. seemed to him to be founded on two or three grounds; first, a doubt whether a sufficient number of field officers could be procured; 2dly, an apprehension of creating discontent amongst the officers of the volunteer corps; and 3dly, the injury that the officers thus employed would sustain by being placed on half-pay after the war. The two first appeared inconsistent with each other. The first proceeded on a supposition that 4 or 500 would be necessary, and the second on the supposition that the corps would be dissatisfied; but as his proposition extended only to such as should apply, if there should not be many applications the first objection as to the number would be done away, and if many should apply as he hoped all would, then there could be no discontent, and the second objection vanished. But he maintained, that a sufficient number could be supplied from the line. Each regiment consisted of 750, had two lieut. colonels, two majors, and ten captains, and the question therefore would be, whether it was more material to the public security that every old regiment should have its number of old captains complete, or every battalion of 1,000 volunteers, have an efficient field officer to prepare them, by discipline, to accomplish the common object of all, the effectual defence and security of their country? But, if the regiments of the line could not afford the numbers necessary, the half-pay officers might be employed, or those who had retired from the service, or from amongst

those meritorious officers who had been in the India Company's service.—As to the other circumstances of discontent, there would be reason to apprehend that there may be disappointment, if not discontent, should the application for such assistance be refused. As to the third objection, the aukward situation to which the appointment would reduce the officers, by exposing them to be placed on half-pay, and interfering with their promotion, he could not, in his view of the question, admit such a conclusion. He could not perceive why such officers might not be in as fair a situation to be promoted to vacancies as if employed in any other way.—There was another general subject on which the Right Hon. Sec. had touched, though he had applied it somewhat whimsically. He had stated as his opinion, that the admission of regular officers into militia regiments was a wise measure, and he was even disposed to go further than the legislature had done; it was fair then to turn his personal judgment against himself, and insist that with such an opinion he cannot consistently object to the proposition, for if regular officers were of great benefit to the militia, they must, of course, be equally so to the volunteers, and he had no hesitation in saying, that though he thought the decision of Parliament right, he now, with his eyes open, asserted it was erroneous. He therefore hoped that gentlemen would not object to the proposition; he would not, however, press it then; but unless he should understand it to be the intention of his Majesty's government to adopt some such regulation, he would bring it forward again hereafter.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* considered the reasons advanced by his right hon. friend, against adopting the proposition to its full extent satisfactory. He concurred in the principle, but he had doubts of its practicability. The number of volunteers in the united empire was 430,000, which, if formed into battalions of 500 each, and from local circumstances a greater number could not be assembled, would require 860 field officers. He admitted that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), had distinctly stated battalions, not corps, on a former occasion.—The half-pay could not supply any officers, the whole on that establishment having been appointed to the reserve. It would, therefore, be necessary to resort to the regulars. The whole ammunt of the regiments in the united kingdom was 76; there were 25 or 26 regiments of cavalry; but taking the whole at 100, to supply 860 each battalion should afford eight officers. Though the right hon. gent. had distinctly mentioned captains, not field officers, it would be admitted, that they should be men not only of military acquirements, but of temper, and address to manage with effect so vast a force. He had considerable doubt in his mind, concerning a measure that would go to take its very essence from the army. Besides the individuals themselves would quit reluctantly, nor, though employed in the same glorious cause, would they be satisfied with the same species of renown which they might acquire in acting with the volunteers, and therefore he did not think it right to take from the army, persons unwilling to commute their services. He had some doubt as to the application of the principle, because, from what had come to his knowledge within the last four days, he had reason to think, that the corps would not be satisfied that regular officers should be ingrafted on their original body; their original institution was to serve under officers with whom they were connected by every tie of intimacy and acquaintance, and, therefore, the proposition, with respect to them, involved an aukward alternative. He knew, if it was put to them, they possibly might not object to it, though, at the same time, it might create a degree of discontent, which could never have been in the contemplation of the right hon. gent. who had brought forward the question. On these grounds he entertained doubts as to the principle, though he was prepared to admit that every effort ought to be made to give greater efficiency to the volunteer corps and to give some more confidence in going into action. He could not help thinking the House indebted to the right hon. gent. for his suggestion, as well as for that respecting adjutants, which had been adopted, and produced much good effect. Another suggestion of the right hon. gent. also for brigading small corps, under generals from the regular forces, was likely to be attended with much benefit. These generals, and their respective staffs, would be a drain from the line equal to what it could bear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then adverted to the admission of regular officers into the militia, which was chiefly composed of substitutes. The same regulation did not apply to the volunteers, because the chief object was to preserve the genuine relations between the officers and privates, and, therefore, the introduction of regular officers amongst them was much more liable to objection than in the militia, where the prevalence of substitutes

weakened that connection.—As he was up he should take the opportunity of adverting to the deficiency in the military, which, he was happy to say, was, in an unprecedented degree, small; and the most effectual measures were to be taken to fill it up, so that when Parliament should next meet, gentlemen would have no reason to regret any deficiency. In the artillery, which consisted of 13,000, there were not more than 480 deficient, and measures would be taken to fill up the deficiency in the regulars with all possible dispatch.

Mr. *Windham* did not mean to trouble the House at any length, after what he had said on a former occasion; but, as many topics were then omitted, and some important suggestions had since been made, he thought it not wholly unnecessary to say a few words.—His right hon friend under the gallery (Mr. Pitt), had explained and enforced, with his usual ability, the measures which he had wished to see adopted for the improvement of the volunteer system; observing, with too much truth, that his ideas in that respect, were diametrically opposite to those of Mr. Windham. He lamented the fact, and not the less sincerely, because it must happen in consequence, that *his* ideas must be diametrically opposite to those of his right hon. friend. It was always painful to him to differ from his right hon friend, with whom he so generally agreed: and independent of that feeling, there was commonly the further cause of regret, that his opinion, so opposed, had less chance of being received. It was not on that account, however, less necessary, that he should state the grounds, on which his opinion was formed.—His objections certainly did not arise from any general feeling adverse to voluntary service. On the contrary, he had always strongly declared himself in favour of voluntary service, as opposed to that which was compulsory: but voluntary service did not necessarily mean service of volunteer corps, such as they were now constituted. Here and there, perhaps, the cases might concur. One of the corps which he should have looked to, though resembling in some degree those to which he was objecting, was the corps of which his right hon. friend was at the head: and which had contributed, probably not a little, to lead him to the ideas which he now entertained respecting volunteer corps in general. This was a corps, formed in peculiar circumstances, and with peculiar advantages both in respect of its leader, and of the men of whom it was composed. His right hon. friend was not to conclude that what could be done by himself, circumstanced too as he was, could be done by any other commander, and with respect to any ordinary corps. His right hon. friend had at once his own personal powers, his general authority in the country, and the authority of his high provincial office. He had a people to deal with rendered tractable by a more immediate exposure to the danger, and animated with something of a peculiar character, and peculiar duties. It was the experience of what might be done in these particular circumstances, which had misled, as he conceived, his right hon. friend in his ideas of this service in general. For his part, he must confess, that the notions which he entertained, and the conclusions which he was led to draw, were altogether different. He must object to the volunteer system; first, as being very ill-adapted to the principal and more immediate purpose, for which it was wanted; as increasing most materially the difficulties of recruiting the army; as being liable to have a most injurious influence on the character and conduct of the army; as infringing the just claims, and violating the reasonable feelings, of military men, by confounding those distinctions which they had hitherto enjoyed exclusively, and effecting a general depreciation of military titles and honours; as confounding the ranks and gradations in civil life, while it disturbed and deranged the ordinary functions of society; and lastly, as liable to become a source of great future political danger, such as might be apprehended always, from great bodies of armed men subject to no military control, and whose constitution at this moment was, in innumerable instances, precisely that, which would be most likely to give birth to such danger, and to render it formidable, were it to take place. A proof of this he would give to the House, (since he perceived in some parts expressions of incredulity,) by producing the constitution of one of the principal corps in this city, which had been recently furnished to him, and which he had in his pocket. It would appear by this, that the corps was governed, not by officers approved and appointed by his Majesty, but by committees and sub-committees, so constructed, as that it might happen continually that questions the most important to the proceedings and well being of the corps, might be decided by a *quorum*, in which there should be *six* privates to *one* officer. Any thing more completely democratical, or better supplied with all the apparatus usually provided for such purposes, could not have been furnished by

any of the dealers in constitutions to be found in the Corresponding Society. It was impossible, therefore, to look at these institutions, however full of zeal and loyalty at present, and to reflect on what they might become hereafter, without a considerable degree of jealousy and uneasiness. One effect of their power was already apparent in the complete conquest which they had obtained over his Majesty's ministers. It was plain, that the hon. gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) did not dare to stir a step respecting them, without first asking their leave. It was whimsical to see the embarrassment in which he was placed, between his fear of rejecting a proposition coming from the right hon. gent. behind him, (Mr. Pitt) and the greater dread of offending the volunteers. Both were objects of terror, and the combination of the two fears seemed likely to produce a kind of oblique course in the right hon. gent., that would satisfy neither one side nor the other. This was not the natural situation for a government to be placed in. A military measure, before it was adopted, might, with great propriety, be referred to those, who were likely to have a good judgment in military affairs; but the question referred would be, "what is good upon the whole for the interests of the state or of the army?" not, as in the present case, "what do the soldiers or officers like?" Such, however, was the ascendency which the volunteer body already had over the government! He wished they might be able to prevail as easily over the legions of Buonaparté. If they would, he should be inclined, for one, to overlook all other dangers that might be apprehended from them. He would shut his eyes to consequences, and 'jump the life to come,' if he could be satisfied that the system, as at present established, was calculated to answer its grand purpose, that of the defence of the country against a foreign enemy.—It seemed to be admitted, that it was not so at present; though it was hoped it might become so under the alterations proposed by his right hon. friend. He was fain to confess, that he despaired of the efficacy of these alterations. It was not that he did not see the advantage of having an intelligent regular officer attached to a volunteer corps; or the improvement which the corps would receive by the effect of greater training. But how were these advantages to be obtained? And what, after all, would they produce? Among the difficulties of obtaining part of these advantages, viz. the assistance of regular officers, must be stated, not only the consent of the corps, which did not appear, by what had been said that night, to be quite a thing of course, but the consent of the officers; and when to ensure this latter, it was proposed that rank should attach to these appointments, a most material objection arose on account of the effect which such a system would be likely to have on the character and discipline of the army. A more mischievous thing could not well be conceived, than to let loose, among the army, a wild spirit of speculation, similar to that which was so fatally opened at the beginning of the late war by the measure of raising men for rank, and to put half the officers of the army upon seeking advancement in their profession, not by foreign service, not by professional skill, not by a strict discharge of their regimental duties, nor by the approbation and good will of their commanders, but by interest and recommendation among the colonels, (or committees) of volunteer corps. The evils of such a state of things would reach to a greater extent, and operate in more directions, than might at first be supposed. It would unsettle the minds of officers; it would disturb the discipline of regiments; it would weaken the useful dependence of officers upon their superiors; it would injure the military character; it would relax the zeal and spirit of the army by opening a new channel to advancement independent of service or military merit; it would produce discouragement and discontent, by new examples of men, who had succeeded in reaching the honours, by deserting the duties, of their profession. If this was the view of the measure, in respect to the army, it would not be very promising on the other hand, with respect to the volunteer corps, for whom, certainly, it would not procure that class of officers, (it was to be hoped so at least) who would be likely to render them the greatest service. But when the best was done in procuring aid of this sort, what, after all, could be the effects which it could produce upon corps constituted as those in question must necessarily be? To give opportunity for the exertions of these officers, an augmentation was to be made in the number of days of training: but, besides the insufficiency of the time proposed, great as it might be, to give to men the expertness, and much more, the general habits and character of soldiers, was it considered, how far the assembling men in this way would be practicable; and what the inconvenience would be, could it be effected? Here came in the great and insurmountable difficulty in the attempting to give to vo-

lunteer corps the form and character of regular troops. Without embodying there could be neither discipline nor training: and how was it to be supposed, that men engaged in the common avocations of life, and who never meant to enter into service as a means of livelihood, could continue long embodied? Every attempt of this sort was an attempt against the nature of things. *Ex quovis ligno, &c.*; or, to take the English version, 'you could not make a silk purse out of a sow's ear,' you could not make that hard, cutting instrument called an army, out of a mass of inhabitants, residents, householders, men with families, men with property, men engaged in trades and callings; though for purposes of local defence, and with a view to special services, they might be willing to enrol themselves into volunteer corps. He had wished, therefore, that the attempt should never originally have been made; and upon the same principle was equally adverse to all expedients and contrivances, for the purpose of assisting it; being persuaded, that it never could succeed.—Had the volunteers been willing, or, more properly, had they been advised or permitted, to assume the character of an armed peasantry, and to have trained themselves accordingly, they would not only have been far more useful, but would have been free from the inconveniencies now chargeable upon these corps in the form in which they at present subsisted. One of these he had already described to be, the factious tendency which they might discover hereafter, and the general dangers to be apprehended from bodies of armed men, subject to no military controul. But an evil more immediate, and more certain, though somewhat more confined, was to be apprehended from their effects upon the army. These were of several sorts. The first and most obvious was the reduction made in those numbers, from which the militia and army of reserve were to be supplied; the latter body being the only fund from which they could now look to recruit the army. 400,000 men, who, if it was hoped to make soldiers of them, must be considered as men capable of military service, could not all be persons, whom no temptations could induce to enter into the army, or who, if drawn for the militia or army of reserve, would all decline to serve in person. Such a portion, therefore, of the active population of the country could not be withdrawn and set apart, and other services not be the worse for it. The inconvenience would certainly be augmented, by measures such as those recommended by his right hon. friend, and in general by whatever tended to give to the volunteer corps more of the shape and air of regular troops. Volunteer captains or colonels might not care much at present about restraining their men from entering into other services, nor feel very confident, probably, as to the powers they possessed for that purpose. But in proportion as the corps improved in appearance and regularity, these powers, if they existed, would be ascertained and exerted; or if taken away, would be followed by the same complaints, which had been heard from militia colonels, that they would not submit to become recruiters for the army. Such could hardly fail to be the effect of the volunteer system in respect to the *recruiting* the army. But were there no effects which might be apprehended with respect to its discipline and character? The volunteers were, to be sure, and necessarily must be, so inferior to the regular army, that little possibly might be apprehended from their example. Men were not apt to take examples from those whom they did not look up to. But it must be remembered, that what was wanting in authority, might be made up in numbers. Between volunteers and militia, the notion of a regular army had nearly dropped from their minds. They hardly inquired what it was or where it was to be found. It seemed to be the least part of the national defence: *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.* It was so enveloped and hid in the force of various kinds that surrounded it, that it might be all withdrawn, and for a long while its removal not be perceived. But was there no danger, that in this state, forgotten by others, it might at last forget itself, and feel by degrees the contagion of that mass under which it was thus concealed and buried? A long communication with troops, who with appearances the same were, in habits, notions, constitution, and practices, so widely at variance with all that was military, might in time produce an effect even on the regular army.—He would not dilate upon this danger; but advert to an effect, which though of a less alarming, perhaps less important nature, was not undeserving of consideration, viz. the immense depreciation which these institutions must produce in the value of military titles and honours; honours which were, heretofore, confined to military men, but were now lavished among persons, having no pretensions to that character. It would hardly be said, that this could be of no consequence, for that after all, every man knew his own value, and that the difference between regular and irregular service would still be the same, however external distinctions might be confounded. He should be

glad to try this with respect to other honours. He should be glad to know from his right hon. friend, or from the hon. gentleman opposite to him, whether the candidates for peerages, and baronetcies, for red and blue ribands, would be satisfied on being told, that these distinctions could be no object to them, as they would neither make them richer nor wiser, nor more powerful, nor confer or declare any quality that was not equally possessed and equally known, at the moment of their application? Whether the present holders of these honours, would be perfectly well pleased, or *were* perfectly well pleased, at seeing them become as cheap and common as most of them, it must be confessed, had of late years been made? Yet the complaint in this case would be far less reasonable than in the other. It was much more easy to conceive, why an officer, with only his pay to live on, with no place perhaps in society but what his commission gave, and with nothing to announce his commission but the riband in his hat, or the title by which he was addressed, should be tenacious of these distinctions; distinctions earned through many a hard day's service; than why men, possessed apparently of all that fortune could give, should be pining after honours, which to the eyes of ordinary observers could add so little either to their happiness or consequence. A great peer, it might be thought, could better dispense with a riband, or a great commoner with a peerage, so far as distinction was concerned, than a soldier of fortune with those tokens and titles, which were to distinguish him in the eyes of strangers, and which being withdrawn or confounded, left him without distinction of any kind. But these things were not only relatively great, great to the officer, who had probably nothing else either to supply their place or to console him for the want of them; they were in themselves distinctions, which all mankind would agree to value, and of which it would be much easier to explain the value, than of many of those which were more eagerly pursued. Formerly, he who bore the title of captain or colonel, could be no other than a man belonging to an honourable profession, who, if not in the prime of life, must probably, have been an actor in scenes, which every one would be glad to have shared in; and have displayed qualities, which those who most felt to possess them, would still be happy to have evinced by trial. His title afforded presumption of a character, which the common feelings of mankind would never suffer to be regarded but with respect. Could the same be said of every other honour? Of which, nevertheless, the extension and depreciation, would be considered as a ground of complaint. No one certainly could look down upon an honour, which implied that the person attaining it had been accepted on the part of his Sovereign. But, since in this as in other instances, the Sovereign would not act but by advice, nothing was really proved in these cases but the protection and favour of the minister, which might evince the political power of the party, but neither was, nor pretended to be, an evidence of any thing else. Let it not be said, therefore, that those who reduced the value of military distinctions, took from officers, and from the army, nothing but what they ought to part with, with indifference. If this were so, every title, order, medal, decoration of whatever sort, was a mere toy and plaything, which none but trifling minds could value, and which might be dispensed from henceforth to whoever would take it, without the least regret on the part of those, by whom, till then, it had been enjoyed—Whether the loss of this distinction had excited any regret on the part of the army, was more than he could pretend to say. Very possibly it had not; though the effects in time would not be the less felt. But that the distinction was in fact lost, could be no longer matter of dispute. A witty lady of the last age, the mother of a venerable marquis equally distinguished for his talents, was reported to have said, upon some great creation of peers, that she was afraid to spit out of her window, lest what fell at the moment should happen to light upon a peer. A similar apprehension might be felt in the present circumstances respecting officers. There could not be a company assembled of half a dozen persons, in which, the chance was not, that one of the number was an officer. He himself was a captain: it was probable, that before long he should be a colonel. When such was the facility of creating officers, the numbers could not fail to be considerable. He would not revert again to the feelings of those, (if they happened to have any care upon the subject) who having embraced the army as a profession, and served in every quarter of the world, should find themselves suddenly lost in a croud of officers, who had never seen, or were likely to see a day's service, and who, like himself, had nothing military but the name.—These were some of the objections to the volunteer system, as it respected the army. But its effects on the community at large were far from inconsiderable. It was attended with great expense: it created much individual embarrassment: it mixed in a manner

by no means desirable, the several ranks and orders of society: it disturbed, to a degree highly incommodious, many of the functions of common life; and would do so yet further, if the plan was pursued of giving to these corps a still more regular consistency. He would not pursue these topics severally and in detail: but to one he could not but advert, as it was connected more immediately with the suggestions which had been made that night. It was a great mistake to suppose that in withdrawing men from their avocations and employments it was easier and better to take the labour of many partially, than of a few altogether. The contrary was in general the fact. Men removed altogether were replaced by others, who filled up the void which they had left; and society after a while went on as usual. A man who enlisted, was like a man dead. It was rare that his place remained long unoccupied; that the opening made was not soon closed. But not so with the man, whose employment was only suspended, who was to be called away for awhile, as in the plan proposed, and then to go back to his occupation, with all the inconvenience of having left it, and all the difficulty possibly of resuming it at his return. If he was an artisan or small tradesman, his neighbour had run away with his business: if he was a journeyman or farmer's servant, his master had provided himself with a new man: his employers and customers in the meanwhile had been wanting his labour: there would be a period, during which, they could not either have had him to work or to deal with; nor have been able to supply his place by another. He would himself at the end of this have his livelihood to seek; for he would not like the soldier have found a provision in his new profession. Nothing would, therefore, be found for the most part to answer less in practice, than this notion of taking part of the labour and leaving the remainder, of employing the man during part of his time in learning the business of a soldier, and leaving him at the end to return to his ordinary occupations. It was as impossible to take half the man, as to kill half a sheep. When it came to the question of an embodied force, or any thing beyond armed peasantry, it seemed infinitely better, both for the individual and the public, that the man should be either entirely a soldier or not at all; and should not be left in that mixed intermediate state, in which he would be fit for neither capacity, would be just enough of a soldier to be spoiled for a peasant or artisan, and too much of a peasant or artisan (or whatever else he happened to be,) to admit of his becoming a valuable or well-trained soldier. As to the expense of a force thus composed, it could not be better illustrated than by what had been said by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Rose) of the provision to be made for the families of these men during their time of exercise. His idea that in virtue of this training, they would, if employed as light infantry, be as well qualified to encounter the enemy as any troops in his Majesty's service, was a little contrary to received opinions, and very contrary to the opinion of his right hon friend near him (Mr. Pitt), who had described the service of light infantry, and in many respects truly, as that which required more training than any other. If zeal and courage were all in all, as in some parts of his speech the hon. gentleman seemed to think, no training at all would be necessary. And this was in some degree his (Mr. Windham's) opinion. He thought that so little, after all, could be done by the sort of training now attempted to be given to the volunteers, and that the evils and inconveniencies attending the attempt were so great, that he wished this species of training to be foreborne altogether; and that the country should content itself with that, which, while it contained what was by far the most essential, would be attended, comparatively, with no expense, no loss of time, no interruption to the common business and avocations of life. Such a course of proceeding was, as he conceived, better both upon the whole, and certainly so, with a view to the crisis of the moment, which could not wait the slow return of any long and circuitous method. The illustration used by an hon. gentleman, the other night (Mr. Fox,) was so happy, that it might seem almost to be conclusive. If the question was of instructing a person thoroughly in the knowledge of any language, you would begin, of course, by the usual methods, and as the first step, ground him well in his *accidence*. But if the call was pressing, and the time limited, and the occasion such as required no profound or critical knowledge, but so much acquaintance only with the current language as might suffice for the purposes of a journey or a short tour, you would be intent upon teaching first the most necessary words and phrases, and proceed to other things as time and opportunity might allow. In the present instance he was satisfied, that not merely on account of the urgency of the occasion, but from the nature of the subject, another and more simple kind of training, was that which ought to have been adopted. But at all events, and under whatever mode of training, the form and constitution of the corps

should have been such, as not to interfere with the supply of other more regular and more important services. If it was too late to provide entirely against the continuance of the evil at that time incurred, care should at least be taken that it was not increased in future. Whatever was due to the volunteers in point of good faith must be strictly fulfilled. To what extent that went he was not prepared to say. But nothing certainly could require, that exemptions should be extended to those who might enter from that time forwards, and no such exemptions, therefore, ought on any account to be granted.

Mr. *Erskine*—I have listened, Sir, to the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) with much attention; to most of his sentiments respecting the volunteers with perfect satisfaction, and certainly if ever there was a subject which more than another claims the attentive consideration of Parliament, it is that which now forms the matter in discussion, and which involves the means of providing for the defence of the empire. At the same time, I cannot help observing, that to a mind less enlightened than that of the right hon. gent. on the lower bench (Mr. Windham), it ought to have occurred, that this was a subject which ought to be discussed with moderation and temper; that the House was called upon to deliberate upon measures for the security of the country; and that it was not quite becoming in any member, under such circumstances, to enter into vain and splenetic criticisms on the past. Whatever may have been the imperfections of the volunteers, it cannot be maintained, by any sober thinking mind, that this is a moment at which they ought to be disbanded. Does the right hon. gent. mean to recommend that these valuable troops should be dismissed, and that our defence should be left entirely to the care of the regular army? Is it possible that he can seriously urge any thing so exceptionable, so absurd? and yet, if such are not his views, why persevere in depreciating the volunteers, in endeavouring to make them think little of themselves, and to make the enemy despise them. Whatever the object of the right hon. gent. may be, certain it is, that the tendency of his language is to encourage the attempt of invasion, and to depress the spirit of those who are ready to oppose it. Really it is difficult to understand the views of the right hon. gent. Does he reflect upon the probable consequences of his conduct? or does he mean to utter opinions in that House, in order to encourage others to publish out of it the same opinions, and write in support of them?

Mr. *Windham* here called the hon. gent. to order, and told him, that before he ventured to state any thing in that House as a fact applying to any member, he ought to have taken care to ascertain how far it was well founded.

Mr. *Erskine* continued:—I assert, Sir, that the sentiments of the right hon. gent. are likely to be productive of great mischief, and hold out an encouragement to the licenser of the press. Indeed, from what I have heard of the right hon gentleman's observations, I apprehend that any man who should dare to print what the right hon. gentleman said, would be guilty of a misdemeanour. I apprehend that the man who would disparage the whole military force of his country, who would consider it as in a state of the greatest danger, and who would maintain that all we have done for our country is only likely to involve us in ruin, and is founded on a system so mistaken in its principles as to lead to destruction rather than to safety—such a man, I say, is a fit object for animadversion and censure. I do not mean to say, that the right hon. gentleman's sentiments in that House are cognizable in a court of law, but that the repetition of such remarks out of doors would be subject to reprehension. The first matter I take into consideration is this:—we are to see what the situation of the country was when war was declared against France. Our military force was not then sufficient to put the country in a state of security; considering the immense armies of France, and the determination of the person at the head of the French government to use means for our destruction which never were carried so nearly into effect as those that now threaten the country. At the time when the war commenced it was necessary, as we could not foresee whether the attempt would be made, that we should receive the voluntary offers of persons coming forward for the general defence. The right hon. gent. says he considers this as an armed democracy. I cannot conceive how it is an armed democracy when it consists of all ranks of men, and some of the greatest and most opulent men in the country, all of whom receive commissions from the crown. When compulsory measures are resorted to, the men may desert; when you take men by force into the field, you cannot have the same reliance upon them as when their efforts are spontaneous and free. By the present system all the influences of society are bound up toge-

ther; each man is as much pledged to his companions in arms as he is to his King and Country; each man feels he would dishonour himself, if, after having volunteered his services, he should depart from the sacred pledge he had given. On the contrary, if led out by force, he might say, I gave no pledge, I was dragged to the standard; but coming forward of his own accord, his honour, character, and consistency are interested, and impel him to conduct himself in such a manner as his pledge demands. With regard to the situation of volunteer corps, no man can say that a system which extends to the whole population of the country is not necessarily attended with some difficulty. No man can say, we are not in a choice of difficulties; but the question is this, and I feel myself much in unison with the right hon. gent. over the way (Mr. Pitt), at least with a very small shadow of difference. The right hon. gent. is a friend to the volunteer system, and he has furnished a proof himself, and by his own example, that it is not necessary to do what he recommends. I understand he has acquired considerable military knowledge, and has conducted his corps to a high state of perfection. I apprehend, it does not require so much military skill for the inferior situations of the army as many seem to imagine; you must have persons accustomed to the forms and manœuvres so as to be able to teach the duty of a soldier. You must take care in the choice of officers, not to appoint those who consider the distinction as a matter of vanity, and not as a pledge of duty; but it does not appear to me that it requires such a degree of military skill in the lower orders of the army as to call on government to put itself to such an expense as is proposed. It is supposed, that peasantry, if armed, would do all that is necessary for the light infantry service. Though I do not profess much knowledge of a military life, having been at an early period only in a subaltern capacity, yet I do know you cannot acquire and put in execution those manœuvres which constitute the excellency of light infantry, without being acquainted with the manœuvres of the line. It is a system by which you learn to throw yourself into apparent irregularity, which shall be perfect regularity. It is supposed the minutiæ of regularity is unnecessary. I deny that there is any thing the volunteers are invited to do, for the purpose of being brigaded and formed, which is not absolutely essential in the practice of war. I would ask any gentleman who is a soldier, whether it would be possible to lead a corps into action, unless it was able, with precision, and without confusion, to form lines into columns, to make it increase or diminish, change front, and alter the position in any way which might be necessary for actual service. All this knowledge lies in a narrow compass, it is easily learnt by degrees, it may be taught by serjeants, and when it is taught, every thing must depend on the competency of the person. I have no reason to think that the volunteer corps are not capable of performing the most essential service, if they are kept up with the respect due to them, and if they are treated with the regard to which their exertions entitle them. I, for one, should have no objection to receiving any field officer; but there is this difficulty, it is said, the commanding should invite the appointment of the field officer. Now it ought to be considered that he has no authority to do so, without submitting the proposition to his men, who have the choice of all the officers. If you introduce a field officer, by the invitation of the colonel, without consulting the corps, you break in upon the choice which the men originally had. However, as there is no proposition of this sort, I forbear commenting on it. We are here on the volunteer system itself. The question is, whether we are to abandon it or limit it? Whether we are to admit we are wrong; and that all our efforts have not benefited the country.—With regard to another point, it does not strike me that the military profession will be at all injured by this system. The officers of volunteer corps have no permanent rank; though they have the titles of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, captain, and lieutenant, they are merely to give respect, and confer no rank. I should think, that so far from these titles giving offence to gentlemen of the profession, the army must feel the greatest satisfaction at the idea, that instead of not being well supported, instead of having their front to the enemy and disaffection in their rear, they are surrounded by the whole country, affording them every assistance they can require; for let me ask, what would an army, brave as it is, do, if columns of the enemy were to land in Devonshire, Sussex, Hampshire, and other counties at the same time? Could a regular army stop their progress without infinite mischief? Is it not then of advantage to have the inhabitants of the country, not a low rabble, but in all their gradations, voluntarily armed in aid of the army, their officers accepting their commissions from the crown, and much of this force acting without receiving any emolument whatever. I am ready to admit that great evils may

attend this system, but while you have such an enemy, with such a population, with such arms, and with such a determination to destroy this country, it is the best means of defence that can be resorted to. The great object of the volunteer system is, that the men may acquire, not the same discipline as the regular army, not the same steadiness, not the same experience, not the same firmness, but at least to the spirit and feeling of soldiers, that regularity acquired by constant habits of discipline, which is necessary to enable them to give efficient support to the army. If we desired you to discourage the army, and to look to the volunteer system only, then I admit that many of the arguments opposed to the volunteer system would be properly opposed; but the question is, whether it is not a most fortunate circumstance for the country, that of the people, by a glorious and spontaneous effort, coming forward as one man, and submitting to every privation for the purpose of giving that protection for which they have been appealed to? The question is, whether it would have been prudent in his Majesty's government not to have received the offers of the volunteer corps, and whether they would have been justified had they not limited the system in the manner they have done. It would have been dangerous to have accepted every offer, as it would have prevented that force from being supplied which is indispensably necessary; but with regard to those which have been accepted, I think it would be the greatest calamity if the volunteers were to relax their diligence, and not do every thing to accomplish themselves for the important duties they have undertaken to perform. I shall be glad to hear any proposition that will enable them more effectually to perform it. However, what I rose principally for, was to state to the House, that I apprehend we are not here to consider what would have been better; but whether, in the state the country is, it is prudent to discharge the volunteer force, to consider it as dangerous, inefficacious, and useless, and to infer, that after all our exertions the country is in no degree delivered from its danger. For my own part, I consider the country as impregnable; I look upon the volunteer force as that which has given pause to France. I admit we must not relax our vigilance; we must advance in discipline, and give to our system all the improvement of which it is capable; we must avail ourselves of that force which we derive from the spontaneous efforts of the people, which is not dictated to, but takes its own course. We are here to determine, whether we are altogether on a wrong system, and instead of putting the country in a state of security, whether we have not exposed it to other dangers; finally, whether we had not better trust to an armed peasantry to resist an enemy, that every moment is acquiring additional vigour and strength. I repeat, I do not profess the skill and knowledge of an officer, but I do not think there is that mystery in the military service which may not be learned by men determined to be instructed and improved under the discipline of general officers, with the assistance of being inspected and brigaded. What has already been done? Was there any power in any officer to bring the volunteers into the field to be brigaded at all? Yet we have seen with what readiness they have come forward. As there was nothing in the formation of the corps that entitled any one to call out a single volunteer, with his musket on his shoulder, except his own officer, what reason is there to suppose that they will not all shew the same alacrity they have done, if they should feel that it would be for their advantage? I have only to add, that if government give proper directions to those small bodies of men, who have no field officers at the public expense, I see no reason why the system may not be improved. The question is, whether we are to retard our steps, repent of what we have done, make a new system of defence, and disparage the efforts of our volunteers by the adoption of such language in Parliament as has been used this night?

Mr. *Pitt* rose in explanation: he did not mean, he said, that the field officers whom he proposed to add to volunteer corps, should be placed over the commanders, but should be subordinate to them.—As to the circumstance of a commanding officer's applying to his corps for their consent, it never entered into his contemplation. He had heard that night, for the first time, of a committee for the regulation and management of corps, and he had heard it with regret, as he conceived that such corps could never be well disciplined, and could never be made either useful or energetic. With respect to the corps which he had the honour to command, the fact was, that whatever superiority of discipline it had acquired, it went in support of his suggestion, as it was entirely to be attributed to the assistance of regular officers of ability, whose exertions had been unremitting in bringing the corps to that state of discipline.

Mr. *Courtenay* declared that, he never heard such an extravagant speech from the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), even when he was a minister, as he had delivered this evening; men seldom improved in extra-

vagance after they had been deprived of power; but such seemed to be the case with the right hon. gent.; however, with respect to the right hon. gentleman's sentiments upon the subject of the volunteers, it appeared that after a great variety of distinctions and super-distinctions, his object was to depreciate that force, of whom two of the most skilful and gallant officers in the British service, had spoken in the highest terms of praise; the one, Lord Hutchinson, stating his opinion, that they would overwhelm a French army, if directed to a vigorous and prompt attack, similar to that which the suddenly raised levies of the Swiss made upon the first detachment of the French troops: this noble lord said, that if invaded, the contest with the invader must be short, and he would stake his life upon the issue of such an assault; the observation of Lord Moira to the Scotch volunteers, was well known. Indeed, the opinions of these two celebrated generals, were those of all experienced men in the country who had any opportunity of judging. The right hon. gent. stood alone; his sentiment was completely singular. He decided, however, from theory, for had he seen the 28 000 men who assembled in Hyde Park, he must hove changed his opinion. But at that time he was seeking the distinction of a command in a volunteer corps in Norfolk —a distinction he argued against this evening as so mischievous. But as to democracy, he could not help saying, that this was the queerest part of the right hon. gentleman's charge upon the volunteers, for he appealed to the House whether there was one other man in the country, except himself, who would accuse the right hon. gent. or ministers, of being likely to favour democracy. What, he would ask, would the right hon. gent. propose to do with the volunteers? Would he have them quit being volunteers in order to make peasantry of them? and how would he provide a force for the defence of the country? But really the right hon. gent., who was himself an officer in a volunteer corps, and aspiring to the rank of colonel, could not be serious in the objections he made to the volunteer institution. If he was, instead of applying to him the quotation "His own example strengthened all his laws;" It should be "His own example weakened all his laws."——But no doubt, as a military man, he would soon have to "change his position," which he had contrived to do as a politician. "However," observed the hon. member, "let the right hon. gent. change as he may, I shall continue to esteem the volunteers, among whom I should be happy to enrol myself; and, as the right hon. gent under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) has so well trained a corps under his command, I would be glad to enter into his service. I have served for many years as a private in the ranks against him, and now I am ready, if the French should attempt to approach our shores, to offer him my services, and hope he will accept of them.

Dr. *Laurence* supported Mr. Windham's arguments. On the subject of changing sides and doctrines, no person he said, had varied so much as his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Erskine) who spoke now quite in an opposite strain from that which he held in the last war. He condemned the ideas of military obedience which the volunteer corps had formed. Some of them engaged to obey all lawful commands of their officers, reserving of course to themselves the right of judging the legality, than which nothing could be more foreign to the character of a soldier. He did not distrust English valour, but he thought half discipline a dangerous thing. He could not be thoroughly satisfied with a force which required so much to be done to keep it in good humour. All that had been said went to prove, that we should have in the volunteers, good-humoured soldiers, and aimable captains. If the great talents of the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Pitt) were not sufficient to make him an officer without experience, what was to be expected from others? The present enormous bounties were a grievous evil; and to this they were to be imputed. The learned doctor concluded with again impressing the arguments of his right hon. friend Mr. Windham.

Lord *Castlereagh* wished merely to state the fact as to the charge that the present military system destroyed the ordinary recruiting.—He ventured, on the general impression he had, to deny the fact. The ordinary recruiting was impaired in some little degree, but it was stated beyond what the fact would warrant. Seven thousand five hundred men had been received into the line from the Army of Reserve; the ordinary recruiting in the same period had produced 6.791 men. The gross amount of recruits for the line was, therefore, 14.291 men. This was enough to remove the impression that the recruiting of the line was confined to the army of reserve. The recruiting, compared with any former period, would be found not deficient. Last year, there was no recruiting for the militia, none for the army of reserve, and all the disbanded men and Scotch fencibles were open,

and there was no competition, yet no more had been obtained for general service last year than 7,294 men. From May to December this year, there were 6,791, of course the difference was only 503, which was one-fourteenth of the whole.

Dr. *Laurence* was not satisfied with this comparison, because it did not take exclusively the months of August, Sept. Oct. and Nov. in each of the years compared; because those were the months in which the Army of Reserve Bill was ballotted for, and when of course the high bounties for substitutes to serve in it operated.

The *Attorney General* said, he should not make many observations on the speech of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), although he should certainly make some. He did not mean to cast any censure on that right hon. gent., or say thing as if any speech could be intended by him to give any advantage to the enemy over us.—He was persuaded, that the right hon. gent. was one of the last in the House, who would use any curious expressions in argument for the sake of an advantage, or for an apparent advantage in debate. He was persuaded, that the right hon. gent did not wish to give our enemies any such, or any other advantage whatever; but he had frequently had occasion to feel, that the views which the right hon. gent had of things that came under his consideration, and the consequent manner in which he expressed himself, had, although not so intended by him, a tendency to the great disadvantage of the country; for what he thought most useful, what he so thought, or he would not say it, the Attorney-General thought, in many instances, most disadvantageous to the country. If the question, now before the House, was a new question whether we should or should not, adopt a mode of defence by volunteer corps, there were hardly any limits of criticism, to which we should wish to stop the right hon. gent from entering; but when the volunteer system had been adopted to such an extent as it had been, so that it must be in vain for any man to hope, that any observations could induce the House to abandon the system: then it did seem to him to be not a very useful practice to dwell upon the defects of such a system, but on the contrary, it appeared to him, that some mischief might result from such a practice. If the volunteers were not such a force as the House could desire, which he did not say was their description, but if, for the sake of argument, they were so allowed to be, could this sort of language respecting them be useful? On the contrary, he would ask, if it was not most prejudicial? The condition of the volunteers should be attended to, many suggestions had been made concerning them, and they were most valuable suggestions, highly deserving of great consideration, as every thing must be that tended to ameliorate the condition of three or four hundred thousand men armed and associated in defence of their country. But the effect of the argument of the right hon. gent. was to degrade the volunteers in their own eyes.—He did not say it was the intention of the right hon. gent. so to do, but it was the tendency, and if assented to, would be the effect of his observations.—No man could hear or read the words of the right. hon. gent. but must, if he gave credit to the observations, look upon the volunteer corps as a body of a very low estimation. But was that all? Let any one who heard the hon. gent. to-night, or indeed at any time this session, ask himself, whether, if the volunteers had that respect for the opinion of the right hon. gent., which his opinions in some other matters were entitled to, they would have confidence in themselves?—Could they have any such confidence, if the language of Parliament, of these who had encouraged them to come out for the service of their country, was to be on the model of the right hon. gent., and Parliament were to say to them—"At best you will be little better than a rabble—you may depend upon it, no useful service can be expected of you."—Now, as to the corruption of which the right hon. gent. spoke, as being found in the volunteer corps, the right hon. gent., in his predilection to finding fault with all volunteer corps, might have been able to find out some of them who had behaved improperly. But was it fair to argue against the whole of such an immense body as this, on account of the conduct of a few who might have disgraced themselves? The persons to whom the right hon. gent alluded, had been a disgrace—to whom?—to themselves; but not to the whole corps of volunteers, who were as unconnected with those persons as possible, and stood as distinct from them, as they did from their faults. If the right hon. gent. took the character of the volunteer corps from the character of those who disgraced them, there was an end of every thing like reasoning upon human affairs: as well might the right hon. gent. go to the goal of Newgate, and insist upon taking out of the cells there, characters from which to form a general opinion of human nature. This was only an error of the right hon. gent, in his predilection to finding fault with the volunteer system—not that he himself would make a bad conductor of a volunteer system; on the contrary, he

was persuaded, that if the right hon. gent. were to set his mind to it, no man would be more active, or heartily employed in forming a good volunteer corps than he would. But if he went and told them, "You have made me a captain, and you are going to make me a colonel; but if you ask me my opinion, I am of no use to you, nor have I any opinion of you. I know, indeed, that I am an Englishman, and that I will run against a bayonet certainly. You must run too against a bayonet, but that is all we can do; we have no skill to meet the enemy, we can only be destroyed." Why, if that was to be the language of the right hon. gent., it would not be wonderful if the corps were to say, "We do not like this gentleman;" for if a man became an officer of such a corps, he ought not to endeavour to make them think meanly of themselves, but to inspire them with spirit and with confidence, and that he could only do by shewing them that they were equal to what they had undertaken, and therefore this doctrine of the right hon. gent. was as injurious to the corps to which he was attached as it was to the general system of the volunteer service. For the right hon. gent. said, that they were not only unfit now for what they are intended for, but that they are totally incapable of becoming of any utility whatever; this, he said, arose from the demoeratic nature of their constitution; and, in support of this, he read the articles of one of these bodies. The learned gent. said, he really did not know exactly to what corps the right hon. gent. alluded; but, he said, he himself had been an unworthy member of a volunteer corps, to whom he did believe the right hon. gent. intended his observation to apply, but to which it did not apply with justice, namely, that not only the officers were chosen by the corps, but also that the whole of the military concerns of the corps were under the controul and management of a committee. If there was any strong objection to the formation or to the regulation of that corps, and if the constitution of it was upon a false or an improper foundation, that was not the fault of the present ministers, because that corps was approved of under the administration of the right hon. gent. himself; but this was an observation, that occurred so frequently on the objection which that right hon. gent. had been in the habit of making since he was out of administration, that he should not insist much upon it. But he must take the liberty of refuting the assertion of the right hon. gent., that these committees controled the military concerns of the corps. The fact was, that these committees had nothing upon earth to do with the military affairs of the corps. They were a body who conduct their own expenses, and all they had to do was of a civil nature entirely. They did not, in the least degree interfere with the military authority of the officers, nor with any one thing that was of a military nature. With respect to the idea of the right hon. gent., in having what he called an armed peasantry, he would save the regular army nothing by that with regard to officers of experience, for the armed peasantry would as much require officers of experience as the volunteer corps. And as to the objection of the right hon. gent. to the volunteers, on account of their corrupting the regulars, because the volunteers would not be under martial law, that was an error in the right hon. gentleman's assertion, for the moment they joined the regular army they would be under martial law. The objection that the volunteer system tended to confusion of rank, was ill-founded; for, generally speaking, men of rank and character were the objects of choice with the corps. The impediments this system threw in the way of recruiting, his noble friend had answered by a statement of facts. If there was any doubt whether a volunteer would enter into the regular service, the practice was in the affirmative; but if any doubt existed upon that matter, it was proper to remove such doubt by the bill which was now in the House, and stood for a second reading to-night upon the subject of Exemptions of Volunteers. But what he wished to submit to the House most of all was this—Did any gentleman really think that these armed peasantry ought to be resorted to, instead of the volunteers? Did the right hon. gent. himself mean to say, that if he could persuade the House of Commons and the other House of Parliament, and his Majesty to consent, that we should now abandon the volunteer corps, that he himself would propose the peasantry instead of that system, or had he any other system in his mind instead of it? If we had no volunteer corps there must be a compulsory levy, and that would be very difficult in comparison to this system. If a ballot were to take place, it should be remembered, that great numbers of the volunteer corps would find deputies, and that would impede the army as much as the present system can do. Now, if the right hon. gent. had no plan instead of this system of the volunteer corps, he would, upon reflection, perhaps, doubt the wisdom of the opposition he gave it.

Mr. *Windham* denied that he had meant an armed democracy, to the extent alleged.

He only spoke of the mixture which might take place during the time when the volunteers were not under martial law. If he disapproved of the present plan, if it was not necesssary, as some had insisted, to propose another as a substitute or amelioration. He did not conceive it always requisite for those who opposed plans, to have others ready for adoption: but were that principle at this time strictly urged against him, those who did so might, by references to the suggestions of his former speeches in that House, discover a substitute for the present plan. He thus spoke his sentiments, as he did not conceive the present measure as yet fixed and immutable.

The *Secretary at War* said, that in answer to a fact, which had been stated by a learned gentleman, that the operation of the army of reserve had injured recruiting for the regular service during the months it operated, he had to state, that upon a comparative view of the months from July to November, the recruiting for the regular army had been greater than in the year 1802, notwithstanding all the advantages of that year by the recruiting service having the monopoly of it then, and also that the two militia and Scotch fencibles had been discharged, and in the present year the army of reserve had so operated.

The question was then put and carried, and all the resolutions of the Committee were read and agreed to.

[VOLUNTEER EXEMPTION BILL.] — On the motion for the second reading of the Volunteer exemption Bill,

Dr. *Laurence* said that some misapprehension existed about the exemptions with respect to the volunteers who had not been accepted before the 23d of July. They were told originally they could not have the exemptions, and they gave their services without expecting them. But now, as the exemptions were given to others in their situation, it was fair they should have the option.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, that all volunteer corps, whose services had been accepted, at whatsoever time, and who conformed to provisions prescribed, were entitled to the exemptions, except those who expressly declared them in their offers.

In answer to an observation from Mr. Rose, as to the number of days of exercise, Mr. Sec. Yorke said, he proposed to fill the blank with 24 days.

The bill was read a second time, and committed for Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, December 13.

[MINUTES.]—The East India Bond Bill, the Seaman's Desertion Bill, and others, were read a third time and passed.—The Expiring Laws Bill, the Sugar Drawback Bill, &c. &c. were committed and reported.

[BANK RESTRICTION BILL.]—Upon the motion for the third reading of the Bank Restriction Bill,

Lord *Grenville* said, he had already expressed his surprise at this Bill having been read a second time, without notice, the day after it came up to that House. He thought, that on the whole, it was best at the present moment to continue the Bank Restriction; but this was not a step to be taken with indifference, or to be forwarded as a matter of course through its various stages; it was, on the contrary, a great evil; necessary, perhaps, in such a crisis as the present, but well worthy of the most serious attention of Parliament. It had been first proposed as a measure merely temporary, to meet a momentary but very alarming danger; as such it had, he thought, been highly beneficial. But it had been attended with the mischief inseparable from all measures of the same description. The fundamental principle of all governments on this subject ought to be, that credit and circulation, if undisturbed by legislative interference, will invariably find their own level. Whenever any temporary purpose (as must sometimes happen) induces a departure from this principle, the misfortune is, that the first deviation too commonly leads to the necessity of a second, and so necessarily, until it becomes almost impossible to tread back the same steps, or to revert to the only wise system of policy on the subject. So it happened in this case. The measure adopted in the first instance to meet a momentary purpose had afterwards been prolonged (perhaps unavoidably) till the conclusion of that war; and even now, though he lamented the effects of that prolongation, he hardly ventured to decide that the opinion of Parliament had in that instance been wrong. Next came the peace, so very like war, that its authors themselves had been afraid to depart from the war system; nor had he himself then opposed its renewal, convinced as he was, that the pretended state of peace was a real state of war in every thing, except in the power of providing for self-defence, and for the protection of our own interest. To venture such a step in the present moment, at least with-

out much preparation, would doubtless be difficult and hazardous. But he was not equally convinced, that it was wise to declare beforehand that the restriction should continue during the whole of this war, entertaining, as he confessed he did, some doubt whether it ought to have been continued to the end of the last war, and still, more, whether it should be prolonged at the peace. He was afraid that there was now growing up in this country a most mistaken apathy on the subject. Many persons believed that the continuance of the restriction had hitherto produced no inconvenience, and that there was therefore no danger in prolonging it almost indefinitely. Both parts of this opinion were, he thought, extremely erroneous. Much evil, he was persuaded, had already been produced by the measure, however necessary at the time of its adoption; and every day's continuance augmented, in a rapid proportion, both the extent of the evil and the difficulty of its removal.—That, during the continuance of this measure, our paper circulation, both Bank and private paper, had infinitely increased, no man was ignorant of. He was afraid it might be shewn, that this was a necessary consequence of the measure itself. The power of converting paper into cash at the will of the holder, was the only safe limitation that ever could exist upon the issue of paper, and, if left to its free operation, it was a limitation that might safely be relied on. All other limitations were arbitrary, depending on the uncertain speculations of individuals upon points which no speculations ever can decide with accuracy. It was said that, if the Bank had not increased its circulating paper since the restriction, no mischief can have arisen from it. No position can be more fallacious. In the first place, the Bank paper has in fact increased; but, even if this had not happened, the argument would still be of no weight. If private paper has during that period been greatly augmented, it is plain that the whole proportion of paper to cash in circulation has been changed, and that this change has equally taken place, whether the increase has arisen in Bank paper or in private paper. The restraint upon the Bank must necessarily give some increased encouragement to the issue of private paper, because, for private paper, cash may legally be demanded, for Bank paper it cannot; and if, by these or any other means, the proportion of private paper be much increased, there must obviously be less room for the circulation even for the same quantity as before of Bank paper; and there is therefore much more reason to apprehend that the issue is too large, when it appears that instead of remaining at the same amount, the quantity of Bank paper has also been very much increased. The actual increase of private paper, a fact which no one could dispute, was the particular circumstance to which Lord G. said, he principally wished to call the attention of the House.—" Paper (he said) now forms in this country the principal medium of circulation between man and man, not as formerly in commercial transactions only, but now in all the ordinary dealings of life. In times of perfect security and public confidence, even this might happen to a considerable extent without much inconvenience; and so long as the natural operations of demand and supply were allowed to control it, though some excess might occasionally take place, yet experience shewed, that any such evil would speedily correct itself. The tide might ebb and flow, but no permanent interruption would arise from it to the stream of national prosperity. The case is widely different now. We are called upon to provide against the danger of a sudden alarm, such as must arise if a country so long unused to the tread of a hostile foot should even for the shortest interval become the theatre of war. But we are discharging this duty in a most inadequate and insufficient manner. We are providing for the smaller evil, but seem wholly indifferent to the greater. We are guarding against the consequences of any sudden run upon the Bank in a moment of alarm; but we take no consideration of the effect of a similar alarm on that mass of private paper, which constitutes so much larger a proportion of the circulating medium of the country. The stability of the Bank has been guaranteed to its creditors by repeated parliamentary examinations; and when we restrain it by law from fulfilling its engagements with them, we have given a fresh pledge of public faith that they shall suffer no loss by that provision. But what will be the case of private paper? Let the House represent to itself the situation of a Bank, established perhaps in the very town to be first attacked, and the state of the surrounding district, whose circulation consists perhaps almost exclusively of that paper. What means will such a Bank possess to satisfy even the ordinary demands upon it? How much would those demands in such a case be increased? And what would be the state of such a district, if to all the other evils of war were added the sudden annihilation of its whole circu-

lating medium? Already are we told from authority, that there appears in the country an eagerness to collect, or, as it is insidiously called, to hoard cash. In times of scarcity the ignorant are taught to clamour against the farmer and the cornfactor, who, by collecting and preserving grain, afford to a country its only security against famine. By the salutary provision of nature, the measures which individuals take in such cases for their own security and benefit, constitute in their aggregate the security and advantage of the community itself. In the same manner (it might appear paradoxical, but if a paradox, it was one which he held in common with all enlightened writers on this subject) the best security against a total want of circulating medium in the time of our utmost need, would be found in the necessity, which persons in the middling classes of life already feel, of providing beforehand for such an occasion. How, indeed, could it be expected, that when a man of that description joins the volunteer ranks, and serves his country in the field, he should leave his family to rely entirely, and for their daily bread, on the paper of a private banker, whose counting-house may be at that very moment occupied by the enemy.—The steps taken by such individuals to make provision for this case, must then of necessity produce at this time an increased demand for specie; that demand will in this, as in every other article, produce an increased value; and, unless the nature of things be inverted, the increased value must, in its turn, produce an increased supply. He was therefore beyond measure astonished to hear that, in some other place, this conduct in persons of such a description had been spoken of as a fit subject of reproach and censure; and that this opinion had proceeded from a quarter which ought to be of the highest authority in matters of this nature. Such language could have no other tendency in this case (as in that to which he had already likened it) than to raise popular odium, and to excite popular tumult, against men who used their own discretion in disposing of their own property. If it were fit to censure such a disposition, it must be essential to endeavour to prevent it. There were two precedents in history which might be resorted to for this purpose: two cases where, in support of an excessive issue of paper, government had regulated by law the quantity of specie which each individual should be suffered to retain. Those were the Mississippi scheme, and the scheme of the assignats. In both instances the measure had immediately annihilated the paper it was intended to support. He had no fear that the same principle, by whatever authority it had been countenanced, would be acted upon to the same extent in this country; but he must take the liberty to say, that, in so far as it was followed up, either in speech or action, exactly in that proportion the public credit was affected and injured by it. The danger of such a shock to private paper, as he had stated, in the case of invasion, was not to be guarded against by such language, which had no other tendency than to increase that danger. Neither was it one which, on the other hand, it was prudent or safe for us to overlook. The wretched policy of neglecting necessary precautions for fear of creating just alarm began now to be sufficiently understood. In every instance in which it was resorted to, it always would produce the same effects as had already been so fatally experienced from it. Yet, by the present bill, while we confess the nature of the danger, the slightest glance at the proportion which private paper bears to that of the Bank will shew how far we are from providing for its extent. Those who at all understand the subject, know that the Bank paper possesses a stability not to be shaken but by such a total subversion of the country as no Englishman wishes to survive. Yet we think ourselves obliged to protect even this corporation, resting on such immutable pillars of security, against the danger of sudden pressure from temporary alarm. Shall we then wholly overlook the private paper, so much greater in extent, and so much less secure in its stability? The ultimate security of the paper issued by the country banks now established in every corner of this island might be as perfect as that of the Bank itself. The facility which they give in ordinary times to the commercial transactions of the country is unquestionable. But no man can look without the most serious apprehension at the temporary effect which the first moment of actual invasion might produce on those local establishments; at the extent to which such an evil might spread; or at the consequences which it might produce, in a country whose circulation is almost entirely composed of paper. To represent this danger to Parliament, even if no remedy for it occurred to the person stating it, would not only be a blameless, but a laudable and proper discharge of public duty. When the subject was brought under the consideration of Parliament and the public, if

its importance engaged their attention, the wisdom and experience of men much more conversant than he pretended to be, would doubtless suggest every remedy or precaution which the nature of the case admitted; suggestions which might well escape the researches of individuals far superior to him in knowledge or ability. But if the subject should continue to be wholly disregarded, overlooked by negligence, or put out of sight by hopeless despondency, the evil would come upon us at the last; it would overtake us in the midst of difficulty and distress, when precaution would be too late, and remedy impossible! He therefore earnestly recommended, after the recess, if it could not be done before, that Committees might be named by Parliament, to take this subject into the most serious and attentive consideration. To such Committees it would naturally belong to suggest those remedies, which, on full discussion and consultation with men experienced in such matters, might appear most practicable and useful. Any suggestions of his would in the present moment be premature, and certainly must be in a great measure crude and undigested. But he by no means despaired of seeing the most beneficial consequences result from such an investigation. Two objects it would naturally have in view. The first to reintroduce into the circulation of the country such a quantity of coin as might at least suffice for the ordinary dealings of life; that coin which was now vanished by the excessive issues of paper of all descriptions, no longer checked by the natural limitation, that of being immediately convertible into cash. The next object naturally would be, to provide, as far as possible, for the stability and credit, *even during the existence of actual invasion*, of such paper as would still continue to circulate. These objects would both of them, as he apprehended, best be obtained, by recurring, not suddenly nor abruptly, but by well considered gradations, and with every possible attendant precaution that the wisdom of man could devise, to that first principle by which alone paper issues can be limited, and on which it alone can securely rest, namely, the power of their immediate conversion into cash. He spoke on this subject with all the distrust of his own opinion, which he ought to feel; but at least he spoke not without much consideration of the question: and the conviction of his own mind was, that this was the end to be kept invariably in view, to be accelerated as could be found consistent with prudence and due regard to public safety, and to be considered as the only fundamental cause of the evils now felt or apprehended. With respect to the paper, if resting on a solid foundation of ultimate solvency, it might be provided for by some mutual guarantee, so far removed from the scene of immediate alarm, as to place the security of the holder far beyond the reach of any danger merely local. He remembered to have heard it said many years ago by Mr. Burke, a man whose words and thoughts were well calculated to leave a lasting impression on their hearers, "That the effect of the system of credit in this country was such as to make the whole commercial and monied interest of Great Britain joint proprietors and co-partners in the whole mass of capital existing in the country." In some sense this was undoubtedly loose; and as these extensive interests had the benefit of such a partnership, so it must be added that they were not wholly exempt from its risks. They had *all* an immediate interest in upholding the credit of *all*; and he did not despair, that, by examination and discussion, a system might be framed, in which the paper of individuals or private houses might, if resting on a sure and due foundation, be supported to a limited extent, by some extensive and reciprocal guarantee against the effects of sudden alarm; and to such a voluntary association, formed under the direction of Parliament, and countenanced by its authority, there might or might not be added, as should on the whole be judged expedient, some additional security from the intervention of the public. In his own mind, he had followed these ideas further, and pursued them into some detail; but he wished not to trouble the House at this time with any discussion of them. No man felt more strongly the difficulty and delicacy of the whole subject. No man more sincerely distrusted his own judgment upon it: but, impressed as he was with its importance, satisfied that if we were unprepared in this respect, all naval and all military preparation, however extensive, would be inadequate to the safety of the country; he had done his duty in calling the attention of Parliament to the question. He had no doubt that the danger of leaving it unexamined was infinitely greater than any danger that could by any possibility, arise from the examination of it; and it would therefore be offering an insult to the understandings of the House, if he delayed them by any farther explanation of the motives with which he brought it forward. He could have no interest in increasing the public danger. If this evil could not be avoided, we must prepare ourselves to meet it with resolution. But such a shock as the

sudden depreciation of the whole circulatory medium of a country, and this too in a moment of invasion, must, in its consequences, overwhelm all men, of whatever descriptions or situations in the country. He was confident that diligence, wisdom, and firmness, would avert this, and every other danger of the country; but this could only be done by ascertaining the nature and extent of the evils with which we were menaced. This bill was i self a proof that the subject of public credit was not thought unfit for public discussion, or incapable of parliamentary provision; and the matters he had now brought before the House were nothing else than different branches of the same extensive subject.

Lord *Hawkesbury* then rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—I rise, my lords, to offer some remarks in reply to what has fallen from the noble lord who has just sat down. In some of the general principles which he has stated, I most certainly cannot but agree with him, though I cannot concur in his application of them, in the present instance. And, indeed, in listening to some parts of his lordship's speech, it was difficult for me to recognize the words of one who had so great a share in proposing this measure originally. That the proportion of paper in circulation to the amount of the specie ought to be left to find its own natural level, and that, except in some particular situations, it will, when left to itself, find its natural level, is a principal in political economy, that no one can be hardy enough in the present day to controvert. I agree, therefore, that legislative interference, or any sort of interference, ought, if possible, to be avoided; but at the same time circumstances may occur, and his lordship has admitted that this may be the case, when the good to be derived from such a measure far overbalances the evils that may be consequent upon it. When this bill was originally brought into Parliament, there were a few who were not at all convinced of the necessity of it; these, however, were but very few. Others were aware of its magnitude and importance, yet still thought that, under the then circumstances of menaced invasion, very like our present situation, a run upon the bank, in consequence of the alarm, might be attended with the most pernicious consequences, and therefore joined in giving their vote for the proposed restriction. I also had turned my attention to the subject, and I will fairly own that the difficulties with which it was surrounded pressed heavily on my mind, and one of the chief of these was, that a precedent might thus be established, which could in its consequences be attended with no beneficial effects, I, however, upon mature deliberation, was convinced that under all the circumstances of the case, the restriction was necessary. It was afterwards thought expedient to continue the operation of the act during the whole course of the last war. At the close of the war the Government of the country thought it necessary, upon several grounds, that the restriction should be continued for one year, subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty of peace. But although I so far agree with the noble lord in the general principle, that it is proper to avoid all interference in those things, which, by their own natural operations, will find their just level, I am by no means prepared to admit that these consequences have resulted from the restriction upon the bank, which he has ascribed to it, or that such consequences are to be dreaded. It will, perhaps, be in the recollection of all, that previous to the last war, and four years before the original passing of this bill, the quantity of paper had increased to an enormous degree. This naturally arose from the extensive speculation and commercial enterprize of the country. These, along with the improvements in agriculture, the spirit of adventure, the riches and growing population of the nation brought a quantity of paper into circulation above its just proportion to the amount of cash. The very means by which our power and wealth were improved, therefore gave rise to a sort of artificial capital, which was certainly an evil, but an evil that must of necessity be endured, as it arose from such a cause. These, it evidently appeared, were the causes of the great proportion of paper in circulation, and to these causes the evil, if it were an evil, for there are considerable differences of opinion on that point, is to be traced rather than to the operation of the bill in question. His lordship has adverted to what was said in another place, (the House of Commons) with respect to laying up cash at this time, or, as it has been generally called, hoarding, by a certain hon. gent. high in administration (Mr. Addington). I sincerely agree with the noble lord, and it has been, as he has stated it, the opinion of the most eminent and luminous writers on political economy, that laying up any commodity in times of a scarcity of that commodity, is a corrective of the scarcity. No one now that pretends to be at all conversant with the subject, but knows the ignorance of those popular clamours which in times of general scarcity are raised against the cornfactor and the farmer, who are, in fact, the only instruments by which countries visited with scarcity are preserved from absolute famine. But the noble lord has certainly mistaken the

sense in which the words to which he alluded were applied. In another place, a censure, and a just censure, was meant to be cast upon those individuals, who were so defective in their patriotism as in the present moment to hoard up their money and keep it out of general circulation, from a want of confidence in the security of their country; and in this sense the words were certainly used. Though communities, such as the bank, upon which the credit of the country depended, ought certainly to keep as much cash as is adequate to the demands of the nation, and hoarding therefore is proper in them, the case I apprehend is very different, as far as it respects individuals.—Now with respect to the proposals of the noble lord as to the appointment of a committee; the noble lord has not brought forward these in form, nor as objections to the present passing of the bill. I desire therefore to be understood, as not either according to, or absolutely denying the plan to which he has adverted. I agree with him, that some particularly important evils may, even in times of danger and alarm, be brought forward under peculiar circumstances, and proposed to the consideration of Parliament though the person who does thus bring them forward, cannot, at the time, suggest to his own satisfaction any full and adequate remedy. The first remedy which he suggests to the evil which he thinks to arise from the Bank's restriction, is, that the Bank should gradually, and with much prudent forethought be made to resume its payments in specie. If, however, the evil does not arise from this cause, but from the other causes which I have already mentioned, viz. the increasing commerce and agriculture of the country, it follows that this remedy will not avail for correcting that evil. But the noble lord will also recollect, that though under all circumstances his Majesty's government had thought it advisable to propose the passing of this act during the whole course of the present war, the act may still be repealed by Parliament, if previous to that time, the necessity that at present exists should by any means be done away. I can assure the noble lord, that this subject has not been left unnoticed by his Majesty's government.—Now, to examine the other remedy, which he suggests for giving greater security to public credit. I suppose his lordship means that something of the same nature should be resorted to as that sort of plan which was adopted in 1793, of giving government paper and security to such individuals as could prove to the satisfaction of a Committee that they had real and solid property to the amount. I was not at the time perfectly satisfied with this scheme; and from what has since fallen under my own observation, nothing short of a very strong necessity indeed could oblige me to give my assent to such a measure. I do not therefore say, that no circumstances could exist in which I should think the plan advisable to be adopted. But I know that a great many inconveniences, if not serious evils, arise from it. One of these was, that where great commercial bodies, or great manufactories were established, and any embarrassment occurred among them, the proprietors immediately applied to Parliament for relief. The great inconvenience and mischief of this plan, therefore, was, that it gave a sort of security to people, which made them not trust to themselves, and encouraged them to rely upon the public security in the worst that could happen. I shall do the persons who were then, and those who are now engaged in the places that rendered it their immediate concern to attend to these things, the justice to say, that they gave every discouragement consistent with prudence and propriety to applications of this sort. But it is a fact, that much mischief would result from a scheme of this nature, in teaching people to rely upon public security instead of their own exertions. Bankruptcies might thus, in some instances, be prevented; but, in the natural course of things, great, extensive, and ill founded speculation would bring on bankruptcies, which, in fact, are the natural correctives that apply to such evils. In such cases, therefore, the public ought not to interfere. Upon the whole, without giving any decided opinion as to his lordship's remedies, I may say that, at present, I do not perceive that they apply to the evils proposed to be remedied, and that it appears to me, in fact, that the evil itself, if it be an evil, does not arise from the cause to which his lordship ascribes it.

Lord *King* said, that notwithstanding his objections to the present measure, and the general reasoning by which it was supported, he had been much gratified by several parts of the noble Secretary's speech. He had heard, with very great pleasure, the noble lord's distinct admission, that the principle of the bill was radically vicious, his declared repugnance to all legislative interference on subjects of this nature, and his avowal that such measures could be justified only by the most urgent necessity. Such public admissions, from the persons who proposed these measures, were highly important at all times, but more particularly at present; when, from their frequent repeti-

tion for the last seven years, there was some cause of apprehension, lest the practice of assenting to such acts, upon the mere suggestion of the minister, might acquire the sanction of precedent, and become the regular and established usage of Parliament. His lordship said, that having so often troubled the House upon this subject, and so lately in the Committee on this bill, he would not now enter at large into the question; but confine himself principally to some of those incidental topics which had been introduced in the course of the discussion. The only argument of the least weight which he had heard, either in or out of Parliament, in support of the measure, was the probability of great public embarrassment, from the demand upon the Bank for specie in case of invasion. But it was acknowledged, that the present measure had already, in point of fact, produced some of those very inconveniencies which were the objects of so much apprehension. Complaints had been made in another place, that a large proportion of the current coin had been withdrawn from circulation by selfish individuals, who preferred their private security to the public welfare; and the patriotism of the country had been loudly called upon, to put a stop to what had been termed the infamous practice of *hoarding*. He entirely agreed with the noble lord who had opened this debate, as to the folly and impropriety of this vulgar and ignorant clamour. The complaint reminded him of those periods of the French revolution, when it was not uncommon to hear of accusations of *incivism*, for the crime of preferring French crowns and *Louis d'ors*, to the republican assignats depreciated at that time 4 or 500 per cent. The real crime of the persons who were thus denounced, consisted in distrusting the good faith of the republic, under the guidance of those virtuous citizens and enlightened political economists, who composed the Committee of Public Safety. So, in the present instance, he could not but think that the persons who were thus held forth to popular odium, were, in other words, accused of being so utterly destitute of public spirit as to betray their apprehension for the fate of the country, in the hands of his Majesty's present ministers. Respecting the fact itself, he was inclined to think, that the practice of hoarding took place to some extent, as it was reasonable to suppose in critical and dangerous times; and it was probably still more general in Ireland, in proportion to the danger of the country. He thought that persons in public situations ought not to lend their voice to assist the clamour which was raised against those who chose to keep a part of their property in the form of coin, or who, in the present circumstances of the country, preferred specie to any other commodity. He thought upon general principles, that the rights of property should be respected, and that the public interest regarded that those rights should be as free and uncontroled as possible. He was persuaded that if specie was accumulated, in any considerable degree, in times of public alarm, the public difficulties and embarrassment would be diminished, in the same proportion, when the enemy landed and the moment of danger actually arrived. The noble lord who had opened this debate had well and forcibly illustrated this position, by comparing what was now so much complained of, to the practice of hoarding corn in times of scarcity, where, by a process exactly similar, the prudence of individuals, which in that case also is so much the object of popular odium, provides against and alleviates the calamity at the time of its greatest pressure.—With respect to the measure which was now under discussion, his lordship said, that the powers which were entrusted to the Bank, for an indefinite period, were in no respect guarded against abuse. The natural and only true limit of every paper currency, was the power of compelling payment in specie at the will of the holder. A paper currency not convertible into specie had no rule or standard, except the discretion of the persons by whom it was issued. To determine the quantity of currency necessary for circulation was, in all cases, a difficult and delicate problem. A very strict attention to the price of bullion, and the state of foreign exchanges, was alone capable of affording a just criterion by which the quantity could be truly ascertained. Without a perpetual reference to these tests, it was impossible to maintain the full value of the currency. That the Bank Directors had failed in the performance of this duty was evident, from the enormous increase in the quantity of their notes, and the great derangements which had taken place in the price of silver and foreign exchanges, since the period of the restriction. He said, that the excessive quantity of Bank notes, by raising the market price of silver above the Mint price, was one of the causes of the present scarcity of silver coin; because it furnished an additional temptation to that practice, which was thus rendered more profitable than at any former period. He stated it as a fact, for the truth of which he appealed to those lords who represented the

peerage of Ireland, that, in consequence of the still greater depreciation of the currency of that country, the silver coin there had totally disappeared, and had given place to a most debased and counterfeit substitute. He should not now enlarge upon this subject, though it was one of the very highest importance, since a more proper opportunity for the discussion would occur when the Irish Bank Restriction Bill was brought into the House.—He said, that the proposal of the noble lord, who had opened the debate, for a Committee to take into consideration the important questions to which he had alluded, should meet with his most cordial support. The noble Secretary had stated, that he was not prepared either to assent or dissent on the first mention of such a proposal; but as it had been required that some distinct subject of inquiry ought to be stated, to induce the House to consent to such a Committee, he would take the liberty (if it was not presuming too far) to mention some of the topics to which the attention of a Committee might be directed with great propriety and advantage. Independant of the general question, respecting the effect of the Bank restriction upon the currency of the two countries, there was great room for inquiring into the policy of adopting a new system of coinage, and of new modelling the regulations of the Mint. The propriety of deducting from the value of the coin, the expense of the coinage, was an alteration which had long been proposed by the best writers on the subject; and was one which he should think it right to submit to the attention of the Committee. It would be useful also, to consider the propriety of adjusting the relative values of the silver and gold coins, according to the change which had taken place in the relative values of those metals; an alteration of indispensable necessity, since, by the present regulations of the Mint, it had long been found impossible to retain any new issue of silver coin in circulation. There was, also, another object of importance which might be referred to such a Committee; he meant the propriety of repealing all laws against exporting the current coin of the country, and of allowing it to be considered as a common article of merchandize. The laws, which prohibited this, were founded in popular error, and formed part of a system which was now universally exploded. At present, when the exchange is unfavourable, the coin, which is necessary for paying the balance against us, must be melted down in order to be exported without risk of seizure. By the proposed alteration, it would be exported in the shape of coin, when the exchange was unfavourable, and would return in the same state, when the exchange was restored to its usual and ordinary course. He concluded by again expressing his hopes, that the proposal which had been made, for a Committee to consider the various questions connected with the credit and currency of the country, would be seriously brought forward after the recess, and would be adopted by the House.

The *Marquis of Sligo* rose, as he said, to confirm Lord King's account of the badness of the silver coinage in Ireland. He however denied that any transaction of the nature alluded to by his lordship, had ever fallen under his observation, or was consistent with his knowledge.

The *Duke of Norfolk* did not mean at present to oppose the bill, but he remarked that it was too much the custom of the last administration to propose and carry dangerous measures, and afterwards act upon them as precedents. This now had become a precedent, and he was sorry that, as it had been once enacted, this was not a time to repeal it. Government ought to be aware how it passed measures of this magnitude at the desire of persons, by whose means they might become independant of Parliament. If ministers would, whenever the Bank directors pleased, come to Parliament and obtain a law to protect those directors against the legal demands of their creditors, it might be feared, that in return those directors might, at some time or other, give ministers such aid as would enable them to dispense, for a time at least, with the concurrence of Parliament.

Lord *Grenville* rose to explain some misstatements of his positions by the noble Secretary of State. Particularly, he observed, he had been completely misunderstood in the plan which he suggested for giving greater security to private paper. He did not at all mean that government security was to be given to individuals as in 1793. His plan was this, that as the individuals of the nation were concerned in the capital of the whole nation, a general plan should be entered upon, under the countenance of Parliament, to support the credit of any particular private bank, whose paper should be effected by a landing of the enemy, or any other alarm in the place where it was situated.

Lord *Hawkesbury* denied, in the most positive terms, that the bill was introduced at the request, or even at the suggestion of the Bank directors; but that government had brought forward the measure solely from

their own conviction of its necessity.—The bill was then read a third time, and afterwards passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, December 13.

[Minutes.]—Sir Francis Burdett moved the second reading of the Pancras Vestry and Overseers' Bill; which was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee.—Mr. Byng brought up a petition from certain inhabitants of the parish of Pancras against the bill; which was referred to the Committee on the bill, and the petitioners ordered to be heard by themselves, their council or agents, against the bill, &c.—Lord Henry Petty moved that the report of the Committee on the petition of the Sierra Leona company of the year 1801, be referred to the Committee appointed to consider their petition presented in the present session. Ordered.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the Mutiny Bill; which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Johnson presented at the bar, from the office of the chief Secretary for Ireland, an account of the amount of Bank of Ireland notes in circulation at the different periods mentioned in the order of the House. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the Committee of supply of yesterday. The resolutions were severally agreed to.—A message from the Lords informed the House, that their lordships had agreed to the following bills without any amendment, viz. the Malt Tax, the 5,000,000 Exchequer Bills, the Pension Duty, the Qualification Indemnity, the Irish Promissory Note, the East-India Bonds, the Irish Sugar Drawback, and the Seamens' Desertion Bills.—Admiral Berkeley brought up a petition from the debtors confined in Gloucester Castle. Ordered to lie on the table; as was also a petition from the debtors in the King's-Bench.—Sir William Elford gave notice, that, after the recess, he should bring forward a motion, to institute an inquiry into the cause of the dismissal of a very respectable individual from office, by the commissioners of naval inquiry.—Mr. Secretary Yorke brought up an account of the numbers of the volunteer corps, on the establishment, in Ireland, and of the number of corps that had been accepted by his Majesty. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

[Volunteers' Exemption Bill.]—The House having resolved itself into a committee on the Volunteers' Amendment Bill;

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* observed, that it would not be necessary for him to take up the time of the Committee, by going at large into the exposition of the bill before it, which he had fully explained on Saturday. The object he had now in view was merely to explain the points which it had been found necessary to introduce into it, in order to remove some doubts which existed respecting the former acts. Doubts had been entertained respecting the exemptions which volunteers claimed, and in many instances the commandants of corps had omitted, from their not being acquainted with the provisions of former acts, to make the returns before the day specified in those acts, namely, the 21st of September, on or before which the return should have been made to entitle the individual to exemption. There could be no question as to the Reserve, because three periods of the year were specified for making the returns, and if they should not be made before the 21st of September, they might in January. This first clause, therefore, was intended to enable commandants of corps to make returns at any time after the passing of the act, to make returns, and to legalize such as had been made since the 21st of September, each of which was to exempt the individual from the ballot for the militia, as well as for the reserve. This clause was also to enable commandants of corps to make special returns, where the individuals had conformed to the provisions of the act. It had, in many instances, been found utterly impossible to issue the quantity of arms necessary for the use of the volunteers, and as the terms of the act required that the returns should be made of men fully armed, equipped, and accoutred, the commandants had a difficulty of making the returns where the arms had not been issued. But if the individuals had attended with pikes for the purpose, they would, in his opinion, be entitled to be returned as properly armed. In every instance also, where the quantity of arms proposed under the act, to be issued by government, which was one quarter of the number in the inland counties, and one half in the maritime, had been delivered, be considered the members of the corps as entitled to the return, if they attended the regular number of days at exercise. The second clause, therefore, would authorise the colonels of corps to make such special returns, where the members had attended the full number of days at drill, muster, and exercise, for the purpose of being

trained, even though the arms should not have been issued. The second part of the bill related to the establishment of uniformity in regulations respecting the exemptions. By the first Volunteer Act only one period was fixed for making the return, namely, the 25th of March, and five days attendance previous to that was required to entitle to the exemption from the militia ballot. By the second, three periods were fixed for making returns, the 1st of January, the 1st of May, and the 1st of September, and in each four months previous to each date, four days attendance was necessary for the cavalry, and eight for the infantry, to give a claim to the exemption. From the present situation of the country, it would be perceived that the nature of the voluntary services under the former act would not be effectual, and, therefore, he proposed that the same number of days should be necessary to entitle to an exemption, as well from the militia as from the army of reserve, and that it should not be less than twenty-five. He had stated the object of the bill, and as most of the amendments were verbal, it would not be necessary for him to trouble the Commitee on each; he should, therefore, content himself with calling their attention to such as should be material

Mr. *Pitt* said, as far as he could collect the provisions of the bill, it was calculated to attain the desired object. Upon one part of what was stated by the right hon. gent. he could not help animadverting. The right hon. gent. seemed to suppose, that though a corps might be armed with pikes, the commander might have returned them properly armed and equipped; he (Mr. Pitt) thought, on the contrary, that if a corps had been raised, and accepted as a corps of regular infantry, that the only proper arms for such a corps were muskets, and that if they were armed with pikes or pitchforks, or any other weapon, that the commander could not return them as properly armed and equipped. With respect to another point, he could not conceive how it was possible, that a commander could return his corps as effective where there might be only arms delivered in the proportion of 25 to 100 men, and he had received a letter upon this subject from the Secretary of State, expressly stating, that no corps could be returned as effective, unless the men had had the opportunity of learning the use of arms, which prevented many commanders from returning their corps as effective, where they had not been supplied with a sufficient quantity of arms. If 24 days attendance under arms was to be considered as sufficient, it must follow that in those corps where only a fourth part of the requisite number of arms had been delivered, that there must be four times the number of days of attendance in order to give every one the oportunity of learning the use of them.

Mr. *Rose* said, he held in his hand a certificate which he had given of the corps which he commanded, stating, that they were perfect in all the manœuvres of light infantry, and that they had attended muster and exercise three times the number of days required, with what arms they could procure, none having been furnished them by government. This certificate was returned by the lord lieut. as insufficient to enable them to exemption under the act, who referred to a letter from the Sec. of State as his authority. The gentlemen of the county, however, construed the act more liberally, and took care that the corps should be exempted. As to the description of arms which had been alluded to, it would never be said that riflemen were to be armed with pikes.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* observed, that if government thought it necessary to alter the mode of arming the volunteer corps, and to furnish, for instance, the front rank with muskets, and the rear rank with pikes, he could not perceive that there could be any hesitation in the commanders of these corps in returning them properly armed and equipped. As to the case of a fourth part only of the requisite number of arms being furnished to any corps, he conceived that if such corps had the opportunity, in the course of twenty-four days, of learning the use of arms, that they might have been returned as effective. As to the certificate mentioned by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), it was insufficient, because it was not in conformity with the act of Parliament.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he did not wish to prolong the discussion, as the bill went to do away the doubts which had arisen. With respect, however, to what had been said, that any arms might be given to a corps, his objection was, that if a corps of infantry was accepted as such, without any explanation as to the mode of arming, that it must be considered that such a corps was to bearmed in the regular way with muskets, and that it could not be otherwise denominated "properly armed and equipped."

Sir *William Young* thought that some distinction ought to be made with respect to

exemptions, between those volunteers who so honorably came forward in the first instance, impelled merely by their zeal and their patriotism, and those who enrolled themselves after the passing of the act for making a general array. By that act, if three-fourths of the first class in any district came forward, the district was exonerated from the compulsory clauses; these persons therefore only commuted one service for another, and therefore, in his opinion, were less entitled to exemptions from the militia and the army of reserve. This description of volunteers included a great part of the peasantry of the country, who might be induced to enter into the army, whilst the former description of volunteers were wholly of a different class. This subject, he thought, deserved serious consideration, and he should press it upon the House after the recess.

The *Attorney General* observed, that if there were any case in which the lord lieut. of any county adopted a mode by which some individuals would be released, and the burthen of a ballot would be flung upon others, it was one that was not authorized either by the legislature or the government of the country. Particular cases might admit of some partial modification; but these could only extend to things which were not in themselves of material import. What he understood by persons being duly armed was that their service should have been tendered to and accepted of by government, and that arms should have been delivered to them in consequence. As to the strict meaning of a soldier being duly armed, that was a question more for a soldier than a lawyer to determine. According as he conceived the meaning of the law, it was requisite that, to obtain exemption from the militia service, a man should have been disciplined in the use of arms on five distinct or separate days at least, and to gain an exclusion from the ballot under the army of reserve act, it was necessary that he should be at least twenty-four days in training to military exercise; that is, that a man should be drilled for such a number of times on so many separate days without specifying any particular number of hours in each day, or supposing by any means that he was to be kept the entire of each day at exercise. Government, it appeared to him, would have a right to exercise their own discretion as to the number or the particular species of arms which they should issue.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* explained, that, with respect to the issuing of pikes, it had been originally considered as a sort of temporary armament, until a sufficient number of muskets were in readiness to be issued: however, they had afterwards become more generally adopted.

Dr. *Laurence* stated that he differed materially from the right hon. and learned gent. who spoke last but one (the Attorney General), and that that rt. hon. gent. also differed materially from himself on a former occasion, when stating his opinion on the subject which was now under discussion. Pikes were said to have been originally brought into use only as a temporary sort of armament, till others were procured; therefore any deviation from that must be irregular. As to the other case, namely, where 25 stand of arms only were issued for 100 men, the commandant would then by law, that is, if he acted according to the strict construction of the act, be under the necessity of giving a certificate of service to every individual, according as each completed the number of drill days which was required before he could obtain an exemption. From the hurry with which acts of Parliament were frequently drawn up, inaccuracies must unavoidably occur sometimes in the manner in which they were framed; but it would be a dangerous principle to admit that, on account of the necessity which existed for their alteration, the laws could be dispensed with on any account whatever; and in each of the cases to which he had alluded the law should have been more strictly adhered to.

Lord *Granville Leveson Gower* stated that, in the county of Stafford, three weeks ago, not a single firelock had been received from government for the volunteer corps.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* stated, that orders had been given to provide arms for the volunteer corps, but it was thought necessary to furnish them in the maritime counties first.

Mr. *Tierney* thought a distinction ought to be taken upon the subject of arms. When corps made their offers of service, they generally stated what they would provide themselves, and what they expected government to furnish. A corps that he was connected with, had stated that they would provide themselves with clothing and other articles, and that they expected government to furnish arms and ammunition. By arms was certainly meant muskets, but if government thought proper to send arms of a different description, for instance, pikes, he should conceive that such a corps would be properly armed. As to the case of only a certain proportion of arms being furnished to a corps, he apprehended that supposing only 25 muskets to be furnished to 100 men, each man

might exercise with a musket, twenty-four different times in 24 days, so as to be returned as effective, and that for the purpose of the return it was of no consequence whether there were 25 muskets or 100. To illustrate this, he would suppose a case of five learned doctors having only one brief amongst them, yet if they all perused the brief, each would consider himself entitled to a fee.

Dr. *Laurence* contended, that there was no analogy in the case cited by the hon. gent. As to pikes, they could not, he said, be considered as proper arms in the cases mentioned.—Upon that part of the bill which related to the number of days of attendance,

Mr. *Rose* observed, that there were some volunteers who were paid for 85 days, and others only for 24; he thought it, therefore, not just that the former should only be required to attend 24 days for the purpose of being exempted. He wished also that something should be done to enforce discipline; he had heard of some irregularities committed, and he thought they ought to be checked.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, that as the law now stood, volunteers were equally exempted in complying with the act by attending twenty-four days. As to enforcing discipline, his majesty had the power of making regulations for that purpose, and it was, perhaps, unnecessary to pass another act upon the subject, as it was highly desirable that too many regulations might not be made. There was a great improvement in the present system over that of last war, as the volunteers were now liable to be called out to meet the enemy, which they then were not.

Mr. *Rose* again contended, that these volunteers, who were paid for 85 days, ought not to be allowed an exemption for attending 24. He was well aware, he said, that his Majesty had the power of making regulations with respect to the discipline of the volunteer corps, but his Majesty had not the power of imposing fines for irregularity of conduct.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, that volunteers would only be paid for the number of days they actually attended; and as to irregularity, any person misconducting himself might be expelled with disgrace from the corps to which he belonged, in which case he would be entitled to no exemption.

Mr. *Giles* said, that the bill now before the Committee went to alter the number of effective men. At present, every man who appeared, properly armed and accoutred, five days, was entitled to exemption from the militia; and if he appeared for 24 days, properly armed and accoutred, he was entitled to exemption from the army of reserve. The object of this bill was to make an alteration in that which made the volunteers effective men, and if this was done without the consent of the volunteer, it was a breach of good faith with such a man. If this bill passed in the form in which it stood now, the condition of the volunteer was to be altered by it: he had not what was promised to him when he entered, and therefore this measure was a breach of good faith towards him, and that by Parliament; good faith ought to be strictly observed by every body, but more especially by Parliament. It was extremely important to observe, that in this volunteer service there was at present no sort of discipline in this great body, except the terms on which they had been accepted. Many of them had discipline within themselves, and which they observed for their own regulation and internal arrangement; but if Parliament interfered to impose on them some discipline to which they did not agree at the time their services were accepted, it would do that which it had no right to do, because it was altering the condition on which the volunteers entered, and they were entitled to insist on the terms on which they entered; and here he could not help saying, that part of the speech of the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Rose) appeared to him to have a mischievous tendency, because it went to favour that breach of faith. It was impossible, without breaking the condition on which the volunteer entered, to alter any of it, or to subject him to any thing else without breach of faith. It was said to be desirable to put the volunteers with the regiments of the line. That was indeed the case of those who might be called out under the defence act, but it was expressly otherwise with regard to the volunteers; for Parliament had expressly declared that the volunteers should not be called upon to join the regiments of the line, and to do otherwise now would be to violate the faith which was the basis of the volunteer service; and if it was persisted in to make that alteration, the engagement between government and the volunteers was dissolved; and if measures of this kind were to be insisted upon, he was afraid the country would be deprived of a great deal of service it might otherwise have. The volunteers were an immense body of men, and they were, of course, very attentive to what passed concerning public affairs, and particularly respecting themselves; and care should be taken to bring nothing forward that was inconsistent with the faith which Parliament had pledged itself to keep towards them. He was, however,

confident, that ministers would not countenance, nor would Parliament pass, any measure that was contrary to good faith, in any shape or on any condition. There had been a great deal said some time ago on the subject of a breach of faith with respect to property, and he wished the House to be as attentive to the question of a breach of faith respecting liberty.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, he could not see the clause now in discussion in the light in which the learned gent. viewed it: he did not see how it could be considered as a breach of faith. This was a remedial bill, to exempt volunteer corps from certain hardships to which they were at present exposed under the strict letter of the law. It was not intended by it to do any thing unfavourable to the volunteers. This clause was prospective; it was not intended to take place until after the 1st day of May next. But with regard to the exemption of volunteers, it was to take place immediately. The other part would in truth be as if Parliament never made any alteration in the law respecting these volunteers, and the learned gent. insisted on it, that Parliament had no right to make any alteration in the law in this respect; that he would never admit. The fact was, that it would be in the power of those volunteers to dissolve, who should not like this new regulation; they might quit the service if they did not approve of it, and did not choose to continue; the only consequence would then be, that they would have no exemption, but would be subject to be ballotted for the militia, or the army of reserve, and the deficiency which might thus be created in the corps must be filled up out of the classes specified in the defence act: but the alteration proposed, he apprehended, would not have the desired effect, for the number of days of attendance being limited to five, was applicable to a time of peace, whereas the measure must now be adapted to a time of war.

Sir *William Young* considered the volunteers as divided into two classes. Those which came under the regulations of the 42d of the King, and those under the act of the 43d of the King. The first he considered as volunteers superior, in consideration of their offers, to the second; for the first came forward without any view, expectation, hope, or idea of any exemption whatever. The second, although he did not mean to dispute their spirit, zeal, or patriotism, yet they came forward volunteers under the idea of a commutation of duty—to be exempt from other military duties that would have been imposed upon them by law, the Army of Reserve, Militia and Defence Act; he therefore submitted the propriety of making some distinction between these two classes of volunteers.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the hon. baronet alluded particularly to the volunteers of the county of Buckingham, who had acted much to their credit, in coming forward as they did without claiming any exemption; but he could not allow of any distinction between the volunteers of this county, either as to those who entered previous to the war or subsequent to the war. Distinctions between men actuated by such noble motives were invidious. It should not be insinuated, that all the volunteers did not enter from one motive—the glorious one of defending their country, and to preserve its honour. He did therefore beg leave to vindicate the volunteers who entered since this war, as well as those who were in that character before it. Their having become volunteers was purely voluntary; they had no conception of what they are now entitled to by the Act of Parliament; it was impossible they should, for the great bulk of them had entered before that clause in the act had been so much as mentioned, or even hinted at. It was no motive of commutation of duty or exemption that induced the volunteers to come forward: no! it was a spontaneous burst of genuine zeal in their country's cause, unmixed with any thing selfish, uncontaminated with any thing impure; it was a glowing spirit of patriotism, that made them rush forward in the service of their country. This was nothing more than was due to them from him as a member of administration, and, unless he was much deceived, would be paid to them by that country which they were enrolled to serve. Having paid this small and well-deserved tribute to the volunteers, he could not help saying he concurred entirely in the sentiments expressed by the learned gent. (Mr. Giles) on the other side of the House. He was confident that no man in the House, or in the country, would be less disposed to countenance a breach of good faith in any case than his right hon. friend (Mr. Yorke.) The truth was, that in this case he did not depart from good faith, for although five days were sufficient to entitle volunteers to exemption from the militia, and 24 from the army of reserve, yet that was the regulation in time of peace, and he proposed that the attendance should be greater now in time of war. It was not proposed, however, that the alteration should begin to operate until the month of May

next; and even then no volunteer would be bound by it, for then every volunteer would have the option whether he would continue as a volunteer or not; and it was for the House to consider, whether it was worth while to make this proposition for the sake of changing the number of days of attendance from five to twenty-four days. He owned he thought that the improvement that this was likely to introduce into discipline would be worth the experiment, and that the more especially when he reflected that volunteers now by their own consent met a greater number of days than were here proposed. But what he rose chiefly for was, to claim on behalf of all the volunteers of this country every credit that was due to their zeal, patriotism, and independence, and that there was no invidious distinction to be made between them. The House would determine whether this difference of time was to be adopted.

Mr. *Rose* said, that the learned gent. (Mr. Giles) referred in so particular a manner to what he had said, that he was under the necessity of saying a few words in his own vindication. The learned gent. had imputed to him a mischievous speech; now, said Mr. Rose, whether my speech or the speech of the learned gent. was most likely to produce mischief, I leave to the Committee to determine; and I trust I may leave that matter safely there. He seemed to insinuate that my speech was against the volunteers. There is not one man in this country more a friend from his heart to the volunteers of it than myself. There is no spot near or in the neighbourhood of my house in which there dwells one man who is not a volunteer. Two corps in my neighbourhood are commanded by relations of my own, and a third corps is raised by myself:—I therefore leave it, on these facts, to the Committee to judge whether I am against the volunteer system. What I meant was to have them as perfect in their discipline, so as to render them as efficient as possible, not through the medium of a breach of good faith, for that I am as much an enemy to as the learned gent.; and upon that subject the right hon. gent. has removed every shadow of difficulty, by saying, that if the alteration should take place, such volunteers who disapprove of it shall be at liberty to withdraw. Having quoted the provision of the statute of the last session of Parliament upon this subject, the right hon. gent. concluded with saying, that both as a member of Parliament, and as a magistrate and country gent., and in every situation, he had been a friend and zealous supporter of the volunteer system, and therefore he could not help feeling himself hurt, by having imputed to him a mischievous speech.

Mr. *Giles* disclaimed all idea of imputing to the right hon. gent. any intention of creating mischief by his speech, but he did think that it would have that tendency but for the explanation which followed. He was glad he had started this conversation, because it had produced a declaration that would do away any uneasiness which the volunteers might have felt on the subject of alteration in the terms of their continuance as a body, but now it was openly declared that no alteration could ever take place in the terms on which they entered, without affording them the option to withdraw if they disapproved of such alterations, losing, of course, by so doing, all the exemptions they are now entitled to. Such a declaration was necessary to be made, for it set at rest much uneasiness that might have followed.

The *Attorney-General* observed, that so much had been said on the matter of exemption of volunteers, it was needless for him to add any thing, especially as upon that subject there was no difference of opinion. Now, as that was the leading and the only part of this bill that was pressing in point of time, he should submit to his right hon. friend, whether the remaining part of the bill might not as well be deferred until after the recess, to allow gentlemen time to turn it in their minds, and to prepare for its future discussion, for it was not proposed that that part of the bill should begin to operate until the month of May next. If any thing that amounted to a breach of good faith could possibly be proposed, which he was assured there could not, by any member of administration, he was sure the House would never assent to it, but perhaps there was no use in dwelling on this measure further now, if his right hon. friend would adopt his suggestion, in postponing the latter part of the bill.

General *Norton* said, it was a fact, that the last Volunteer Act clashed with the army of reserve. If that act had not passed, the 50,000 men would have been long since completed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in further reply to Sir W. Young, begged leave most completely to differ from the right hon. baronet, as he was thoroughly convinced that the volunteers, instead of taking any advantage of their situation, were, upon all occasions, actuated by the purest and noblest motives of loyalty, patriotism, and public spirit; they were a body of men whose valour and

disinterestedness conferred an honour on themselves, and shed a lustre on their country:—to see men of rank, independence, and elevated characters enrolling themselves in the ranks of their country, was, in his opinion, a circumstance which conferred the greatest honour on any age or nation.

Sir *W. Wynne* said a few words on the danger of giving the volunteers the option of withdrawing their services.

Mr. *Pattison* said, that in the last war he had a corps of 150 men. On calling them together in April last, when he got permission to raise a second corps of 350 men, he found that 80 of them had entered into the King's service. Since that, several had gone in the same manner, either into his Majesty's service, or as substitutes into the militia, the supplementary militia, or the army of reserve; and though he might have some regret at losing a good soldier, he never thought himself at liberty to interfere to detain them. This was a proof that the volunteer system, instead of impeding, assisted the recruiting service: so far as to the men, now how was the fact as to the officers? This touched him more nearly, as it affected his own family. His eldest son, who had been one of his officers, had gone into the East Norfolk militia; his second son, whom he was educating with the greatest care, to assist him in his commercial pursuits, had conceived so strong a partiality for a military life, and for the King's service, that he held himself under the necessity of yielding to it. He was one of his ensigns, and had never conceived any notion of a military life, till the corps had been ordered to Yarmouth; and now he had written to him in a most pressing manner to obtain him a commission in the King's service, and he would be much obliged to the hon. Secretary if he would procure him one.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, it was true a private may be turned out of his corps for impertinence to his officers; if he was to be turned out by his officer, the case was clear; but if it were to be done by the Committee, it should be recollected, that the majority of that committee would be privates.

Mr. *Yorke* thought it would be a very difficult matter indeed to define the precise quantum of assistance to be given to the wives and families of such volunteers as were sent on actual service, as that must depend on a variety of circumstances; it must be first ascertained who stood in need of any assistance at all; then, whether those families, who sought assistance, were wholly dependent on the professional exertions or manual labour of those persons sent on actual service; then the quantum of assistance to be afforded such families, which must vary *ad infinitum*, according to the number and helpless state of such families, &c. &c.—Such has been the difficulty of ascertaining this point, that even in the constitutional militia, where such provisions were always made, it depended on the time of absence and interruption from business, as it frequently happened, after devoting part of the day to drill, they apply the remainder of the day to business, which would consequently diminish, in proportion, the assistance his family was to receive from government, &c. these various points required the most mature deliberation, as they were extremely intricate, and should not be precipitated through the House.—The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, December 14.

[MINUTES].—Counsel was heard at some length in an appeal cause, Keighley, *v.* the East-IndiaCompany. The further hearing was ordered for Friday next.—The Earl of Suffolk informed their lordships, that he wished to deliver his sentiments on the bill, which he understood was now before the other House, respecting the services of the volunteer corps. He therefore should take the opportunity, when that bill was introduced, to deliver his sentiments upon it, most probably on Friday. —The Lord Chancellor observed, that it would give him much satisfaction to hear the sentiments of the noble lord ont hat day. —The Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill was read a third time, passed, and a message was ordered to be sent to the Commons, acquainting them therewith. Several other bills were also passed, after which their lordships adjourned until to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, December 14.

[MINUTES.]—A message from the lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Engli-h Bank Restriction Bill, the bills for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and authorising trials by martial law in Ireland, the English Promissory Note Bill, the bill for preventing distillation from oats in Ireland, the bill for bonding Portugal wines, the Irish Crop Exportation Bill, the Sugar Drawback Bill, and the Curates' Relief Bill.—On the motion of Mr. Hobhouse, the Mutiny Bill was read a second time, and committed for Thursday, the 2d of Feb.—On the motion of Mr. Corry, the house went

into a Committee of Supply, in which 21,600l. Irish currency, being the annual sum, was granted for the service of the trustees of the Linen Board in Ireland. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow and the Committee to set again on Friday.—Mr. Vansittart presented an account of the amount of the sums paid for premiums and bounties under the act of 41 George III. for the better supplying the markets of London and Westminster with fish. Ordered to lie on the table. — Lord Henry Petty moved that the Committee, to which the petition of the Sierra Leona Company was referred, have leave to sit notwithstanding the adjournment; and also that the said Committee have leave to report their observations. Agreed to.—In answer to Mr. Rose, who wished to know whether there was any report from the naval officers connected with the settlement, Lord Henry Petty stated, that a naval officer, who had been a long time on the station, had been examined before the Committee.

[ARMY OF RESERVE.] — Mr. *Secretary Yorke* thought it right, before gentlemen separated for the recess, to put the House in possession of an accurate return of the Army of Reserve, the number raised, the number rejected, those that had deserted, those that died, those that were effective, and those deficient.—In making this statement there would be room to admire the exertions the counties had made, though of late those exertions had rather fallen off. The exertion was at first so great, that within six weeks no less a number than 26,740 men were raised. The total number raised on the 21st Nov. the latest day to which the returns were made up, was 26,607 in England and Wales. Of these 642 had been rejected, 70 were dead, 777 had deserted, 25,500 were effective, and a deficiency of 8,000 still remained to be made up by England and Wales. In Scotland the number raised was 5,500. In Ireland it was upwards of 6 000. Still a considerable deficiency remained; yet putting it out of the question, whether this was the best mode of raising a defensive force, it must be allowed that it had supplied in a very short time a great number of men. This return, therefore, was thought useful, in order to stimulate the counties to complete their numbers; and he should move, that by the time the House should meet again, another return should be made, by which it would be seen in what proportion the quotas of the different counties were complete or imperfect. He concluded with moving, that there be laid before the House an account of the number of men raised for the royal army of reserve, distinguishing the counties, those who had been rejected, those who died, those who were effective and present, together with the numbers due, including casualties.—Ordered.

[VOLUNTEER EXEMPTION BILL.]—On the order of the day being read, that this bill be read a third time,

Mr. *Windham* said, he was much grieved, that by not being present in the House the night before, he had lost the opportunity of offering some suggestions, which would, he conceived, materially have improved the bill. He did not expect that the Report would have been brought up before this day, and as it was competent to offer any improvements that occurred, upon the report, he had been less anxious to attend in his place yesterday. It was true, that Reports were, in cases of urgency, immediately received: but this was not a case of urgency; and the present ministers ought to have known more than any other men the propriety of leaving every measure before the House for as long a time as possible. The very bill which they now pressed forward so unnecessarily, arose from that hasty spirit of legislation which left in every act doubts and ambiguities requiring further acts to remove them. The hon. gentlemen seemed particularly prone to this course of proceeding. They were fond of driving to an inch, of running every thing to the last moment. The consequence was, as it necessarily must be, that being obliged to act in a hurry, whatever they did was crude, ill considered, and full of mistakes. There were two modes, Dr. Johnson had observed, of composition; one in which the several parts received from the writer, before they issued from his mind, all the perfection which he hoped to give to them; the other, in which they were committed to paper in the first instance to be improved by subsequent correction. The hon. gentlemen, by the circumstances in which they placed themselves so constantly, seemed to prefer the latter of these modes. They threw down their first loose thoughts in an act of Parliament, trusting to future consideration and experience to bring them to something of a better shape. An act of Parliament was their foul copy, in which it did not signify how many faults there were, as the Legislature would be able afterwards to set them right. Their preference to this mode was founded, he supposed, upon the observation of the poet, that poets

> Lost half the praise they should have got,
> Were it but known, what they discreetly blot.

The hon. gentlemen did not choose to lose

this praise. They chose to compose in public; and to have full credit both for their first conceptions, and for the successive improvements which changed them often to something utterly unlike what they had been originally. Though by this course of proceeding of the hon. gentlemen in the present instance, he had lost the opportunity of suggesting his amendment in a stage when it might have been received, he should nevertheless mention it, with a view to occasions, when the volunteer system might be again under discussion. It was in fact, however, no more than what he had already urged on more occasions than one, viz. the putting a stop to exemptions with respect to those who should enter into volunteer corps in future. To abolish those already subsisting was, he was aware, difficult, and might perhaps be impossible. Certainly it ought not to be attempted, if it could not be put upon a footing to make it consistent with good faith. But the granting such exemptions in future, and continuing by design what had got a place in the system only by chance and against the intention of its authors, was a proceeding for which no rational motive could be assigned, and which he could not hear without great surprize as well as concern, was to make part of the present bill. What he had further to object being of a sort, which could not have been corrected by an amendment or clause was as proper (or more proper), to be urged on that day as on the day before. It was an objection to the whole system. While the right of exemption produced the effect on the one hand of defrauding the army, the army of reserve and the militia, by contracting the population, from which they were to be supplied, it oppressed the whole country, and particularly the lower orders, to a degree the most grievous, and by means the most intolerable that were ever admitted deliberately, into the institutions of any state. Where did any one ever hear, except as matter of complaint and reprobation, of a power such as that vested in the leaders of volunteer corps, whether one or many, of deciding arbitrarily and without appeal, who should or should not be liable to a ballot, the effects of which would be to the persons on whom it might fall, a fine of 40 or 50 guineas? These were sums which to the bulk of those who might be liable to them, would be nothing less than absolute ruin; at the same time that it might be equally ruin to them to quit their trades and their families and to engage for a service of five years, as soldiers. Such a power lodged in the hands of a commandant where the constitution of the corps was monarchical, or in a committee or sub-committee, where its form was republican or democratical, would rank hereafter for oppression or abuse, with any of those most famous in history—with the dispensing power or powers of granting indulgences. It was not that this power was applied abusively or oppressively, in many or perhaps in any instances, at present; but it could hardly fail to be so in the end, and in the mean-while must be considered as one wholly out of the course of all ordinary proceedings, and for which it was hardly possible to find a fit depositary. Such a power must however somewhere exist, supposing the privilege of exemption to continue: for it was impossible to imagine, that every one could be allowed to enter into a volunteer corps that pleased: and he or they, who had the power of admission or rejection, must possess the power here spoken of, improper and unsafe as that power might be. The only remedy was, either to abolish exemptions, or to abolish volunteer corps. It seemed hardly possible to correct the evil by regulation. Nor was it to be conceived, that such evil had now become small, because the greater part of the militia and army of reserve were raised, and ballots of consequence to the same extent were no longer wanted. To the same extent they certainly would not be wanted; but it must be considered at the same time, that they would have to operate upon diminished numbers: so that to supply and maintain the present force, that is to say, to make good what was then wanting, and afterwards to maintain the whole (for which latter purpose too, as was obvious, more would be required the larger was the force already raised), would render these ballots perhaps not much less burthensome than they had been at any preceding period.—So much as to the oppression of this system, armed as it was with a power such as he had described, which the present bill both confirmed and extended, and which it seemed extremely difficult to take away. Its injurious effect on all the other species of force he must still maintain, notwithstanding the specious statements made on the other side. First, as to the fact. Whatever the numbers might be, produced by recruiting during the last seven months, as compared with the produce of an equal number of months during an antecedent period, and however small the proportional diminution which appeared to have taken place in the latter instance, he must still insist upon some strong and hard facts, namely, that in many regiments the return *per* month was not more

than two, and sometimes not so much: and that in one of the largest recruiting districts, comprising many extensive and not unfavourable counties, the rate of recruiting *per* month was not more than seven or eight. Now, when this was so, let the gross numbers be what they would, he must contend that recruiting was nearly at a stand, taking the question upon the footing on which it ought to be taken, as a comparison between the supply and consumption, between what was gained to the army in recruits, and what was lost by desertion, death, invaliding, and discharges. But, next, as to the reasoning. Proportion, which the hon. gentlemen dwelt so much upon, that is to say, the proportionate abatement in the numbers at that time recruited, compared with those recruited in equal periods formerly, was not that on which the question properly turned. Proportion in abstract quantities had place among the smallest as perfectly as among the greatest. If the hon gentlemen had a mind to be very deeply learned, they might tell us of the proportion of one *nothing* to another *nothing*; and such a consideration would be very far from inapplicable to much of their recruiting. But in common concerns they must apply to proportion, what is said of law, *de minimis non curat lex*. If a regiment, which formerly recruited three a month, now recruited two, you were not obliged to say, that recruiting in that regiment had declined one-third, nor on the other hand could you be entitled to say, that it had declined *only* one-third. Such variations would happen by chance, and by a law consequently wholly different from that of proportion. No conclusion, therefore, could be drawn from such instances separately considered: and if a judgment were to be formed, as it ought to be, from the whole state of facts taken together, it would be the very reverse of that meant to be established by the hon. gentlemen; who, instead of saying 'the recruiting during the existence of these causes, (viz. the immense bounties; the great extent of the militia force; the 400,000 men locked up as volunteers, &c. &c.) has been so and so; therefore these causes have not operated to its disadvantage,' ought to say, 'the recruiting being what it is, notwithstanding the operation of these causes, which must have acted so powerfully against it, what would it not have been, had these been removed, and other new causes, which must be presumed to have arisen, have been left to produce their natural effect?' This he must contend was the legitimate conclusion. It was not in the nature of things, that causes such as he had enumerated, and were obvious to every one's observation, must not have some effect in checking the progress of recruiting. To take only one; could any man in his senses suppose, that with fifty guineas offered for service in the army of reserve, men would go on to enter for the line, at a bounty of five or ten, in the same manner as if no such competition existed? If the recruiting, therefore, kept up to nearly its former amount, as was contended by the hon. gentlemen, there must have been something to counteract the effect of these impediments; and this something it was not difficult to find. It was a state of war; it was the threat of invasion; it was the *stimulus* of the compulsory service; the discharge of numbers of workmen in consequence of temporary checks to trade; the general military spirit, that filled and animated every part of the country. These circumstances were of force sufficient to uphold, to a certain degree, the recruiting service, even in spite of the causes which tended to depress and to annihilate it. How far might they not have carried it, had there been nothing on the other side to counteract their effects?—The objection, therefore, to the volunteer system as contributing with other causes, to destroy the recruiting of the army, continued in full force, even admitting the statements of the hon. gentlemen; and he must continue to urge these objections, even though he should be asked, as he was the other night, why he would persist in decrying a system, which, whether right or wrong, was now fixed and incapable of being altered. His answer was, that it was not fixed, but must, on the contrary, and infallibly would, and that, at no distant period, come again under revision; and that it was with a view to that period, that these observations were made; that the defects of this system were such as would never suffer it to go on long as it was; and that, if other causes were wanting, the very failure of its funds must soon bring it again before Parliament. Unless Parliament greased the wheels the machine must soon stand still. He wished, therefore, that before that time, gentlemen would be prepared with their opinions on the several parts of the measure; would consider how far the objections were valid; how far the parts objected to might be corrected or got rid of; and, failing of that, whether the whole system would not require to be new cast, and in a great degree, possibly, to be done away.

Mr. *Hiley Addington*.—Sir, the right hon. gent who just sat down seems very desirous of having the last word on the subject now

before the House. I hope, however, I shall be permitted to express for the first, and perhaps the last time, my sentiments upon it. There are many points of the right hon. gentleman's speech on which I wish to make a few observations. The right hon. gent. and his associates, in speaking of the volunteers, always ground what they say on a solitary instance. In the course of his speech, the right hon. gent. stated, that the subscriptions which have been raised to pay the expense of the formation of the corps of volunteers would soon be exhausted, and that then they will be obliged to call on government to give them assistance for their future maintenance. Nothing can be more futile than this observation. In the first place, I conceive that the right hon. gent. is completely misinformed in supposing, that subscriptions of the nature which he mentioned are raised at all for the formation of corps of volunteers. I believe that there are many instances to the contrary; and I can assure the House, as one instance, that, towards the formation of a large corps which I have the honour and the happiness to command, there has been no subscription at all. The men were actually clothed out of the allowance made by government, with a very inconsiderable addition; and I feel a pride in stating, that not the smallest objection has been made by one individual to clothing of that description. It was not cloth at forty shillings a yard, to be sure, but the corps was extremely contented, and were not quite of an unsoldier-like appearance. Where there have been subscriptions, I conceive that they were directed principally to this object, and I am therefore at a loss to conceive how government need apprehend, even in the most distant perspective, that any call will be made on the public purse to afford any assistance, especially as it was generally understood that the clothing was to last three years.—The right hon. gentleman has asserted, that no less a bounty than 50l. per man has been given to substitutes for the army of reserve. Gentlemen on the other side of the House were fond of adverting to the solitary instance of the metropolis. To that fact I cannot speak; but I can assert, from my own knowledge, that in the county in which I reside, the price of a substitute is never more than 25 guineas, some times 20, and the average is 22.—In the same way, the right hon. gent. has argued on the subject of committees. A solitary instance was stated on a former night, of a corps being governed by a committee. Ab uno disce omnes, is hardly a fair way of judging. I have seen many corps of volunteers, and have heard of more, but I know of no such regulations. The system is a bad one; nothing should induce me to hold any commission in such a corps, or to have any thing to do with it. It is an unfair mode of arguing, to infer, that because there was one solitary instance, it must be the general description of volunteer corps. I have, indeed, read such arguments of late, but I little expected to have heard them urged by gentlemen of enlightened understandings.—As to the injury done to the recruiting service, that point has been completely answered by the statement of the Secretary at War, and by other gentlemen. Facts cannot be done away by the loose and vague opinions of individuals. They are so unanswerable, that I shall not dwell on this objection.—I mean nothing offensive to the right hon. gent. in what I am going to add: but I must once for all express my grief and my astonishment, that the right hon. gent. should have adopted, and now persevere in a course of language, disparaging, discountenancing, and discrediting a description of men, on whose services the safety of the country not a little depends. The right hon. gent. perhaps, despises popularity; I am nevertheless astonished that, without any adequate reason, he should set himself in opposition to the universal voice. But I will tell that right hon. gent. that every corner of the kingdom echoes its reprobation of the language which he has held since the meeting of Parliament. People cannot comprehend, posterity will scarcely believe, that in a moment of danger so unparalleled, one individual could be found, who would gravely assert, that 400,000 Britons in arms were not only doing no good, but were even injurious to the interests and defence of the country. Is the right hon. gent. so grossly ignorant of ancient and modern history, as not to know what glorious exploits have been performed by the patriotic and voluntary energy of men like our volunteers? Such examples will not be lost, I am confident, on my countrymen. If real danger should present itself, what may not be expected from men, animated with one spirit, fired with an unexampled unanimity, to take arms in defence of a monarch whom they love, of a constitution which they revere, of an independence which they cherish, and for the protection of every thing that can be valuable and precious to them as men and as Englishmen.

Mr. *Windham*, in explanation, observed, that he had never said that 400,000 men in arms would be of no use.

Mr. *Alderman Price*, in order to set the

right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) right as to the subscriptions which were set on foot in the metropolis, thought it his duty to state, that the object of these subscriptions was to defray those charges for which the corps were not entitled to call upon government, and the sums subscribed were to such an amount, that they could not be expended for years; neither was it an idea with these volunteers, that they were only to be shewn to the enemy in their red coats; they exercised and manœuvred almost every day in all the evolutions necessary for a regular army. As to the committee, they only managed the money: they never interfered with the discipline of the men. He wished that adjutants should be added to the corps, but not field officers. As a proof that this was the general wish, many of the corps had already procured adjutants, and settled on them an adequate income. They were, in fact, in every respect effective soldiers, and ready to act as such wherever the appearance of the enemy required. As to the bounties for the army of reserve, 26 guineas was the highest sum given in the metropolis. Before he sat down, he should just ask the Sec. at War, why the marine and river fencibles were not noticed in the return of the volunteer corps? Was it from their being a force of an extraordinary description, which could not exactly be classed with the others.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* had not inquired into the reason of the omission alluded to by the worthy alderman; but he supposed it was because the corps mentioned by him were not understood to be of the description to which the return was to apply. Probably they were understood to belong to the Admiralty.

Colonel *Craufurd* complained that his right hon. friend below (Mr. Windham) had been grossly misrepresented. He did not think that 400,000 men could be of no advantage to the country. On the contrary both he and his honourable friend gave the volunteers the highest credit? they only complained of the manner in which they were constituted, and that they had a tendency to starve the regular forces. He expressed his regret that any exemptions had ever been granted. He believed it had been by accidence. It was doubtful whether it was intended, even by ministers themselves, to give these exemptions; for, so late as the 23d of Sept. they had consulted his Majesty's Attorney-General whether they were to be given. If he had himself understood that they were to be given, he would have came down prepared to oppose them. As to the volunteers in general, he was of opinion, that they ought to be carried to the highest perfection of which they were capable, and he was, therefore, sorry, that the suggestion of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), not then in his place, respecting the appointment of field officers had not been adopted. He was sure the volunteers themselves would be happy to have the benefit of the instruction of experienced officers, to enable them to perform their duty in the field, with honour to themselves, and advantage to their country; if they were really actuated by a spirit of patriotism, as he had no doubt they were, so far from feeling discontented, therefore, at such appointments, which was urged as the first objection against this useful regulation, there was every reason to conclude that they would be happy at the adoption of it. Another objection, that it would be impossible to procure a sufficient number of officers from the line, would be obviated, when it was considered, that an English regiment of about 800 men, had an establishment of double the number of officers, than a similar battalion of any other European troops. It had been said, that though the volunteer corps would object to field officers, they would have no difficulty in receiving adjutants; but, it was essential to have the officers instructed as well as the privates, and he was of opinion, that it would be inconsistent with military propriety, that an adjutant, who generally held the rank of lieutenant, should instruct his captains, and even field officers. With respect to the volunteers themselves, what had been said by his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) on the subject, had been so much misconceived in the House, and so much misrepresented out of it, that he felt disposed, as he was on his legs, to set gentlemen right on that head. He had attended to his right hon. friend as much as any hon. member, and he had never heard him say any thing that could warrant an inference, that 400 000 Britons in arms, so far from being of service, would be injurious to the cause in which they were engaged. His right hon. friend was not so little acquainted with the great deeds which history related to have been performed by the sole impulse of spirit, without discipline, and in many instances without arms. The Swiss peasants, impelled by that spirit, had attacked the French army with no other arms than pitch forks. He had himself witnessed with grief the prowess which the Irish peasantry, impelled by a mistaken spirit, had displayed in repeatedly attacking the King's troops with no other weapons than what could be easily put into the hand of every peasant, a pike. There

were living those who had seen similar instances of bravery in the Scotch peasants. He was sure that this country, with the spirit inspired by the best of causes, the best of Sovereigns, and a liberty such as no other nation could boast, would display as much valour as any other country at any other time. Could it then be supposed, that any man would venture to assert that 400,000 Britons, in such a cause, with whatever gallantry they may attack an enemy's forces, could do no service? All that his right hon. friend contended was, that they would not be so effective, and, though history furnished us with examples of great victories gained by undisciplined troops, there was no doubt that disciplined troops were the best. When we trusted to the army, we trusted to an army which was tried, and which had proved itself in every war, and in no war more than in the last, equal (for he would not flatter the British army by saying superior) to the French. He had heard the French army abused as a set of conscripts dragged into the service. These conscripts, by whatever means they were brought together, formed as good an army as any in Europe, and such an enemy the volunteers should expect to meet in them, animated by as high an enthusiasm as theirs, though not of so good a nature.

Sir *William Young* stated, that he was particularly anxious, as this would most likely be the last time he should have an opportunity, of declaring that there were two descriptions of volunteers, and that the exemptions adopted in regard to those two descriptions ought to be extremely different. This was a point, he thought, essential to the interest of the country. A strong line of demarkation ought to be made. He had looked into the acts of Parliament on the subject of the volunteer exemptions, and he found that he was borne out in what he then asserted, that the volunteers under the 42d of the King, were of a different class in the eye of the legislature from the present volunteers, who had no regulation but that of the 43d of the King. The latter were a very large body of men, by whose exemption the great mass of the population of the country was greatly affected; they impeded very much indeed the progress of the army of reserve, for three-fourths of them were of the first class of the Defence Act, unmarried men under the age of thirty: this was a serious matter: they ought not to have these exemptions, for it was greatly inconvenient to the country. As to the volunteers under the 42d of the King, who were the only true volunteers, in the proper sense of the word, for they came forward without any view of exemption; they were justly entitled to every exemption: they were in number from 69,000 to 70,000, and they were a body of men, on whom the country need not less rely for patriotism than for discipline; but the other great body which had been lately raised, and had entered, was not so properly called a body of volunteers, although that name had been given to them. They were not at first to have been exempted, either from the militia or the army of reserve: by the act of the 17th of July, no intention was expressed of exempting any of them either from the militia, army of reserve, or other service; but on the 11th of August, when many gentlemen had gone into the country in hopes of serving it as essentially as they could by attending that House, a clause crept into a bill for regulating the volunteer cavalry, by which all this immense body of men were exempted from all other services, as it was now to be interpreted by the present bill, but which could hardly have been then so intended, as indeed was to be gathered by the very necessity there was now of explaining that act. This was a matter worthy the serious attention of the House at some future period. By these 300,000 men being thus entitled to exemption from the militia and the army of reserve, and three-fourths of them being of the first class of requisition under the Defence Act, being unmarried men under the age of thirty, this threw all the ballots almost upon men who had families, and they wishing to remain with and provide for them, of course became eager for substitutes, so that a great competition arose among them, and the effect was the bounty for substitutes became enormous. These were matters to be considered gravely; not that he wished our military strength to be diminished by any means; no, we must continue that strength while the affairs of Europe wore their present aspect. It was no matter to us whether Buonaparté existed or not, while France was the military nation she was, we must bear a relative proportion to that military power. He admitted, however, that no addition ought to be made to the condition of any man who entered into his military service that would be a breach of faith.—The hon. baronet then took up the subject of popularity, as stated by Mr. Hiley Addington, and said, that his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) could never be unpopular among those who knew how to value a man versed in ancient, and intimately acquainted with every branch of modern learning, who knew how to esteem private

worth and public virtue. As to the "gross ignorance" which the right hon. gent. had thought proper to apply to his right hon. friend, he was astonished, and he believed that every member present was also astonished, that it should ever have entered into the head of that gentleman to make an insinuation of so extravagant a nature.—He concluded by insisting on the distinction which he had taken between the two classes of volunteers, those of the 42d, and those of the 43d of the King; the first he thought entitled to all exemptions, the other to none.

Colonel *Calcraft*, in answer to what had fallen from the worthy Alderman (Price), thought that the facility of recruiting in provincial districts, as compared with the difficulty stated to exist in London, did not arise from the cause stated by the worthy alderman, namely, the giving of higher bounties in the former than in the latter, but from the circumstance of a vast number of working artisans being dismissed from their employment at Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, and various other manufacturing towns, as the returns from those towns would prove. These men, when they were unemployed, and saw no chance of being reinstated, immediately formed the idea of enlisting in the line or militia; and instead of going from town to town to look for higher bounties, repaired to the next town where they could be received; and this would account for the difference of facility in raising recruits in the country. With respect to the volunteers themselves, as he had not had an opportunity of speaking his sentiments, he wished to say a few words. It had been pretty much the fashion to charge a right hon. gent. near him (Mr. Windham) with disparaging those corps, as utterly useless and unfit for service. He, for one, never conceived the arguments of that right hon. gent. in that view, but merely as meaning that his Majesty's ministers did not use the military population of the country in the way which he thought most efficient. For his own part, however, he felt no disposition to undervalue the services of the volunteers; on the contrary, he thought they would be rendered highly serviceable and efficient for the defence of the country. As to discipline, however, as compared with troops of the line, or established militia, that was out of the question. The nature of the service, and the opportunities that had occurred for training the volunteers, admitted of no comparison with the other troops. In aid of those troops, however, he thought they would form an important branch of the public force; and he thought that as that service must depend chiefly on the high spirit and good will of the corps, a liberal conduct from those who were to direct their operations should be observed, and that government should not be over nice or strict in the minuter details of their discipline.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* suggested to the hon. baronet (Sir W. Young) who spoke last but one, to read and consider the act of the 42d of his Majesty, as he seemed not to be aware of its provisions. Referring to the remark of the last speaker, which would imply some want of patriotism and public spirit in London, he had to observe, that from one instance which came within his own knowledge, that insinuation would not appear to apply. When he was Secretary at War, an offer was made to him by the Drapers' Company of London, immediately after the commencement of the war, to raise 200 or 300 men for the public service, to be attached to any regiment of the line which government might think proper. This proposal he submitted to the consideration of H. R. H. the Duke of York and General Hewit, and it was the opinion of those high authorities, that it would be imprudent to accede to it, for this reason, that it was found that this respectable and wealthy company had not the means, through their own influence and connexions, to raise the number of men specified; and that the probability was, they would offer such high bounties as would interfere with, and do much injury to, the ordinary course of recruiting for the regular army. This instance he mentioned merely as an answer to the statement, that the City of London was not sufficiently forward to contribute to the public defence; and he had no doubt, had the offer he described been accepted, that many others of a similar nature would have been made.

Mr. *Giles* wished to know, whether the proportion of the army of reserve, which London was to furnish, was yet complete?

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* stated, that there was a deficiency in the city quota, as well as in that of Middlesex; but that such deficiencies arose, not from the tardiness of those with whom the duty of providing the men rested, but from the frequency of desertion, which took place to a greater extent in this city than in any other district; and this he conceived it impossible to prevent. It arose from the nature of our police, any change in which, however, he could never persuade himself to propose or to meditate.

Mr. *Giles* argued, that from the reading of the Volunteer Act, the distinction taken by the hon. baronet (Sir W. Young) was

unfounded. This act described only two descriptions of service, namely, volunteers and voluntary services; and the fact was, that not one of the latter description was entitled to exemptions. The hon. baronet had been also erroneous in stating, that the prospect of exemption from the militia and the army of reserve influenced the volunteers; in contradiction to that assertion, he had to mention a fact which he knew, in consequence of the situation which he held as one of the deputy-lieutenants of Hertfordshire, namely, that the number of volunteers accepted in that county was 2800, and the nuuber who offered for voluntary services were 6,600. The latter were not entitled to, nor did they ever look for exemptions; though the hon. baronet had stated generally, that almost all the men in the country, capable of military service, were locked up in the volunteers; and that of course the exemptions were so extensive, that it would be found quite impossible to provide recruits for the regular army. Upon inquiry he had no doubt that such circumstances as he had described in Hertfordshire, would be met with generally throughout the kingdom.

Sir *William Young* said, that his meaning was misconceived by the hon. member who spoke last.

Dr. *Laurence* rose, and, in a speech of considerable length, took a general view, as well of the volunteer system, as of the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, in adopting that system, going over nearly the same ground which had been traced, both on this and on former nights, by Mr. Windham, and by the learned doctor himself. It had been the fashion, he said, for his Majesty's ministers and their supporters, to endeavour to calumniate, and run down the characters of those men who have the honesty and the boldness to deliver their candid sentiments in that House, in opposition to the measures of ministers, which they conceived to be impolitic; regardless of that temporary popularity which ministers were so anxious to obtain from gratifying the whim of the moment without looking to future results. Of this illiberal disposition too many instances had been given with respect to the conduct of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), the purity of whose motives no man could question, and the ability of whose mind even his adversaries were forced to acknowledge; but yet he was the subject of much undeserved censure, and extremely culpable misrepresentation. The latter, some persons out of doors seemed encouraged to promote; and the effect of that misrepresentation in the circles of the minister's friends, was quoted in that House as an objection to his right hon. friend's opinion. A right hon. gent. on the other side of the House, whom he did not now see in his place (Mr. H. Addington), had this night stated, in a very confident tone, that his right hon. friend was unpopular; he had expressed his astonishment at the sedulous perseverance of his right hon. friend, in reprobating the volunteers, and asserted that every corner of the country echoed with censure, disapprobation, and disgust, at the conduct of his rt. hon. friend. What, he would ask, was the cry of unpopularity, even if it attached to a particular course of policy, to weigh with the mind of an enlightened statesman, to urge him to the abandonment of that course, against the conviction of his own judgment? The idea was too ridiculous to be entertained. No sound politician could support it. That popularity was highly desirable, was an indisputable proposition, because it was, independently of other considerations, a powerful instrument for a politician to work with; and, whatever the advocates of ministers might assert or insinuate, he would contend, that his right hon. friend did possess a very high degree of popularity, which was particularly owing to his opposition to the volunteer system. This fact he knew from his acquaintance with the sentiments of the people throughout the country, and particularly those of the more intelligent description. He said he was himself present when a large company, consisting principally of the friends of administration, drank that gentleman's health, and made him the bearer of a complimentary message to him, for the part he had taken with regard to this subject. The learned member observed, that the company he alluded to was composed of men whose talents and characters were such as to entitle their opinion to respect—men to be esteemed by whom was indeed a flattering evidence of the popularity which his right hon. friend enjoyed; and he could not help saying, that any people who could condemn the motives which manifestly actuated his right hon. friend, or who could not respect the line of public conduct which he had pursued, were incapable of understanding their own interests, were scarcely worthy to be served. Yet, however much he regarded public opinion, however much he respected popularity, he must observe, that too much was generally said in that House about following the sentiments of the people, for if the people

were always to be followed, for what purpose were some persons selected to lead? No rational man would wish to render himself obnoxious to the people, but yet no intelligent and dignified statesman would shrink from his purpose from fear of popularity, for it was notorious that the people were too apt to consult their immediate ease, and but seldom to look to future interests, however important they might be. Ministers, if they were wise, should rather encourage than attempt to depreciate an opposition, from which they might obtain the most useful advice. In many cases, indeed, they had acted upon advice derived from that quarter, although so forward to traduce its consequence, at the time it was offered. Ministers were told by his right hon. friend, that if the daugers of the country were fully made known, the spirit of the people would be found ready to meet it, and this appeared from the result; but the complaint of his right hon. friend now was, that that spirit was ill directed, that the flower of the military strength of the country was locked up in the volunteer system, and that the volunteers were governed by committees which were likely to become the focus of democracy. That such committees did exist was a fact quite notorious, and that six privates had, from their institution, the power of governing a whole corps, officers included, and of arranging every thing connected with its internal conduct, enforcing the attendance of members, infliction of fines, &c.—With respect to the allusions made to the amount of the bounties given to the substitutes for the Army of Reserve, he could say from his own knowledge, that not less than 50 guineas were offered for substitutes in Middlesex. A man was known to hold a paper, pasted on the top of a pole, at Charing Cross, with an inscription of "50 guineas for a substitute;" and his hon. friend had said, that 100 guineas had been advertised for two substitutes at the Market Place of Norwich. To prove the enormous bounties offered, in contradiction to the statement of an hon. gent. on the opposite side of the House, he could quote many other instances, but it was unnecessary, and would only serve to prolong the debate.—The learned member concluded with accusing ministers of running away from their duty, and declaring that he should always feel proud of having acted with his right hon. friend, in opposition to their system, whatever animadversion might be made upon him in that House, or whatever calumnies might be propagated respecting him out of doors, because he was equally satisfied of the purity of his right hon. friend's motives, and the profound wisdom of his political conceptions.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* began by saying, that the learned member had concluded with a very heavy charge, indeed, upon his Majesty's ministers, namely, that they had deserted their duties and had given encouragement to a spirit of calumny; but, to whom the charge of dealing in groundless slander and detraction most properly applied, he would leave it to the House and the public to judge. Of the duty of a member of Parliament he was fully aware; and no man respected that duty more than he did. He knew that, consistently with that duty, every member of that House was bound to examine, and entitled to state fully, his opinion upon every public measure. He should be sorry to see that disposition damped by any fear of animadversion, or that the exercise of such an important right should become the subject of calumny. He admitted fully that a statesman should prefer the interests of the people to every other consideration, and that unpopularity should not restrain him from pursuing the course of measures which his judgment prescribed. For popularity, properly understood, he professed the highest respect, and should always feel a proper solicitude; but, that ministers had ever betrayed any idle, vain wish for popularity in the system they had acted upon, as had been insinuated, he most pointedly denied. To what part of their conduct could the charge of endeavouring to court the people, be applied? Was it to be detected in their financial arrangements? Was it in the quantity of taxes they had imposed on the country? It would be recollected, on this point, that immediately after the conclusion of the last peace, an addition was made to the public taxes, which was equal to half the amount of the whole interest on the national debt, previous to the war which that peace terminated, and at the commencement of the present war, a further addition was made of twelve millions. From this it appeared that no less than 17 millions were added to the taxation of the country within the short space of 14 months. That is, not less than seven millions more than the whole interest of the national debt previous to the commencement of the last war. The financial proceedings, therefore, of ministers could not be said to manifest any very strong disposition to conciliate popular favour; and could that disposition be

seen in their conduct with respect to the military and naval departments? Did their keeping up 50,000 seamen during peace, together with a large military establishment, imply an extraordinary desire for popularity? In a word, did not every measure of ministers carry with it the determination to provide for the honour, the interests, and the safety of the country? He would put it to the candour and common sense of any man, whether, in their proceedings, they were in the least degree influenced by any base, unmanly, dishonourable wish to court popularity, and whether they had in any instance shewn the still more dishonourable wish to detract from, or calumniate any member for the performance of his duty? For himself and his colleagues he could say, they despised a practice so illiberal and so vile, and he was equally certain that his right hon. relation (Mr. H. Addington), to whose words some allusion had been made, would contemn any thing like it. The words alluded to, which were merely that the sentiments which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) no doubt, thought it his duty to deliver in that House, made a very unfavourable impression abroad; and that his observations upon the volunteers were particularly ill received. No doubt, however, the right hon. gent. felt his conduct justified in his own mind, but yet it was very natural to suppose, that the disposition he had upon all occasions shown to depreciate the volunteers, would be considered a very ungracious return to them for their patriotic zeal, and for the diligent application of their time to acquire a knowledge of the means necessary to defend their country. That his Majesty's ministers attempted by any means to traduce the character of the right hon. gent. was an unfounded accusation; but that they complained of his conduct, was an undoubted fact. They complained of the right hon. gent., and the right hon. gentlemen who acted with him, because they condemned indiscriminately every measure that they had taken since their accession to his Majesty's confidence They complained of the right hon. gent., because he reprobated their arrangements respecting the militia, though that body was constituted precisely as it existed at the time that right hon. gent. was in office. They complained of him, because he called forth all his efforts to decry the system of the volunteers, although it was no deviation whatever from that which prevailed, when the right hon gent. was in office: but now it appears that the right hon. gent. would prefer an armed peasantry. In short, it was, because he arraigned every thing they proposed, that they complained.—The right hon. gent. on the subject of the volunteers, had always argued as if ministers looked to that body as every thing, which they regarded only as an important ingredient in the public force. They felt that it was a principle never to be lost sight of, that our security materially depended on the diversified construction of our national army, and that in a country situated as ours is, it would be impossible to array in a regular army, any very considerable portion of our population; because it would be inconsistent with their industry and their habits, and injurious to the vital interests of the nation. In addition to the volunteers, we had, it was to be remembered, a regular army and a militia, much greater than ever existed at any period, that the right honourable gentleman was in office, and yet, he was heard perpetually to allege the inadequate state of preparation for the defence of the country. Among the singular modes of attack upon ministers, resorted to by the right hon. gent. and his advocates, it was observable that they uniformly took the deductions from their own reasoning as facts, and generally relied on them as such. They concluded that at the peace the regular force of the country would be reduced, and therefore that it was reduced; but the fact was, and he had made inquiry to ascertain it, that from the whole of the infantry only 1500 men had been discharged, of whom 1000 were from the guards, as being under sized and otherwise unfit for service. The statements of the right hon. gent. were, therefore, as to this point, upon which he and his coadjutors had often dwelt, egregiously exaggerated. Their assertions with respect to the progress which recruiting for the regular army had made since the commencement of the war, were equally groundless. For, on the contrary, instead of such recruiting being at a stand, as they alleged, the army had obtained 7000 recruits from that army of reserve which that right hon. gent. so strongly condemned; and upon a comparison of the period which elapsed since the war commenced with the same progress of time during the last peace, it appeared, that more men had been obtained by recruiting within the former period, notwithstanding the competition which ordinary recruiting had to encounter in the high bounties offered for substitutes in the army of reserve, the amount of the militia, and the exemptions granted to volunteers in the one instance, and the solicitude which must have assisted in the other instance to fill up regiments, and the facility of obtain-

ing recruits in consequence of the militia being disbanded, &c. This consideration would surely be admitted by the right hon. gent. to be a strong proof of activity in the recruiting service, and it must be evident that his apprehensions upon this head had been quite unfounded; for, upon the whole, it would appear that the regular army had obtained, within the short space of seven months, no less than 15,000 recruits. So much for the outcry raised by the right hon. gent. and his party, as to the state of our means for the defence of the country, and the exertions which ministers have made, seconded by the wisdom, energy and zeal of Parliament and the people, to give to every department of the public force ample resources to meet the exigences, to avert the dangers of the present crisis, and to oblige the enemy to feel the vanity and wildness of the calculations which urged him to occasion that crisis!

Mr. *Windham* denied that he ever meant to disparage the volunteers; and said that his remarks upon the reduction of the army previous to the commencement of the war, referred to the disbanding of the foreign corps in our service, which was a proceeding that he would ever condemn.—After a few other remarks from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the bill was read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, December 15.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the Malt Tax Bill, the Place and Pension Duty, the Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension, the Irish Martial Law, the Seamen's Desertion, the Bank Restriction, the British Sugar Bounty Drawback, the Irish Provision Import, the Irish Oats Distillation, the Small Notes, the East India Bonds Duty, the Annual Indemnity, the Curates' Relief, and the Portugal Wines Bonding Bills. The Lords Commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Roslin, and Lord Walsingham.—After some routine and private business was disposed of, Mr. Vansittart, accompanied by several members, brought up from the House of Commons, the Volunteer Corps Regulation Bill. The bill was forthwith read a first time: and, on the motion of Lord Walsingham, ordered to be printed. His lordship took the opportunity to state, that should the prints be on the table to-morrow, it was his intention then to move for the second reading of the bill.—Adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, December 15.

[MINUTES.]—The Deputy Usher of the Black Rod appeared at the bar of the House, and desired its attendance in the House of Peers. The Speaker, attended by several members, accordingly proceeded to the Upper House, where the royal assent was given by commission, to the Malt Duty Bill, the Pension Duty Bill, the Curates' Relief Bill, the Irish Habeas Corpus Bill, the Irish Martial Law Bill, the East India Bonds Bill, the Irish Sugar Drawbacks Bill, the Irish Oats Distillation Prohibition Bill, and the Portugal Wine Bonding Bill.—On their return, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he rose to move, that the House should, at its rising, adjourn to Monday next. Previous to the question being put, he observed, that, perhaps, it would be proper to give notice of his intention of moving, early after the meeting of the House, for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the cause of the disputes between the cotton manufacturers and their servants. He should have moved for such Committee, previous to the recess, had it not been for the absence of several gentlemen, whom he wished to be present when the subject was brought forward. He also intended to move for a Committee to inquire what difference there was between spirits distilled from malt produced from barley grown in England, and spirits ditilled from barley grown in Scotland.—The order of the day for receiving the Report of the Committee of Supply was deferred till Monday.—The Committees of Supply and Ways and Means were postponed till Monday.—Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, December 16.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were further heard, and at considerable length, relative to the Appeal, Keighley v. the East India Company, namely, Mr. Mansfield in continuation for the respondents. The farther hearing was postponed till Monday.—An officer from the Bank of England, presented at the bar, an account of the number, and amount of Bank Notes in circulation, on the 25th day of each month, from February till November 1803, pursuant to a motion of Lord King. Ordered to lie on the table.

[VOLUNTEER EXEMPTION BILL.]—Upon the motion of Lord Hawkesbury for the second reading of the Volunteer Exemption Bill,

The *Earl of Suffolk*, in pursuance of the

intimation he had given on a former evening, took the opportunity to deliver his sentiments with respect to topics of which the bill in question formed a part. He professed himself the friend of the volunteer system, which he thought, well regulated and applied, might be rendered of the most essential service to the country. It was not his intention to oppose the present measure. The volunteer force was a great and desirable accession to the defence of the country, and what he had to trouble their lordships with should principally regard the application of such a force. He begged the attention of their lordships to some circumstances connected with a corps formed in that part of the country where he resided, and composed chiefly of his own tenants: these consisted of about 300 men. From the rank he had the honour to hold in his Majesty's service, he could not be appointed to the command of the corps himself, but the lord lieutenant of the county had the goodness to appoint his son to that station. He, however, materially assisted in the drilling and disciplining of the corps; indeed he had or could obtain no other assistance in the business than that of a serjeant of marines and a corporal; they were drilled, he believed, about eighteen times before they were inspected; and the state of discipline and order to which they had attained at that period, was hardly to be credited; they were, upon the whole, as fine a body of men as he would desire to see, and really belived he should as soon undertake to lead them against the enemy, as the brigade of guards which he had the honour to command in America, and which had so greatly signalized themselves in that country under Lord Cornwallis and other officers. He was of opinion the volunteers might be rendered of the most essential service; but every thing should be done to conciliate them, and to keep up that military spirit and ardour with which, in general, they seemed actuated. Singular as it may appear, it was yet in the conviction of every man skilled in military tactics, that soldiers, particularly that description of them which composed the volunteers of this country, may be over-disciplined; and it were obviously better to lead men rather *minus* in that respect, than in the least under the influence of discontent. The enthusiam of that part of the national force should be flattered as much as possible; they should be as little harassed or fatigued as possible, and, above all, except in cases of direct necessity, care should be taken not to detach them from their homes and families: many of them were in such circumstances, that were they taken from their families and occupations, the former must become parochially chargeable: the poor's rates were severely felt at present, especially by the land-holders, and he alluded to the ill consequences which might possibly ensue in the event of their being materially increased. He was confident that on the occasion of actual service, the volunteers would feel an emulation to equal at least, if not excel, either the militia or the troops of the line, indeed, all these different descriptions of the national force, would feel a laudable spirit of rivalship and emulation, which might be directed in a way to prove highly serviceable. Speaking of the system of discipline which he thought it would be proper to apply to the volunteers, the noble earl expressed his disapprobation of the plan of having majors attached to them; those probably would be inclined to assimilate the volunteers to the military system of discipline, in too great a degree, and possibly may conduct themselves in other respects in a way not agreeable to the members of volunteer corps. Another consideration, and not an immaterial one, as considering the present contest likely to be protracted, militated against such a plan, namely, that of economy: the regulation alluded to, would certainly involve a considerable expense, but there was a certain description of regular assistance which he thought the volunteers stood in need of, namely, the assistance of adjutants properly qualified, and as still more indispensable, the assistance of serjeant-majors, and these regulations would, comparatively, be attended with no great expense. He had the highest expectations from the volunteers, and it was to be remembered, that at the commencement of the French military operations, they were more indebted to the exertions of their volunteers than even to the troops of the line, and infinitely more so than to the services of those conscripts who were dragged into action.—His lordship then proceeded to take a general view of a defensive system, with a reference to the event of invasion. One of the things which first struck him as most proper to be done, was the establishment of a great military depôt in a central part of the kingdom; considering its local situation, and geographical circumstances, he considered Warwickshire as the fittest county for such an establishment: from this county, stores, &c. may be forwarded towards different parts of the coast, as occasion may require. Near to this depôt, a great rendezvous of troops may be also established, and which may be periodically changed. Their lordships would recollect that such a depôt as he had in his

contemplation, was long since, and most judiciously, established in the center of Ireland, namely, in the town of Athlone. He would by no means recommend that military depôts should be established on the coasts, or nearer to them than the distance of a forced march, or thirty miles. What would be the consequence if the enemy took possession of a military depôt? They would find themselves at once provided with every thing necessary, and, more especially, with several important articles, it was impossible they could bring with them. He then proceeded to recommend the erection at proper stations on the coast, of Martello forts. These would be found of inconceivable service in repelling the enemy; the expense of erecting them would not be great, they were of a circular form, with a roof nearly flat, or but little sloped, and formed so as to be bomb proof. In them a piece of ordnance was transversely fixed, and so as to move round, and capable of being pointed in any direction; the resistance those erections were capable of was exemplified in an affair which took place on the coast of Corsica last war. One of these was attacked by a ship of the line (he believed it was the Terrible) commanded by Captain Young; and which was assisted by a 40 gun ship: in the course of a spirited conflict, the Terrible was more than once set on fire, as red-hot balls were discharged from the tower. The result was, that both vessels were beat off, and our troops were afterwards obliged regularly to open trenches against the tower before it surrendered. His lordship was proceeding to animadvert upon other topics connected with the defence of the country, when he was called to order by

Lord *Hobart*, who begged leave to remind the noble earl and the House, that the subject regularly under consideration was, whether a bill, to explain and amend two acts passed in the 42d and 43d year of the King, relating to volunteer corps, should be read a second time. It was in the judgment of their lordships how far a great part of what had fallen from the noble earl was relevant to such a consideration.

The *Earl of Suffolk* proceeded:—he should endeavour to avoid any matter which may be considered as disorderly, as far as possible:—he continued to expatiate upon such topics as he conceived to be, in some degree, connected with the subject before the House; and, adverting to the state of Ireland, he observed, that he had lately received a letter from a particular friend of his, an officer of great professional merit, and who was a district general in that part of the united kingdom. He alluded to Sir Eyre Coote; the letter was of a very consolatory description; the officer in question had traversed 500 miles of that country, and the description which he gave, he was sure, would be very satisfactory to several noble lords who heard him. He begged he might be allowed to read the letter as part of his speech.

Lord *Hawkesbury* rose to order. He felt it incumbent on him to interpose on such an occasion, and to advert to the obvious impropriety of suffering the communications of a general officer commanding a district, stating what his private opinions were on topics of so much delicacy and importance, to be so promulgated. Whether the communication was of a favourable or a disadvantageous nature mattered not, in his view of such a proceeding: the practice he thought was highly improper, and were it suffered to prevail, it might be recurred to in cases where the intelligence was of an opposite description. Adverting to the irregularity of what fell from the noble earl in point of order, he followed the example of his noble friend, in stating to their lordships what was the precise question before them.

The *Earl of Suffolk* again rose, and after observing that he stood corrected, proceeded to observe upon certain proceedings which illustrated the professional abilities of his hon. friend, the general officer in question. He particularly adverted to some circumstances connected with the taking or the evacuation of Alexandria, when

The *Lord Chancellor* quitted the woolsack, and deemed it incumbent on him to interpose respecting the question of order. It was with pain that he felt himself called upon so to interrupt the noble earl, a great deal of what fell from whom might, he thought, be better heard in other places.—His lordship then put the question upon the bill, when

Lord *Grenville* rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—It is not my intention, my lords, to take this opportunity of entering fully into the general system of regulations relating to the volunteers, and the defence of the country, which, from the nature of this bill, I might very fairly do. I mean to confine myself wholly to that particular point more immediately before the House. I shall very early after the recess take an opportunity of discussing more at large a great many points respecting the volunteer system, which I consider as a subject of the last importance. Although, my lords, my objections go in some measure to the frame of the bill, yet I do not wish to object to it altogether, as the delay which the bringing forward a new

bill would occasion, might detain the House for several days, merely for that particular subject. One can only regret, that a bill of so much importance should have been brought into the House at so late a period, that it cannot conveniently be deliberatively considered, nor fully discussed. This bill, my lords, goes only to explain two acts of the last session of Parliament relative to the exemptions to be granted to the volunteers; but even this, in my opinion, is insufficiently done by it. The better plan would have been, to have repealed the provisions of the two former acts with regard to exemptions altogether, and to mould the whole into a new bill. For in what situation are we placed by these acts, and this bill of explanation? We impose a task of no little difficulty upon the lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and on the volunteers themselves, by rendering it necessary for them to search into three acts, doubtful in the meaning, if not contradictory. If however, notwithstanding this, your lordships should resolve to pass this bill, I trust you will allow me to make one or two observations upon the particulars of the bill which I cannot now properly make in the Committee. One of the acts imposes a difficulty which I have felt by experience. The number of days for attendance at drill in order to exempt a volunteer from the militia and army of reserve are different; I am sure, I know not why. For exemption from the militia, five days attendance is required, and for exemption from the army of reserve twenty-four days. In one part of the act, the commanding officer is ordered, in making the return of his troops, to declare upon his honour, that he has only returned those who, by having attended five days' drill, are exempted from the militia. In another part, he is commanded to give in a return of the whole force under his command, stating those who are entitled to exemption and those who are not. It is utterly impossible that both these provisions can be complied with; I myself was forced to give in a certificate differently worded from that required by the act of Parliament, and others must have done the same, leaving it to the discretion of the lord lieutenants, whether they would accept of them or not. But there is another dilemma to which the commanding officer is reduced. He is ordered in one place to make a return, declaring upon his honour which of those included are intitled to exemptions from the army of reserve and the militia, and which are not. Only one of two choices are here left; but it often happens that many are, by the different number of days required, exempt from the militia, and are not exempt from the army of reserve. The commanding officer cannot properly, therefore, comply with the act in his certificate, and is compelled to give one in a different form from what the act requires. But further; these acts contradict the 42d of the King, which says, that if a volunteer be drawn for the militia, he shall be recorded as drawn, and exempted only as long as he is a volunteer. The moment he leaves the service, he is called into the militia by the former ballot, and obliged to serve as a supernumerary to fill up the first vacancy that occurs. Now, in the late defence acts, this point is materially changed; for, as it stands at present, the ballot does not hang over the heads of the volunteers, but any one who is a volunteer on the day of ballot is entitled to exemption for eleven months and 30 days, or the whole year, except one day; so that though he leaves his corps the moment after his exemption is admitted, he escapes for the subsequent 12 months. What, therefore, I would recommend is, in some measure to new model this bill, which, I believe, may be done in the Committee, so as to apply a distinct and efficient remedy to all these inconveniences. With regard to the volunteers themselves, it is a system of defence which has my highest approbation. I do think that it is a force peculiarly well calculated for this country. I do not mean to say that it ever ought to supersede the regular army; such a system never can be expected to supply the want of a regular force. But as an aid to the regular army, I am fully persuaded that they will be of the most essential advantage; nay more, that in this capacity they will perform services which a regular army could never execute. But the system requires much amendment, and, while I declare my approbation of it in general, I cannot but reprobate many of the regulations that prevail among a great part of the volunteer corps. Their government by Committees, in my opinion, ought not to be tolerated, nor their election of their own officers. If these things be permitted to go on, although the evils have not yet been perceived; if Committees and General Meetings be to assemble for the purpose of debating, the same dreadful consequences may, some time, be apprehended, that the volunteers produced in France. This, however, is not the time for entering fully into that topic; but, at an early period of the recess, I shall think it my duty to draw the attention of the House to the subject, unless it comes from another quarter; as I think it a matter of the last importance, that many improvements should

be made in the provisions relating to the volunteer system,

Lord *Hobart* spoke shortly in answer to what had fallen from the noble lord. With respect to the general subject, he need scarcely obesrve, it was in the serious consideration of his majesty's government, and every practicable opportunity would be taken to ameliorate the volunteer system, and to render that part of the national force as efficacious as possible. With respect to the difficulties upon which so much stress had been laid by the noble lord, they certainly appeared to him in a very different light, and he contended that the bill before the House, as far as it applied, went to obviate them—it went to settle the important point of the exemptions. With respect to the returns, no contradictory consideration appeared to him in the mode chalked out for those proceedings, and although the officer whose duty it was to make the returns alluded to, might possibly not be a perfect master of the provisions of the regulating acts, yet, he may easily obtain the necessary degree of information. He could by no means admit the noble lords position, that the present was such an advanced period of the session, as to render a thorough investigation of the subject impracticable. With a reference to the ensuing recess, which would cause a temporary separation of their lordships, such an observation to a certain extent, did apply, yet the session would subsequently be sufficiently long for every purpose adverted to: and he had also to observe, that the present bill, as indeed every measure of the kind should, contained a provision, authorizing its alteration or repeal in the course of the present session.

Lord *Romney* observed, that he approved highly of the volunteer system, but suggested that a force of this kind, pervading the whole country, and intended to act together, ought to be put upon the same footing. As it stood at present, some were to exercise only 20 days, others 34, and so on. This might create jealousies and ill humour, which ought to be avoided. He thought also the exemptions should be granted without reference to the time of the corps being accepted; as they were by no means accepted in the order of their applications. This might arise from letters being mislaid, or some other casualty, such as usually occurs in a press of business. He concurred with his noble relation (Lord Grenville) in his opinions with respect to the regulations of many corps of volunteers, and the unmilitary manner in which they were governed. He had listened to him on that point with the greatest admiration. He also disliked their Committees and their Sub Committees, and much as he was attached to the volunteer system, he would rather choose that every man of them should be disbanded, than that they should be permitted to continue under such unmilitary regulations. If, said his lordship, these Committees are suffered to exist, I have no hesitation to say, that the Monarchy is not safe for six months.

Lord *Hobart*, in reply to the noble lord who spoke last, said, that the non-acceptance of the volunteers in the order of their applications, arose from the unexpected press of offers, which made government unwilling to act, except upon some general system.

Earl *Darnley* said, that although this bill was extremely imperfect, he rejoiced that even so much was done with regard to the volunteers. The system would still require a great deal of improvement. He approved highly the idea that had been thrown out in another place, with regard to the appointment of field officers and adjutants to the different corps, which, as they were to be exempted, ought to be rendered as efficient as possible.—He alluded to a query he had put to the noble Secretary of State, relative to the intention of his Majesty's ministers with respect to volunteer regulations previous to the recess; though these, as in the instance of the bill before the House, had fallen short of what he was convinced was necessary to be done, yet he was happy to hear it authoritatively stated, that the general subject, and which was one of the last importance, was seriously in the consideration of his Majesty's government. He perfectly agreed with every word that the noble lord (Grenville) had said, with regard to the regulations, committees, and unmilitary government of many of the volunteer corps, and thought it was necessary that this should be immediately corrected.

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, that the noble earl had certainly put the query to him, which he had alluded to, but it would be in his recollection, that it referred to a general and comprehensive system of regulation, to which he had truly replied, that he knew of no intention on the part of ministers to bring forward any measures on that broad principle previous to the recess. The present was obviously a bill of an explanatory nature, and went to certain points, on which speedy legislative interference was necessary, and, in his mind, it went fully to obviate those difficulties it professed to remove. Much had been said, and truly, of the vast importance of the subject, and the necessity of farther regulations; but then the House would be aware, that it was one of an extensive and complicated, as well as of an important na-

ture. To a certain degree the principle was new; already had the volunteers been rendered more efficacious than those which had existed in the late war: the system in the present case must be gradually ameliorated, and in the course of time rendered still more efficacious, and less exceptionable. The original principle on which the force was created and the services of its members accepted of, should not at the same time be lost sight of. The volunteer system was also to be regarded in a certain view, which, under the consideration of the contest in which we were engaged being a protracted one, was one of considerable importance, namely, economy. At the first glance it would appear, that the services of the volunteers were to be acquired incalculably cheaper than those of any other description of the national force. The consideration of the volunteer system, was not only to a certain degree, a novel one, but it proceeded on distinct principles; on its own peculiar nature and merits then, was that system to be considered. On these principles it was regarded by his Majesty's government, who, he repeated, certainly contemplated the subject with the most serious attention.

The *Duke of Clarence* then rose and observed, that he entirely concurred in the sentiments of the noble lord, whom he had in his eye (Grenville), with regard to the volunteers. He approved the system, but was satisfied that it required a great deal of improvement. He did not intend at present to enter freely into the question; as, after what the noble lord opposite (Hawkesbury) had said, with respect to the intentions of government, any long discussion now was totally useless. And, indeed, it must be apparent, that till the imperfections that no doubt prevailed in the system of the volunteers were ready to be corrected, the less that was said about the matter the better. He would therefore take his own advice and instantly sit down.—The question was then put: the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow; after which their Lordships immediately adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, December 17.

[MINUTES.]—The Duke of Norfolk, agreeably to his former intimation, presented a bill for exempting Rectors, Vicars, and perpetual Curates from Arrest for Debt or Damages in any Civil Process, within the Limits of their respective Parishes, which was read a first time.—His grace then said, he was conscious that some difficulty must attend the adoption of the present measure. The preamble of the bill recited several acts which he should have deemed presumption in him to refer to, being altogether unacquainted with ecclesiastical law, had he not received the assistance and advice of a gentleman eminently skilled in that subject (Sir W. Scott). He was happy to think, that that learned person entertained so favourable an opinion of the present measure, that he himself would have introduced it before this time, had not the difficulties alluded to presented themselves. Such, his grace entertained sanguine hopes, might be done away. With this view he had introduced the bill at the present moment. He therefore moved, that it should be printed, that their lordships might have an opportunity of giving it deliberate consideration during the recess. —The bill was accordingly ordered to be printed.—The Volunteer Explanatory Bill went through a Committee. On the report being brought up; the Lord Chancellor proposed some verbal amendments, chiefly with a view to remove the objections stated by Lord Grenville on a former night, and to declare that volunteers should not, in every case, be free from ballot for the militia or army of reserve, for twelve months after the return of the commanding officer, certifying, that they had served the stipulated number of days: but that they should become liable to such ballots, the moment they actually ceased to serve in any volunteer corps.—The amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Tuesday.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, December 19.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were heard at considerable length in continuation, relative to the Appeal from Chancery; Keighley v. the East-India Company, viz. Mr. Adam, as second counsel for the respondents. Their Lordships postponed the final hearing till to-morrow.

[VOLUNTEER EXEMPTION BILL.]—On the question being put for the third reading of the Volunteer Exemption Bill, a conversation of some length arose, which was opened by

Earl *Fitzwilliam*, who entered into the general subject in some degree of detail. In the course of his observations, his lordship made a variety of remarks upon certain provisions in the existing acts upon the subject; particularly upon the 42d and 43d of his Majesty, and also upon the act of the 33d. He expatiated upon the principle on which the volunteers had originally tendered their services, and the terms upon which they were accepted, and which he seemed to contrast with the system which had subse-

quently been adopted for their regulation: from the tone and direction of the noble earl's voice, we were precluded from hearing many of his observations; but he argued that the entire system required, and speedily, a considerable degree of revision: doubts had arisen, and difficulties were daily experienced which required legislative interference for their explanation and removal. Many of the provisions to which he had referred were inconsistent with the principle upon which the volunteers originally came forward, and, from his view of certain parts of the acts, he deemed it matter for consideration, how far, in certain cases, the volunteers were or were not subject to particular provisions of the martial law. These were points which required the most serious consideration. With respect to the point of exemption, the bill, he seemed to think, was neither sufficiently efficacious, nor did it extend far enough: there were several doubts and difficulties which it would not tend to remove; and he remarked upon what he conceived to be the hurried progress of the bill through the House. He therefore, in order to afford an opportunity of considering the introduction of some farther provisions to obviate the difficulties to which he had alluded, would propose that the bill be recommitted. The noble earl concluded by moving accordingly.

Lord *Hawkesbury*, in answer to several points which had fallen from the noble earl, observed, that he regretted his absence from the House for some days past, as then he would be sensible how little ground existed for the charge of precipitation against ministers in the progress of the bill through the House; and especially his absence from the Committee on the bill last Saturday, a stage in which many of the noble earl's observations would more regularly apply. The bill was introduced into that House on Thursday, read a second time on Friday, when some discussion of the measure took place, committed on Saturday, and lay over for a third reading this day. The bill before the House was merely of an explanatory nature, and very limited in its operation; it tended to do away certain practical difficulties, for which an immediate legislative interposition was obviously necessary. These principally related, as appeared by the bill, to certain points of exemption. With respect to the general subject, relative to which a great deal of what had fallen from the noble earl applied, he repeated what he had said on former occasions, that it was certainly in the serious consideration of his Majesty's government, and they were fully aware of what could be advanced on the grounds of revising and ameliorating the volunteer system, but its extensive and complicated nature was at the same time to be considered; however, it was intended that no practicable opportunity of doing that which was on all hands deemed so desirable and important, should be omitted on the part of ministers. At the same time, though he threw out these observations, he wished to be understood as not pledging himself to the production of any specific measure at any particular time.—Recurring again to some of the noble earl's detailed observations, he admitted, to a certain degree, some doubts and difficulties had arisen with respect to certain provisions of the relevant acts, and respecting which, the most regular authorities, at the time, were resorted to, namely, the law officers of the crown; on opinions promulgated by these, the magistrates acted. With respect to the bill, he deemed its provisions fully adequate to obviate those difficulties it professed to remove; and it was such as, under all the circumstances of the case, it was deemed necessary to propose to the legislature: but with regard to any contingent difficulties which might prevail (or such as seemed to be in the mind of the noble earl) until it should please Parliament to adopt farther regulations, if such in its wisdom it should deem necessary, that regular quarter which he had alluded to as arbitrating on former occasions, would be again resorted to, for the direction of the magistrates, &c. in the discharge of their duties; he would therefore press the third reading of the bill.

Earl *Fitzwilliam*, in explanation, supported some of the provisions he had in the first instance advanced. He did not think that magistrates were entitled to act in virtue of an opinion delivered by the law officers of the Crown. He apprehended that they could only act agreeably to act of Parliament; and that where any act was inexplicable, they were not entitled to supply its defects by the opinions of any lawyers, however respectable. If it was meant that the exemptions should extend to volunteers of every description, very few would remain subject to the ballots for the militia and army of reserve; and he thought it of importance that one mode should not be adopted in one parish and another in another. He adverted to the state of the ballots, &c. in the parts of the country where he was connected. These were, in consequence of the difficulties which occurred, in some instances delayed: and the lieutenancy felt themselves

considerably at a loss. He conceived it to be the duty of ministers, to lose no time in obviating those difficulties.

Lord *Grantley* said a few words in support of what fell from the noble Secretary of State, and adverted to the necessity which existed for the explanatory bill then under consideration.

The *Lord Chancellor* argued, that nothing which fell from the noble earl, militated against the passing of the bill then before the House. The greater part of what his lordship had advanced, went to points which had no connexion whatever with the bill, which was of an explanatory and a very limited nature. He was free to confess his disapprobation, in certain points of view, of proceedings of this kind: he liked not explanatory act after explanatory act, and exposition after exposition. These considerations should be left, as far as possible, to the construction and explanation of those in whose province it was regularly to explain them: he alluded principally to his Majesty's law officers. With respect to the measure regularly under consideration, the noble and learned lord coincided with, and enforced what had fallen from the noble Secretary of State.

Earl *Fitzwilliam*, in additional explanation, observed, that his object was not to resist the progress of the bill; as far as it went, he rather approved of it; but he considered it as by no means sufficiently efficacious or extensive, and, in that view, he thought it susceptible of amendment.

The *Lord Chancellor* then put the question, and after a few words between him and the noble earl, respecting the point of order on that proceeding, the bill was read a third time, and passed; and a message was immediately sent to the Commons, acquainting them, that their lordships had agreed to the bill, with certain amendments.—Their lordships then, after disposing of some routine business, adjourned during pleasure.—After a short interval, Mr. Sargent, accompanied by several members, returned the Volunteer Corps Regulation Bill from the Commons, who had agreed to their lordships' amendments.—This being notified to the House, an adjournment till to-morrow immediately took place.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, December 19.

[MINUTES.]—Colonel Barton, from the office of the Inspector General of the army of reserve, brought up the general return of the number of men raised for the royal army of reserve up to the present month of December. Ordered to be printed.—Mr. Parr, from the African Company, presented some accounts from that company. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Dent presented a petition from the prisoners confined for debt in Lancaster Gaol, praying for relief.—Colonel Stanley and Mr. Tierney presented similar petitions from the prisoners confined for debt in Chester Gaol, and in the Fleet. Ordered to lie on the table.—A new writ was ordered for the borough of Caermarthen, in the room of J. G. Phillips, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—A person from the Excise, brought up an account of the quantity of table beer and small beer, which had paid duty from January, 1802, to January, 1803.—The report of the Committee of Supply, respecting the sum granted for the encouragement of the linen manufactures in Ireland, was brought up and agreed to.

[IRISH IMPORT DUTIES BILL.]—Mr. *Corry* said, he rose for the purpose of giving a notice relative to the Ways and Means of Ireland. It was not usual to go into the Ways and Means of Ireland, previous to the Christmas recess, he therefore now only wished to give notice of his intention upon that subject, and the rather, because the military duties of many of the Irish members rendered it impossible for them at present to attend their duty in Parliament. The notice he now gave, related to the consolidation of the subsisting import duties, and some of the inland duties in Ireland. A schedule of those duties had been laid before Parliament last session, and was agreed to, but certain considerations, particularly a wish to give the fullest possible time to merchants for the investigation of the subject, induced the postponement of further proceedings upon it. A similar schedule would be laid before Parliament after the recess. He hoped the House would excuse him for being thus special in his notice, because he was anxious that it should be well understood in Ireland, particularly by the merchants. The duties referred to, were principally upon foreign articles, either imported directly into Ireland, or through Great-Britain; but in consequence of the stipulations in the Act of Union, nor upon any articles, the produce of Great-Britain. The duties now payable on foreign articles were principally those under the 40th Geo. III. cap. 4, the 41st Geo. III. cap. 33, which had since been continued, and the 42d Geo. III. cap. 117. But the consolidation was not to be made strictly and precisely upon the duties as they now stood, because in all cases where there

were fractions of a penny, the fraction would be rejected, and the duty brought to the next integer either above or below. In the former case, the revenue would be increased a little; and, in the latter case, it would be diminished a little. In some cases, certain duties imposed by 42 Geo. III. cap. 117, of 3½ per cent. on imports, and 1 or ½ per cent. on exports, would be extended by this schedule to East-India goods. The drawbacks now allowed on the export of foreign articles to foreign countries were those under the acts of the 40th and 41st Geo. III. the duties under the 42d Geo. III. cap. 117, not now drawn back, were by the schedule as voted, drawn back. He had but one more remark to trouble the House with; by the 40th Geo. III. passed in the last session of the Irish Parliament, the duties were laid upon most articles *ad valorem*, and the additional duty imposed by the 42d Geo. III. cap. 117, was a rated duty, or the reverse, which of course caused considerable trouble to the merchants, for whose accommodation, and in order to facilitate business, it would now be proposed, that the duties under these acts should be reduced to one and the same denomination, *viz.* either a rated duty or an *ad valorem* duty, according to the nature of the article. The schedule, which he should propose after the recess, would almost in every instance be the same as that of last session, yet he wished to be distinctly understood, that it might vary from it; because, where alterations were suggested, either by the merchants themselves or by others, the good sense of which was apparent, they would undoubtedly be attended to. In the course of the last session of Parliament, he had given notice that he should prepare, for the consideration of Parliament, a measure in the shape of a property tax for Ireland; he did not mean at present to make any observation upon that subject, except to say that he should endeavour to prepare a measure of that sort, and to submit it to Parliament soon after the recess. He had only further to add, that he should propose that the duties should be permanent, in order to meet the permanent charges of Ireland, and not annual, as they had been up to the present time.

[Volunteer Exemption bill.]——A message from the Lords, informed the House, their lordships had agreed to the Volunteer Exemption Amendment Bill, with several amendments, to which they desired the concurrence of the House.—Mr. Secretary Yorke moved, that the amendments be now read.—The first amendment being accordingly read,

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, that on the reading of the bill and the amendment, it would strike any one that this amendment was necessary; for the bill, as it went from the House up to the other House of Parliament, exempted persons accepted and enrolled as volunteers from serving in the militia, but had no provision on being ballotted to serve in the militia before they became volunteers, and this amendment was therefore necessary, in order that persons who had been ballotted for the militia, should be obliged to do so, if they should happen to quit their volunteer corps; that they should claim no exemption, on account of having been volunteers, but that such exemptions should continue only while they remained volunteers, for which reason he trusted the House would have no objection to the amendment.

The *Speaker* observed, upon the point of order, that the usual course was to read all the amendments over once, before any discussion took place upon them, and that the season for observation was, regularly speaking, on the question of second reading, or of agreeing to the amendments. This was the more necessary to be observed, because by it the House could see the bearing of the amendments altogether, before it entertained any discussion upon them.—The amendments were then read; they were all verbal except the first, of which the substance is already stated.—On the question for the second reading,

Mr. *Windham* took an objection to the House, at present, in this matter. He said it was usual to adjourn the consideration of all amendments made by the Lords, in any bill sent to them from that House, in order to give the members time to understand it. He did not profess to understand this amendment, thus brought down and read upon the sudden. He saw no harm in postponing the consideration of it for twenty-four hours. He said, that an idea had gone abroad, whether true or not, he did not pretend to say, that the amendments made by the Lords in this bill, were such as the House had not been accustomed to receive and acquiesce in. He dared to say, that was not likely to be the case upon such an occasion as this, but that was a point, however well assured, it was impossible for the House to know; for which reason, he thought this subject ought to stand over until to-morrow: this he pressed the more particularly, as many gentlemen had gone away under an idea that this bill would not have been brought from the House of Lords to-night; and that if these amendments were now agreed to, these gen-

tlemen would be deprived of the opportunity of delivering their sentiments upon them.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, that if he thought there was any amendment which required much consideration, he should wish it to be deferred, to give every gentleman who wished it, an opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon it, but there really was nothing of that kind. It certainly was not difficult to understand the first amendment, as he had already stated it; and, as to all the rest, they were merely verbal. With regard to the idea of the amendments being material, and of its having so gone forth to the public, that was one of the inconveniences which resulted from permitting the publication of the proceedings of Parliament; under which, some persons had the audacity, in direct defiance of the standing orders of the House, not only to misrepresent the proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, but sometimes actually to invent matter, which created great confusion in the public mind. A clause was proposed by a noble lord in the other House of Parliament, by way of amendment to the bill, which amendment was now before the House, and which went only to make up for an oversight of the House of Commons, by which it was provided, that if any volunteer should quit his corps, he should no longer be allowed to avail himself of the exemptions to which volunteers were entitled; that was all—a thing too plain for discussion.

Mr. *Calcraft* professed to have no wish to procrastinate this business, but he could not help thinking it was quite necessary that this amendment should be inquired into, which could not be done unless it was postponed until to-morrow at least. He was satisfied that a much more respectable attendance in point of numbers, would have taken place in the House if it had been thought that these amendments were to have been proposed to be agreed to to-night. He knew of no reason why the House might not take this matter into consideration to-morrow. He was quite sure none had been alleged.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that all those gentlemen who had heard the amendment and attended to the bill, who thought that it only went to supply the defect of that bill as it went from that House, would agree to the amendment. But if any gentlemen in the House would have the goodness to attend to the amendment while it was read from the chair, and then would declare, as a member of that House, that he did not understand the amendment perfectly, not only would it be matter of justice to allow further time to consider it, and therefore he should not oppose it, but he should himself move for further time for that purpose.

Lord *Folkestone* obsersed, that several gentlemen who, he believed, intended to be present at the discussion of these amendments, had gone away under an impression that these amendments were not to be proposed to be agreed to until to-morrow. His lordship said, he understood it to be the general practice of that House not to take amendments made by the lords into consideration until the next day after they were brought down.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* desired the Speaker to read, first the bill as it went up to the House of Lords, and then the amendment made by their lordships, which being done.

The *Speaker* took leave to observe, that although sometimes amendments made by the lords were taken into consideration on a subsequent day, yet it was extremely frequent for the House to agree to amendments made by the lords on the same day they were brought down. One of the amendments had been already explained: as to the rest, they were merely verbal. It was for the House to say whether it would consider them now, or defer them to a future day.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the substantial amendment now before the House was only to carry into effect the manifest intention of the House, but which intention had been imperfectly expressed. Here he went over the clause again, and observed, that the bill as it originally stood, only affected volunteers who should be ballotted, &c. but did not provide for the case of those who might have been balotted and exempted on account of being volunteers, but who ought not to have such exemptions longer than they should serve as volunteers.

Mr. *Windham* said, that the importance of the subject was unquestionable. The propriety of adjourning the discussion of it was to him obvious. He professed himself incapable of understanding this amendment on the sudden, at least of being sure he understood it. Gentlemen had gone away under the idea that it was not to be discussed to-night, and he thought it was little more than matter of course to defer it until to-morrow. He was really ignorant of the possible effect of certain words being introduced into a bill like this, and his ignorance strengthened his argument in this case, for it was impossible without time to remove

it. There was no necessity of thus going backwards and forwards in a hurry with bills; and therefore on these grounds, with every reason for the adjournment, and none against it, he should think the House would not prooceed on this matter now.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that by the word substantial amendment, he did not mean that which the right hon gent. who spoke last, might suppose; he meant it only by way of distinction from those amendments which were merely verbal.

Mr. *Giles* said, he considered the bill as now amended by the lords, to be precisely what the House intended it to be when they passed it, but from an oversight had omitted to express with precision, for which reason he supported the amendment, and saw no reason for delaying the consideration of it.

Mr. *Calcraft* adhered to his former opinion upon this subject, on account of gentlemen having left the House under an idea that the subject was not to be discussed to-night. As to the amendment being only what the House intended to have expressed, he did not think it much to the credit of the House, to have sent into the other House a bill which did not express what was meant by its authors — an additional reason for not being so hasty a second time. He alleged that the House would have done more wisely by printing the bill, and giving more time for its discussion than it had done. The lords had ordered it to be printed, and wisely so, for such measures should have as ample a discussion as possible. In one word, unless some better reason than any he had yet heard, was given for agreeing to these amendments to-night, he should think it his duty to object to that course.

An adjournment was moved by Lord Folkestone, as the bill had not been printed, that members might have an opportunity of seeing with more certainty what was the effect of the different amendments.—The gallery was then cleared; but we understand that his lordship was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion. The amendments were then read and agreed to; the bill was returned to the lords, and the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, Dec. 20.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Romilly was heard on the part of the appellant, in the cause of Keighley *v.* the East India Company, after which the Lord Chancellor at some length delivered his sentiments respecting the case. His lordship was of opinion, that before their lordships came to a decision, some time should be allowed for making up their minds on so important a case to the parties concerned. Their lordships being to adjourn for the recess this night, he should move that the further proceedings be adjourned to the second day of the meeting of Parliament after the recess. Ordered.——Mr. Mitford presented an account of the expense of the northern lights, the southern whale fishery, and some other accounts, which were laid on the table.——A message was sent to the honourable House of Commons by Sir Francis Molyneux, gentleman usher of the Black Rod, acquainting them, that the lords, authorised by virtue of his Majesty's commission for declaring his royal assent to several acts agreed upon by both Houses, desired the immediate attendance of the honourable House in the House of Peers to hear the commission read; and the Commons being come thither, the said commission, empowering the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, and several other lords therein named, to declare and notify the royal assent to the said acts, was read accordingly; and the royal assent given to, An act to explain and amend two acts passed in the forty-second and forty-third years of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to volunteers and yeomanry corps in Great Britain: and also one private act. —The House then adjourned to Friday the 3d day of February, 1804.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, Dec. 20.

[MINUTES.]—A message from the lords required the attendance of the Speaker at the bar of that House, where the royal assent was given by commission to the volunteer exemption act.—Mr. Mitford presented an abstract of the account of the commissioners of northern light houses; also an account of the number of ships from Scotland engaged in the whale fishery. Ordered to lie on the table.—On the motion of Mr. Sergeant, a new writ was ordered to be issued for the election of a burgess for the borough of Dorchester in the room of the hon. Cropley Ashley, who has accepted the office of clerk of the deliveries in his Majesty's ordnance.——Mr. Sheridan presented a petition from certain electors of the borough of Liskeard, in Cornwall, complaining of the decision of the Committee appointed to try the merits of the last elec-

tion for that borough. The petition stated the right of voting vested in all the inhabitants of Liskeard paying scot and lot, although the Committee determined that it belonged solely to the mayor and burgesses, and accordingly decided that the honourable John and William Elliots, the sitting members, were duly elected; but in the opinion and judgment of petitioners, as Thomas Sheridan and William Ogilvie, Esqrs. had the majority of scot and lot voters, the said decision of the Committee was contrary to the law and usage of Liskeard. They, therefore, prayed permission to oppose the resolutions of the said Committee.—Another petition of o similar nature was presented by Mr. Sheridan, from a Mr. Child, of Liskeard. Both petitions were ordered to be taken into consideration on Tuesday the 10th of April next.—Ordered, that the account presented by Mr. Vansittart on the 14th instant, relative to bounties given on fish brought to the London market, should be printed.—On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the House adjourned to Wednesday the 1st of February 1804.

An Account of the NET PRODUCE *of all the* PERMANENT TAXES *in the Years and Quarters ending the 10th day of October, 1802 and 1803, respectively.*

	In the Quarters ended Oct. 10, 1802.			Oct. 10, 1803.			In the Years ended. Oct. 10, 1802.			Oct. 10, 1803.		
Customs ..... £.	1,274,754	8	3	1,474,957	9	9¼	2,345,461	18	11	3,857,400	18	2
Excise, Consolidated.....	3,619,647	0	0	3,813,079	0	0	12,203,226	3	8	14,098,990	0	0
Stamps.....	760,444	0	0	816,747	1	6½	2,931,768	13	8	3,153,040	4	3
Incidental Duties.....	702,422	18	7	797,008	18	5½	4,539,540	18	0¾	5,156,997	6	8
Duties raised in 1803, by means of a Consolidation of the Customs, by the Act of the 43d Geo. III.	—	—	—	62,500	0	0	—	—	—	62,500	0	0
Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, An.	1,773,899	16	3¼	1,283,428	17	3¼	3,509,095	14	6¼	3,995,407	4	9
	8,131,168	3	1¼	8,245,718	7	1½	25,199,093	14	0	30,192,335	3	9
WAR TAXES.												
British Spirits	—	—	—	38,335	—	—	—	—		38,335	—	—
Foreign Spirits	—	—	—	120,505	—	—	—	—		120,505	—	—
Wine	—	—	—	57,886	—	—	—	—		57,886	—	—
Goods and Shipping	—	—	—	198,640	18	9¾	—	—		198,640	18	9¼
Malt	—	—	—	394	—	—	—	—		394	—	—
Sweets	—	—	—	132	—	—	—	—		132	—	—
Tea	—	—	—	215,813	—	—	—	—		215,813	—	—
				L. 631,705	18	9¾				L. 631,705	18	9¼

Exchequer, November 28, 1803.

JAMES FISHER.

An Account of the Amount of the NOTES *of the* BANK OF IRELAND, *in Circulation (including* BANK POST BILLS *payable after Seven Days Sight) on the 1st January, April, August, and October, 1803, respectively; distinguishing the Amount of the several Descriptions of Notes below the Value of* FIVE POUNDS.

Value of	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
L. 5. and Upwards				1,624,401	4	8½
L. 1.	141,403,	0	0			
1 Guinea ..	541,208	17	0			
1 & ½	311,597	1	7½	999,351	11	4½
3.....	5,142	12	9			
1803. January 1st..... L.				2,623,752	16	1
L. 5. and Upwards				1,642,254	14	7½
L. 1.	139,748	0	0			
1 Guinea	538,911	2	0			
1 & ½.....	314,391	18	4½	1,017,696	1	10½
3.....	24,645	1	6			
1803. April 1st..... L.				2,659,950	16	6

Value of	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
L. 5. and Upwards.....				1,806,194	1	6
L. 1.	143,226	0	0			
1 Guinea ..	542,976	10	6			
1 & ½.....	314,422	12	7½	1,012,596	4	1½
3.....	11,971	1	0			
1803. August 1st..... L.				2,818,790	5	7½
L. 5. and Upwards.....				1,769,950	9	11
L. 1.	143,314	0	0			
1 Guinea....	544,992	3	6			
1 & ½	312,661	15	7½	1,011,891	7	4½
3.....	10,923	8	3			
1803. October 1st ..... L.				2,781,841	17	3½

Dublin, 9th Dec. 1803.

For the Gov. and Comp. of the Bank of Ireland,
Wm. Donlevy, Acct. Gen.

An Amount of the NOTES *of the* BANK OF ENGLAND, *in Circulation on the 1st of June, 1st Aug. 1st Oct. and 25th Nov. 1803;—distinguishing the Amount of those that were below the Value of Five Pounds.*

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Five Pounds each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills payable Seven Days after Sight.

On 1st June - - - - 1803, - - £ 12,847,540.
1st August - - - 1803, - - - 13,013,180.
1st October - - 1803, - - - 12,570,500.
25th November 1803, - - - 13,502,690.

Amount of Bank of England Notes of £2. and £1. each.

On 1st June - - - - 1803, - - £ 3,253,600.
1st August - - - 1803, - - - - 3,721,330.
1st October - - 1803, - - - - 4,052,010.
25th November 1803, - - - - 4,429,240.

Wm. Walton, Acct. Gen.

Bank of England, 2d Dec. 1803.

General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve; made up from the latest Returns received by the Inspector General.

Inspector General's Office, Dec. 1803.

SCOTLAND. — COUNTIES.	No. of Men.	Rejected	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective, and Present.	No. due, including Casualties.
Aberdeen	154	—	—	4	150	350
Argyle	76	—	—	6	70	203
Ayr	286	2	2	12	270	57
Banff	29	—	—	—	29	105
Berwick	94	2	1	16	75	41
Bute	3	—	—	—	3	43
Caithness	84	2	—	1	81	10
Clackmannan	41	—	—	—	41	1
Cromarty	9	—	—	—	9	3
Dumbarton	87	2	—	13	72	8
Dumfries	177	1	—	35	141	72
Edinburgh	358	16	—	39	303	180
Elgin	64	1	—	—	63	40
Fife	348	—	—	14	334	29
Forfar	293	2	—	2	289	94
Haddington	75	6	—	9	60	56
Inverness	122	—	—	—	122	166
Kincardine	70	—	—	4	66	36
Kinross	24	—	—	—	24	2
Kirckudbright	66	1	—	7	58	55
Lanark	509	—	—	21	488	75
Linlithgow	67	6	—	7	54	16
Nairn	21	—	—	2	19	13
Peebles	31	1	—	2	28	6
Perth	462	—	—	25	437	53
Renfrew	279	1	—	25	253	50
Ross	171	3	—	3	165	38
Roxburgh	100	5	—	6	89	45
Selkirk	19	—	—	—	19	—
Stirling	173	6	—	16	151	46
Sutherland	61	1	—	—	60	15
Wigtown	82	—	—	2	80	9
Total, for Scotland	4415	58	3	271	4103	1897

General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve for England and Wales.

ENGLAND and WALES. — COUNTIES.	No. of Men.	Rejected.	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective, and Present.	No. due, including Casualties.
Anglesea	45	2		2	41	68
Bedford	173	2	2		169	87
Buckingham	348	9	3	13	323	112
Berks	392	32	5	36	319	124
Brecon	106	1		2	103	44
Cambridge	318	17	1	12	288	64
Cheshire	594	2	2	28	540	162
Cumberland	306	35	2	39	230	176
Cornwall	570	49	2	29	490	85
Cardigan	127	1		1	125	142
Carmarthen	230	2	3	2	223	25
Carnarvon	85	1			84	44
Durham	444	17	2	24	401	77
Devon	1216	69	4	10	1133	124
Dorset	332	2	3	3	324	61
Derby	587	4		53	530	84
Denbigh	130	8		1	122	104
Essex	819	31	19	77	692	287
Flint	83	2		1	80	55
Gloucester	675	3	3	7	662	114
Glamorgan	199		3	2	194	81
Hertford	307	13	4	18	272	129
Huntingdon	123	4	1	56	62	57
Hants	597	2	12	48	535	253
Hertford	418	4	2	68	344	76
Kent	1040	26	7	73	934	492
Lancaster	2303	82	2	53	2166	258
London and Middlesex	1376	28	4	84	1260	1883
Leicester	510	29	1	10	470	59
Lincoln	639	2	3	10	624	132
Merioneth	86	2	2	—	82	45
Monmouth	127	—	2	—	125	52
Montgomery	160	1	2	1	156	11
Northampton	452	7	3	1	442	166
Norfolk	802	32	14	22	734	193
Northumberland	530	45	1	14	470	155
Nottingham	519	32	—	24	463	97
Oxford	337	27	1	6	303	121
Pembroke	177	1	—	10	166	2
Rutland	42	2	—	1	39	15
Radnor	53	1	—	—	52	22
Shropshire	571	40	13	12	506	286
Suffolk	713	53	26	12	622	245
Surrey	571	10	3	103	455	508
Sussex	371	2	5	19	345	276
Somerset	890	33	—	72	785	193
Stafford	745	1	—	3	741	170
Warwick	595	3	1	8	583	130
Worcester	565	4	1	14	546	42
Westmoreland	166	—	2	6	158	22
Wilts	683	42	7	10	624	103
York West Riding	1844	113	3	28	1700	289
York East Do.	343	—	1	2	340	237
York North Do.	304	—	1	—	303	149
Total for England and Wales	26739	952	178	1129	24480	9004

General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve for Ireland.

IRELAND. — COUNTIES.	No. of Men.	Rejected.	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective and present.	No. due, including Casualties.
Antrim	245			16	229	51
Armagh	241			21	220	60
Carlow.....	87			9	78	132
Cavan	203			23	180	30
Clare	44			1	43	167
Cork (City)	229			31	198	82
Do. (County)..	310			19	291	279
Donegal	108			19	89	261
Down	375			16	359	66
Dublin (City)....	283			28	255	25
Do. (County)..	134			12	122	88
Fermanagh.....	189			9	180	30
Galway	166			11	155	195
Kerry	71			11	60	220
Kildare	130			22	108	102
Kilkenny	115			20	95	185
King's.....	206			7	199	81
Leitrim	111			14	97	113
Limerick (City)..	110			6	104	176
Do. (County)..	109			23	86	124
Londonderry	240			17	223	127
Longford.....	175			16	159	51
Louth	239			40	199	116
Mayo	349			42	307	193
Meath.....	206			31	175	105
Monaghan	240			18	222	58
Queen's	151			16	135	75
Roscommon	80			12	68	312
Sligo	207			8	199	11
Tipperary	181			39	142	208
Tyrone	313			21	292	58
Waterford	125			14	111	169
Westmeath.....	166			16	150	60
Wexford	17			2	15	335
Wicklow.....	34			—	34	176
Total for Ireland	6189	—	—	610	5579	4521

No particular Return of men rejected at the Receiving Quarters has been made, in consequence of no Expense for Pay, &c. having been incurred for such Men.

Recapitulation.

England and Wales	26739	952	178	1129	24480	9004
Scotland	4435	58	3	271	4103	1897
Ireland	6189	—	—	610	5579	4521
Total for United Kingdom.....	37363	1010	181	2010	34162	15422

G. Hewitt,

Lt. Gen.

Abstract of a List of such Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps as have been accepted, and placed upon the Establishment in Ireland.

Dublin Castle, 5th Dec. 1803.

COUNTIES.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drums, &c.	Establishment. Rank and File. Cav.	Inf.
Antrim	66	131	144	54	314	4674
Armagh.....	29	63	138	20	108	2670
Carlow	17	36	55	14	142	1008
Cavan	37	75	134	30	190	2505
Clare	17	31	41	14	335	499
Cork (County)..	73	143	211	70	960	3382
Cork (City)	21	43	77	20	360	1120
Donegal	28	61	123	28	330	2250
Down	79	129	233	58	285	4589
Dublin (County)	37	79	102	36	443	1700
Dublin (City) ..	87	170	192	66	440	3682
Fermanagh	39	75	160	25	188	3050
Galway.....	33	76	90	31	427	1413
Kerry.....	13	25	39	12	148	556
Kildare	17	34	49	14	273	630
Kilkenny	21	41	60	21	225	971
King's County ..	32	58	85	29	275	1395
Leitrim	12	31	58	12	180	950
Limerick	27	54	90	25	558	1244
Londonderry ..	25	55	137	46	266	2638
Longford	14	24	37	11	102	680
Louth	17	38	76	20	247	1140
Mayo	22	43	65	20	120	1140
Meath	24	46	76	20	263	1239
Monaghan	23	46	99	23	170	1800
Queen's County	33	51	92	26	337	1490
Roscommon	14	29	38	13	265	511
Sligo	19	35	46	17	115	892
Tipperary.....	52	93	172	56	796	2618
Tyrone	67	156	270	67	274	5372
Waterford	20	45	80	19	361	1216
Westmeath	16	33	61	15	139	1022
Wexford	45	67	138	31	371	2252
Wicklow	50	90	135	40	270	2466
	1126	2206	3573	1003	10277	64756

Grand Total 82241

Whitehall,
13th December, 1803.

J. King.

Abstract of the Returns of all the Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps of Great-Britain, whose Services have been accepted by his Majesty, describing each Corps.

	Cav.	Infan.	Art.	Rank and File.
Aberdeen	..	3400	120	3520
Anglesea	..	1000	..	1000
Argyll	..	2028	63	2091
Ayr	144	2677	..	2691
Banff	..	960	80	1022
Bedford	177	1801	..	1978
Berks	634	3006	..	3484
Berwick	160	772	..	911
Brecon	..	1196	..	1196
Bucks	1122	2426	..	3121
Bute	..	38	..	90
Caithness	..	1272	..	1320
Cambridge	163	2485	..	2500
Cardigan	..	567	..	531
Carmarthen	120	2316	..	2347
Carnarvon	..	1100	..	1073
Chester	732	4841	105	5372
Clackmannon	40	296	..	336
Cinque Ports				
Cornwall	383	5432	2328	7772
Cromarty	..	160	..	164
Cumberland	56	3431	330	3736
Denbigh	194	2344	..	2464
Derby	330	5277	..	5852
Devon	1873	13197	1325	15212
Dorset	515	2201	..	2340
Dumbarton	88	605	..	630
Dumfries	84	1875	..	1879
Durham	573	3814	300	4440
Elgin	..	770	..	784
Essex	1251	6335	..	7033
Fife	350	2613	100	2906
Flint	270	2429	..	2698
Forfar	47	2692	70	2717
Glamorgan	213	2488	..	2301
Gloucester	644	6436	176	7161
Hants	1252	7164	836	9509
Hereford	180	3720	..	3532
Hertford	625	2319	50	2762
Huntingdon	166	840	..	1006
Inverness	..	3666	..	3320
Kent	1530	8804	253	10295
Kincardine	..	824	..	824
Kinross	..	280	..	280
Kircudbright	200	746	..	946
Lanark	65	4448	..	4513
Lancaster	586	13710	560	14278
Leicester	622	2946	..	3488
Lincoln	713	4560	..	7866
Linlithgow	80	800	..	638
Lothian, East	205	700	..	905
Lothian, Mid	300	1574	..	1843
Lothian, Mid. Edinburgh City	..	4858	415	4757
London	560	13338	..	12460
Middlesex	82	8299	..	8370
Man, Isle of	..	695	..	693
Merioneth	..	464	..	464
Monmouth	125	1624	..	1656
Montgomery	120	1560	..	1680
Nairn	..	320	..	320
Norfolk	1120	6511	108	6918
Northampton	1037	3430	..	4089
Northumberland	517	4411	..	4726
Nottingham	472	3635	..	4107
Oxford	591	3322	..	3516
Orkney and Zetland	..	..	..	..
Peebles	52	480	..	532
Pembroke	44	1852	70	2701
Perth	160	3897	63	4036
Radnor	..	1000	..	1000
Renfrew	..	2701	..	2414
Ross	..	1620	..	1620
Roxburgh	108	960	..	1060
Rutland	160	335	..	495
Salop	940	5022	..	5852
Selkirk	50	100	..	142
Somerset	1544	7747	..	9080
Stafford	1090	5425	..	6072
Stirling	308	1318	65	1667
Suffolk	769	6837	..	7332
Sutherland	..	1092	..	1092
Surrey	944	7801	..	8105
Sussex	1024	6114	637	6198
Tower Hamlets	..	4173	..	3742
Warwick	708	3874	..	4146
Westminster	260	10438	..	10684
Westmoreland	..	1420	..	1420
Wight, Isle of	120	1732	184	2030
Wigtown	105	624	..	729
Wilts	850	4524	..	5176
Worcester	494	4046	..	4304
York, North Riding	267	4381	..	4683
York, East Riding	382	3473	61	3890
York, West Riding	1606	12990	50	14006

Total of effective Rank and File	341,687
Field Officers	1,246
Captains	4,472
Subalterns	9,918
Staff Officers	1,100
Serjeants	14,787
Drummers	6,733
Grand Total	379,943

Whitehall,

9th December, 1803.

Reginald Pole Carew.

List of Acts passed in the present Session of Parliament, from the opening of the Session on Tuesday, Nov. 22, 1803, to the Christmas Recess, Tuesday, Dec. 20, 1803.

1. An Act to continue, until six Months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, the Restrictions contained in several Acts made in the 37th, 38th, 42d, and 43d Years of the Reign of his present Majesty, on Payments of Cash by the Bank of England. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
2. An Act for granting to his Majesty the Sum of Eight Thousand Pounds, for the present Relief of certain Curates in England. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
3. An Act to regulate the Bonds issued by the East India Company with Respect to the Rate of Interest, and the Duty payable thereon. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
4. An Act to continue several Laws relating to the suspending the Operation of two Acts of the 15th and 17th Years of the Reign of his present Majesty, for restraining the Negociation of Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange under a limited Sum in England; and to the prohibiting the Importation from, and permitting the Exportation to, Great Britain of Corn; and for allowing the Importation of other Articles of Provision without Payment of Duty, until the 25th Day of March, 1805; and to the regulating the Trade and Commerce to and from the Isle of Malta, until six Months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
5. An Act to continue, until the 25th Day of March 1805, an Act, passed in the last Session of Parliament, for discontinuing certain Drawbacks and Bounties on the Exportation of Sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other Drawbacks and Bounties in Lieu thereof. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
6. An Act for suspending, until the 1st Day of August 1804, the Operation of an Act, made in the last Session of Parliament, to continue and amend two Acts, made in the Parliament of Ireland, for restraining the Negociation of Promissory Notes and Inland Bills of Exchange, under a limited Sum, within Ireland. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
7. An Act to indemnify such Persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments; and for extending the Times limited for those Purposes respectively, until the 25th Day of December 1804; and to permit such Persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file Affidavits of the Execution of Indentures of Clerks and Attornies and Solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first Day of Michaelmas Term, 1804. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
8. An Act to continue, until six Weeks after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament, an Act, made in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act to empower the Lord Liutenants or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain such Persons as he or they shall suspect for conspiring against his Majesty's Person and Government, until six Weeks after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament.' [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
9. An Act to continue, until six Weeks after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament, an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act for the Suppression of Rebellion in Ireland, and for the Protection of the Persons and Property of of his Majesty's faithful Subjects there, to continue in force until six Weeks after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament.' [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
10. An Act to continue, until the 25th Day of March 1805, several Acts of the 41st, 42d, and 43d Years of his present Majesty's Reign, for regulating the Drawbacks and Bounties on the Exportation of Sugar from Ireland. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
11. An Act for enabling the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to prohibit, until the 25th Day of March 1805, the Distillation of Spirits from Oats or Oatmeal in Ireland; and for indemnifying such Persons as have acted in advising or carrying into Execution a Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland for prohibiting such Distillation. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
12. An Act to continue, until the 25th Day of March 1805, so much of an Act, made in the 41st Year of his present Majesty's Reign, as relates to the prohibiting the Exportation from Ireland of Corn or Potatoes, or other Provisions; and to the permitting the Importation into Ireland of Corn, Fish, and Provisions, without Payment of Duty. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
13. An Act to prevent the Desertion and Escape of Petty Officers, Seamen, and others, from his Majesty's Service, by Means or under Colour of any civil or criminal Process. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
14. An Act to amend two Acts, passed in the 41st and 43d Years of the Reign of his present Majesty, for permitting Portugal Wine to be landed and warehoused in the United Kingdom; and to allow Spanish Wine to be so landed and warehoused. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
15. An Act for raising the Sum of Five Millions by Loans or Exchequer Bills, on the Credit of such Aids or Supplies as have been or shall be granted by Parliament for the Service of Great Britain, for the Year 1804. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
16. An Act for continuing and granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon Malt, in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1804. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
17. An Act for continuing and granting to his Majesty a Duty on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates, in England; and certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1804. [15th *Dec.* 1803.]
18. An Act to explain and amend two Acts, passed in the 42d and 43d Years of the Reign of his present Majesty, relating to Volunteers and Yeomanry Corps in Great Britain. [20th *Dec.* 1803.]

PUBLIC PAPERS.

REPORT OF A SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, ON THE POLICY OF OBTAINING NEW ORLEANS AND THE FLORIDAS.

The object of the proposed resolution is to enable the executive to commence with more effect, a negotiation with the French and Spanish governments relative to the purchase from them of the island of New-Orleans, and East and West Florida. This object is declared highly important, and has received the attentive consideration of the committee. —The free and unmolested navigation of the river Mississippi, is a point to which the general attention of the government has been directed, ever since the peace of 1783, by which our independence as a nation was finally acknowledged. The immense tract of country owned by the United States, which lies immediately on the Mississippi, or communicates with it by means of large navigable rivers rising within our boundaries, renders its free navigation an object, not only of inestimable advantage, but of the very first necessity. The Mississipi forms the Western boundary of the United States from its source to the 31st degree of north latitude, and empties itself into the gulph of Mexico about the 29th degree of north latitude. It furnishes the only outlet through which the produce of the Indiana Territory, of the states of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and of the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and a portion of the Mississippi territory, can be transported to a foreign market or to the ports of the Atlantic states. From the 21st degree of north latitude, which is the southern boundary of the United States, to the mouth of the river, the territory on each side has heretofore been in possession of the Spanish government; the province of Louisiana lying on the west, and those of East Florida, with the island of New-Orleans, to the east. Although the United States have insisted on an uncontroulable right to pass up and down the river, from its source to the sea, yet this right, if admitted in its most ample latitude, will not secure to them the full advantages of navigation. The strength and rapidity of the current of the Mississippi are known to render its ascent so extremely difficult, that but a few vessels of burthen have attempted to go as far as our boundary. This circumstance obliges the citizens of the western country to carry their produce down the river in boats, from which it is put on board of ships capable of sustaining a sea voyage.— It follows, therefore, that to enjoy the full benefits of navigation, some place should be fixed which sea vessels can approach without great inconvenience, where the American produce may be deposited until it is again shipped when carried abroad. This great point was secured to us in the year 1795, by the Spanish government, who agreed, in the treaty of San Lorenzo de Real, that the Americans should have the right of deposit at New-Orleans. This right has been used from that time till a late period; but the conduct of the intendant at that place shews how liable the advantageous navigation of the river is to interruption, and strongly points out the impolicy of relying on a foreign nation for benefits which our citizens have a right to expect should be secured to them by their own government. It is hoped that the port of New-Orleans may again be opened before any material injuries arise; but should this be the case, or if, as the treaty provides, a new place of deposit should be assigned, the late occurrence shews the uncertainty of its continuance. Experience proves that the caprice or the interested views of a single officer, may perpetually subject us to the alternative of submitting to injury, or of resorting to war.— The late violation of our treaty with Spain, necessarily leads to the enquiry how far the western country may be affected in other points, not connected with New-Orleans. The Mississippi territory extends from the confines of Georgia to the river Mississippi, and from the 31st to the 35th degree of north latitude. It is estimated to contain more than fifty millions of acres, and from its numerous advantages must one day or other possess an immense population. The variety, richness and abundance of its productions, hold out to settlers the strongest inducements to resort thither, and the United States may safely calculate on drawing a considerable revenue from the sale of lands in this, as well as in other quarters of the western country. The value of these, however, may be diminished or increased, and the sale impeded or advanced by the impression made on the public mind, by shutting the port of New-Orleans, and by the eventual measures which may be adopted to guard against similar injuries.—West Florida is bounded on the north by the Mississippi territory, from which it is separated by no natural boundary; on the east by the river Apalachicola, which divides it from East Florida; on the west by the river Mississippi, and on the south by the gulph of

Mexico. The Mississippi territory is intersected by many large and valuable rivers, which rise within its boundaries, and meander through it in a general direction from north to south, but empty themselves into the gulph of Mexico through the province of West Florida. In fact, with the exception of that part of the territory which lies immediately on the Mississippi, the whole must depend on the Mobile and the Apalachicola, with their numerous branches, and on some other rivers of inferior note, for the means of sending its produce to market, and of returning to itself such foreign supplies, as the necessities or convenience of its inhabitants may require. In these rivers, too, the eastern parts of the state of Tennessee are deeply interested, as some of the great branches of the Mobile approach very near to some of those branches of the Tennessee river, which lie above the Great Muscle Shoals. Even if it should prove difficult to connect them, yet the land carriage will be shorter, and the route to the sea more direct than the river Tennessee furnishes. These rivers possess likewise an advantage which is denied to the Mississippi. As their sources are not in the mountains, and their course is through a level country, their currents are gentle and the tide flows considerably above our boundary. This circumstance, together with the depth of water which many of them afford, render them accessible to sea vessels; and ships of two hundred tons burthen may ascend for several hundred miles into the heart of the Mississippi territory. These rivers, however, which run almost exclusively within our own limits, and which it would seem as if nature had intended for our benefit, we must be indebted to others for the beneficial use of, so long as the province of West Florida shall continue in the possession of a foreign nation. If this province were of itself an independent empire, it would be the interest of its government to promote the freedom of trade, by laying open the mouths of the rivers to all nations, this having been the policy of those powers who possess the mouths of the Rhine, the Danube, the Po, and the Tagus, with some others. But the system of colonization, which has always, heretofore, prevailed, proves that the mother country is anxious to engross to itself the trade of its colonies, and affords us every reason to apprehend that Spain will not readily admit us to pass through her territory to carry on a trade either with each other or with foreign nations. This right we may insist on, and perhaps it may be conceded to us; but it is possible that it may be denied. At all events, it may prove the endless source of disagreement, and perpetual hostility.—In this respect East-Florida may not perhaps be so important, but its acquisition is nevertheless deemed desirable. From its junction with the state of Georgia at the river St. Mary's, it stretches nearly four hundred miles into the sea, forming a large peninsula, and has some very fine harbours. The southern point, Cape Florida, is not more than one hundred miles distant from the Havanna, and the possession of it may be beneficial to us in relation to our trade with the West-Indies. It would likewise make our whole territory compact, would add considerably to our coast, and by giving us the Gulph of Mexico for our southern boundary, would render us less liable to attack, in what is now deemed the most vulnerable part of the Union.—From the foregoing views of facts, it must be seen that the possession of New-Orleans and the Floridas will not only be required for the convenience of the United States, but will be demanded by the most imperious necessities. The Mississippi and its branches, with those other rivers above referred to, drain an extent of country not less, perhaps, than one half of our whole territory, containing at this time one-eighth of our population, and increasing with a rapidity beyond the experience of any former time, or of any other nation. The Floridas and New-Orleans command the only outlets to the sea, and our best interests require that we should get possession of them. This requisition, however, arises not from a disposition to increase our territory; for neither the Floridas or New-Orleans offer any other inducements than their mere geographical relation to the United States. But if we look forward to the free use of the Mississippi, the Mobile, the Apalachicola, and the other rivers of the west, by ourselves and our posterity, New-Orleans and the Floridas must become a part of the United States, either by purchase or by conquest.—The great question then which presents itself is, shall we at this time lay the foundation for future peace, by offering a fair and equivalent consideration: or shall we hereafter incur the hazards and horrors of war? The government of the United States is differently organized from any other in the world. Its object is the happiness of man, its policy and its interest to pursue right by right means. War is the great scourge of the human race, and should never be resorted to, but in cases of the most imperious necessity. A wise government will avoid it when its views can be attained by peaceful measures. Princes fight for glory, and the blood

blood and treasure of their subjects is the price they pay. In all nations, the people bear the burthen of war, and in the United States, the people rule. Their representatives are the guardians of their rights, and it is the duty of those representatives to provide against any event which may, even at a distant day, involve the interest and the happiness of the nation. We may, indeed, have our rights restored to us by treaty; but there is a want of fortitude in applying temporary remedies to permanent evils; thereby imposing on our posterity a burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. If the purchase can be made, we ought not to hesitate. If the attempt should fail, we shall have discharged an important duty. War may be the result; but the American nation, satisfied with our conduct, will be animated by one soul, and will unite all its energies in the contest. Foreign powers will be convinced that it is not a war of aggrandizement on our part, and will therefore feel no unreasonable jealousies towards us. We shall have proved that our object was justice; it will be seen that our propositions were fair; and it will be acknowledged that our cause is honourable. Should alliances be necessary, they may be advantageously formed. We shall have merited, and therefore shall possess general confidence. Our measures will stand justified not only to ourselves and our country, but to the world.—In another point of view, perhaps, it would he preferable to make the purchase, as it is believed that a smaller sum would be requisite for this object than would necessarily be expended if we should attempt to take possession by force; the expenses of war being, indeed, almost incalculable. The committee have no information before them, to ascertain the amount for which the purchase can be made; but it is hoped, that with the assistance of two millions of dollars in hand, this will not be unreasonable. A similar course was pursued for the purpose of settling our differences with the Regency of Algiers, by the appropriation of one million of dollars prior to the commencement of the negotiation, and we have since experienced its beneficial effects.—Under these impressions, therefore, the committee recommend that a sum of two millions of dollars in addition to the provision heretofore made, be appropriated to defray any expenses which may be incurred in relation to the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, to be paid out of any money that may be in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States, who, if necessary, is hereby authorised to borrow the same, or any part thereof; an account whereof, as soon as may be, shall be laid before Congress.

AN ACCOUNT OF LOUISIANA: BEING AN ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENTS, IN THE OFFICES OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND OF THE TREASURY, LAID BEFORE CONGRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(The object of the following pages is to consolidate the information respecting the present state of Louisiana, furnished to the Executive by several individuals among the best informed upon that subject.)

Of the province of Louisiana no general map, sufficiently correct to be depended upon, has been published, nor has any yet been procured from a private source. It is indeed probable, that surveys have never been made upon so extensive a scale as to afford the means of laying down the various regions of a country, which, in some of its parts, appears to have been but imperfectly explored.

Boundaries.—The precise boundaries of Louisiana, westwardly of the Mississippi, though very extensive, are at present involved in some obscurity. Data are equally wanting to assign with precision its northern extent. From the source of the Mississippi, it is bounded eastwardly by the middle of the channel of that river to the 31st degree of latitude: thence, it is asserted upon very strong grounds, that according to its limits, when formerly possessed by France, it stretches to the east, as far, at least, as the river Perdigo, which runs into the bay of Mexico, eastward of the river Mobile.—It may be consistent with the view of these notes to remark, that Louisiana, including the Mobile settlements, was discovered and peopled by the French, whose monarchs made several grants of its trade, in particular to Mr. Crosat in 1712,-and some years afterwards, with his acquiescence, to the well known company projected by Mr. Law. This company was relinquished in the year 1731. By a secret convention on the 3d November, 1762, the French government ceded so much of the province as lies beyond the Mississippi, as well as the island of New-Orleans, to Spain; and by the treaty of peace which followed in 1763, the whole territory of France and Spain eastward of the middle of the Mississippi to the Iberville, thence through the middle of that ri-

ver, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea, was ceded to Great-Britain. Spain having conquered the Floridas from Great Britain during her revolutionary war, they were confirmed to her by the treaty of peace of 1783. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, of the 1st of October 1800, his Catholic Majesty promises and engages, on his part, to cede back to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations therein contained, relative to the Duke of Parma, "the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it actually has in the hands of Spain, that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." This treaty was confirmed and enforced by that of Madrid, of the 21st of March, 1801. From France it passed to us by the treaty of the 30th of April last, with a reference to the above clause as descriptive of the limits ceded.

Divisions of the Province.—The province as held by Spain, including a part of West Florida, is laid off into the following principal divisions: Mobile, from Balise to the city, New-Orleans and the country on both sides of lake Ponchartrain, first and second German coasts, Catahanose, Fourche, Venezuela, Iberville, Galvez Town, Baton-Rouge, Pointe Coupée, Atacapas, Opelousas, Ouachita, Avayelles, Rapide, Natchitoches, Arkansas, and the Illinois.—In the Illinois there are commandants, at New-Madrid, St. Genevieve, New Bourbon, St. Charles and St. Andrews, all subordinate to the commandant-general.—Baton Rouge having been made a government, subsequently to the treaty of limits, &c. with Spain, the posts of Manchac and Thompson's Creek, or Feliciana, were added to it. —Chapitoulas has sometimes been regarded as a separate command, but is now included within the jurisdiction of the city. The lower part of the river has likewise had occasionally a separate commandant.

Baton Rouge and its dependencies.—Immediately above the Iberville, and on both sides of the Mississippi lies the parish of Manchac, which extends four leagues on the river, and is well cultivated. Above it commences the settlement of Baton Rouge, extending about nine leagues. It is remarkable as being the first place where the high land is contiguous to the river, and here it forms a bluff from thirty to forty feet above the greatest rise of the river. Here the settlements extend a considerable way back on the east side; and this parish has that of Thompson's Creek and Bayou Sara subordinate to it. The mouth of the first of these creeks is about forty-nine leagues from New Orleans, and that of the latter two or three leagues higher up. They run from north east to south west, and their head waters are north of the 31st degree of latitude. Their banks have the best soil, and the greatest number of good cotton plantations of any part of Louisiana, and are allowed to be the garden of it.

Pointe Coupée and Fousse Riviere.—Above Baton Rouge, at the distance of 50 leagues from New-Orleans, and on the west side of the Mississippi is Pointe Coupée, a populous and rich settlement, extending eight leagues along the river. Its produce is cotton. Behind it, on an old bed of the river, now a lake, whose outlets are closed up, is the settlement of Fausse Riviere, which is well cultivated.—In the space now described, from the sea as high as and including the last mentioned settlement, is contained three-fourths of the population, and seven-eighths of the riches of Louisiana.—From the settlement of Pointe Coupée on the Mississippi to Cape Girardeau above the mouth of the Ohio, there is no land on the west side, that is not overflowed in the spring to the distance of eight or ten leagues from the river with from two to twelve feet water, except a small spot near New Madrid; so that in the whole extent there is no possibility of forming a considerable settlement contiguous to the river on that side. The eastern bank has in this respect a decided advantage over the western, as there are on it many situations which effectually command the river.

Red River and its Settlements.—On the west side of the Mississippi, seventy leagues from New-Orleans, is the mouth of the Red river, on whose banks and vicinity are the settlements of Rapide, Avoyelles and Narchitoches, all of them thriving and populous. The latter is situate seventy-five leagues up the Red river. On the north side of the Red river, a few leagues from its junction with the Mississippi, is the Black river, on one of whose branches, a considerable way up, is the infant settlement of Ouachita, which, from the richness of the soil, may be made a place of importance. Cotton is the chief produce of these settlements, but they have likewise a considerable Indian trade. The river Rouge, or Red river, is used to communicate with the frontiers of New-Mexico.—Many of the present establishments are separated from each other by immense and trackless deserts, having no communication with each other by land, except now and then a solitary instance of its being attempted by

by hunters, who have to swim rivers, expose themselves to the inclemency of the weather, and carry their provisions on their backs for a time, proportioned to the length of their journey. This is particularly the case on the west of the Mississippi, where the communication is kept up only by water, between the capital and the distant settlements; three months being required to convey intelligence from the one to the other by the Mississippi. The usual distance accomplished by a boat in ascending, is five leagues per day. The rapidity of the current in the spring season especially, when the waters of all the rivers are high, facilitates the descent, so that the same voyage by water, which requires three or four months to perform from the capital, may be made to it in from twelve to sixteen days. The principal settlements in Louisiana are on the Mississippi, which begins to be cultivated about twenty leagues from the sea, where the plantations are yet thin, and owned by the poorest people. Ascending, you see them improve on each side, till you reach the city, which is situated on the east bank, on a bend of the river, tthirty-five leagues from the sea.

Chapitoulas, first and second German Coasts, —Catahanose—Fourche and Iberville.—The best and most improved are above the city, and comprehend, what is there known by the Paroisse de Chapitoulas, Premier and Second Côte des Allemantis, and extend sixteen leagues.—Above this begins the parish of Catahanose, or first Acadian settlement, extending eight leagues on the river. Adjoining it and still ascending is the second Acadian settlement or parish of the Fourche, which extends about six leagues. The parish of Iberville then commences, and is bounded on the east side by the river of the same name, which, though dry a great part of the year, yet, when the Mississippi is raised, communicates with the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain, and through them with the sea, and thus forms what is called the island of New-Orleans. Except on the point just below the Iberville, the country from New-Orleans is settled the whole way along the river, and presents a scene of uninterrupted plantations in sight of each other, whose fronts to the Mississippi are all cleared, and occupy on that river from five to twenty-five acres with a depth of forty; so that a plantation of five acres in front contains six hundred. A few sugar plantations are formed in the parish of Catahanose, but the remainder is devoted to cotton and provisions, and the whole is an excellent soil incapable of being exhausted. The plantations are but one deep on the island of New-Orleans, and on the opposite side of the river, as far as the mouth of the Iberville, which is thirty-five leagues above New-Orleans.

Bayou de la Fourche—Atacapas, and Opelousas.—About twenty-five leagues from the last mentioned place, on the west side of the Mississippi, the creek or Bayou of the Fourche, called in old maps, La Riviere des Chitamaches. flows from the Mississippi, and communicates with the sea, to the west of the Balise. The entrance of the Mississippi is navigable only at high water, but will then admit of craft of from sixty to seventy tons burthen. On both banks of this creek are settlements, one plantation deep, for near fifteen leagues, and they are divided into two parishes. The settlers are numerous, though poor, and the culture is universally cotton. On all creeks making from the Mississippi, the soil is the same as on the bank of the river, and the border is the highest part of it, from whence it descends gradually to the Swamp. In no place on the low lands is there depth more than suffices for one plantation, before you come to the low grounds incapable of cultivation. This creek affords one of the communications to the two populous and rich settlements of Atacapas and Opelousas formed on and near the small rivers Teche and Vermillion which flow into the bay of Mexico. But the principal and swiftest communication is by the Bayou or creek of Plauquemines, whose entrance into the Mississippi is seven leagues higher upon the same side, and thirty-two above New-Orleans. These settlements abound in cattle and horses, have a large quantity of good land in their vicinity, and may be made of great importance. A part of their produce is sent by sea to New-Orleans, but the greater part is carried in batteaux by the creeks above mentioned.

Concord—Arkansas—St. Charles and St. Andrew, &c.—There is no other settlement on the Mississippi except the small one called Concord, opposite to the Natchez, till you come to the Arkansas river, whose mouth is two hundred and fifty leagues above New-Orleans.—Here there are but a few families, who are more attached to the Indian trade, by which chiefly they live, than to cultivation. There is no settlement from this place to New-Madrid, which is itself inconsiderable. Ascending the river you come to Cape Girardeau, St. Generive and St. Lewis, where, though the inhabitants are numerous, they raise little for exportation, and content themselves with trading with the Indians and working a few lead mines. This country is very fertile, especi-

ally on the banks of the Missouri, where there have been formed two settlements, called St. Charles and St Andrew, mostly by emigrants from Kentucky. The peltry procured in the Illinois is the best sent to the Atlantic market; and the quantity is very considerable. Lead is to be had with ease, and in such quantities as to supply all Europe, if the population were sufficient to work the numerous mines to be found within two or three feet from the surface, in various parts of the country. The settlements about the Illinois were first made by the Canadians, and their inhabitants still resemble them in their aversion to labour, and love of a wandering life. They contain but few negroes, compared to the number of the whites; and it may be taken for a general rule, that in proportion to the distance from the capital, the number of blacks diminish below that of the whites; the former abounding most on the rich plantations in its vicinity.

General Description of Upper Louisiana.—When compared with the Indiana territory, the face of the country in Upper Louisiana is rather more broken, though the soil is equally fertile. It is a fact not to be contested, that the west side of the river possesses some advantages not generally incident to those regions. It is elevated and healthy, and well watered with a variety of large rapid streams, calculated for mills and other water works. From Cape Girardeau, above the mouth of the Ohio, to the Missouri, the land on the east side of the Mississippi is low and flat, and occasionally exposed to inundations; that on the Louisiana side, contiguous to the river, is generally much higher, and in many places very rocky on the shore. Some of the heights exhibit a scene truly picturesque. They rise to a height of at least three hundred feet, faced with perpendicular lime and free stone, carved into various shapes and figures by the hand of nature, and afford the appearance of a multitude of antique towers. From the tops of these elevations, the land gradually slopes back from the river, without gravel or rock, and is covered with valuable timber. It may be said with truth that, for fertility of soil, no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Mississippi; the land yields an abundance of all the necessaries of life, and almost spontaneously; very little labour being required in the cultivation of the earth. That part of Upper Louisiana, which borders on North Mexico, is one immense prairie; it produces nothing but grass: it is filled with buffalo, deer, and other kinds of game; the land is represented as too rich for the growth of forest trees.—It is pretended that Upper Louisiana contains in its bowels many silver and copper mines, and various specimens of both are exhibited. Several trials have been made to ascertain the fact; but the want of skill in the artists has hitherto left the subject undecided.—The salt-works are also pretty numerous; some belong to individuals; others to the public. They already yield an abundant supply for the consumption of the country; and if properly managed, might become an article of more general exportation. The usual price per bushel is one hundred and fifty cents in cash at the works.—This price will be still lower as soon as the manufacture of the salt is assumed by government, or patronized by men who have large capitals to employ in the business. One extraordinary fact relative to salt must not be omitted. There exists about one thousand miles up the Missouri, and not far from that a salt mountain. The existence of such a mountain might well be questioned, were it not for the testimony of several respectable and enterprizing traders, who have visited it, and who have exhibited several bushels of the salt to the curiosity of the people of St. Louis, where some of it still remains. A specimen of the same salt has been sent to Marietta. This mountain is said to be one hundred and eighty miles long, and forty-five in width, composed of solid rock-salt, without any trees or even shrubs on it. Salt-springs are very numerous beneath the surface of this mountain, and they flow through the fissures and cavities of it. Caves of saltpetre are found in Upper Louisiana, though at some distance from the settlements. Four men on a trading voyage, lately discovered one, several hundred miles up the Missouri. They spent five or six weeks in the manufacture of this article, and returned to St. Louis with four hundred weight of it. It proved to be good, and they sold it for a high price.—The geography of the Mississippi and Missouri, and their contiguity for a great length of way, are but little known. The traders assert, that one hundred miles above their junction, a man may walk from one to the other in a day; and it is also asserted, that seven hundred miles still higher up, the portage may be crossed in four or five days. This portage is frequented by traders, who carry on a considerable trade with some of the Missouri Indians. Their general route is through Green bay, which is an arm of lake Michigan; they then pass into a small lake connected with it, and which communicates with the Fox river; they then cross over a short portage into the Ouisconsing river,

which unites with the Mississippi, some distance below the Falls of St. Anthony. It is also said, that the traders communicate with the Mississippi above these falls through lake Superior; but their trade in that quarter is much less considerable.

Canal of Carondelet.—Behind New-Orleans is a canal about one mile and a half long, which communicates with a creek called the Bayou of St. Jean, flowing into lake Ponchartrain. At the mouth of it, about two leagues and a half from the city is a small fort called St. Jean, which commands the entrance from the lake. By this creek the communication is kept up through the lake and the Rigolets to Mobile and the settlements in West Florida. Craft drawing from six to eight feet water, can navigate to the mouth of the creek, but except in particular swells of the lake cannot pass the bar without being lightened.

St. Bernardo.—On the East side of the Mississippi, about five leagues below New-Orleans, and at the head of the English bend, is a settlement known by the names of the Poblacion de St Bernardo or the Terre aux Bœufs, extending on both sides of a creek or drain, whose head is contiguous to the Mississippi, and which flowing eastward, after a course of eighteen leagues, and dividing itself inte two branches, falls into the sea and lake Borgne. This settlement consists of two parishes; almost all the inhabitants of which are Spaniards from the Canaries, who content themselves with raising fowls, corn, and garden stuff for the market at New-Orleans. The lands cannot be cultivated to any great distance from the banks of the creek, on account of the vicinity of the marsh behind them, but the place is susceptible of great improvement and of affording another communication to small craft of from eight to ten feet draught between the sea and the Mississippi.

Settlements below the English Turn.—At the distance of fifteen leagues below New-Orleans, the settlements on both banks of the river are of but small account. Between these and the fort of Plaquemines, the country is overflowed in the spring, and in many places is incapable of cultivation at any time, being a morass almost impassible by man or beast.—This small tongue of land extends considerably into the sea, which is visible on both sides of the Mississippi from a ship's mast.

Country from Plaquemines to the Sea, and effect of the Hurricanes.—From Plaquemines to the sea is twelve or thirteen leagues. The country is low and swampy, chiefly covered with reeds, having little or no timber, and no settlement whatever. It may be necessary to mention here, that the whole lower part of the country from the English Turn downward, is subject to overflowing in hurricanes, either by the recoiling of the river or reflux from the sea on each side; and on more than one occasion it has been covered from the depth of two to ten feet, according to the descent of the river, whereby many lives were lost, horses and cattle swept away, and a scene of destruction laid. The last calamity of this kind happened in 1794: but fortunately they are not frequent. In the preceding year the engineer who superintended the erection of the fort of Plaquemines was drowned in his house near the fort, and the workmen and garrison escaped only by taking refuge on an elevated spot in the fort, on which there were notwithstanding, two or three feet of water. These hurricanes have generally been felt in the month of August. Their greatest fury lasts about twelve hours. They commence in the south-east, veer about to all points of the compass, are felt most severely below, and seldom extend more than a few leagues above New-Orleans. In their whole course they are marked with ruin and desolation. Until that of 1794, there had been none felt from the year 1780.

Passes, or Mouths of the Mississippi.—About eight leagues below Plaquemines, the Mississippi divides itself into three channels, which are called the Passes of the river, viz. the East, South and South-west Passes. Their course is from five to six leagues to the sea. The space between is a marsh with little or no timber on it; but from its situation, it may hereafter be rendered of importance. The East Pass, which is on the left hand going down the river, is divided into two branches about two leagues below, viz. the Pass à la Loutre, and that known to mariners by the name of the Balize, at which there is a small block-house and some huts of the pilots, who reside only here. The first of these secondary channels contains at present but eight feet water; the latter from fourteen to sixteen, according to the seasons. The South Pass, which is directly in front of the Mississippi, has always been considered as entirely choaked up, but has ten feet water. The South-west Pass, which is on the right, is the longest and narrowest of all the Passes, and a few years ago had eighteen feet water, and was that by which the large ships always entered and sailed from the Mississippi. It has now but eight feet water, and will probably remain so for some time. In speaking of the quantity of water in the Passes, must be understood of what is on the bar of each

Pass; for immediately after passing the bar, which is very narrow, there are from five to seven fathoms at all seasons.

Country east of Lake Ponchartrain.—The country on the east side of Lake Ponchartrain to Mobille, and including the whole extent between the American line, the Mississippi above New-Orleans, and the lakes, with the exception of a tract of about thirty miles on the Mississippi, and as much square, contiguous to the line, and comprehending the waters of Thompson's creek, Cayou Sara, and the Amet, is a poor, thin soil, overgrown with pine, and contains no good land whatever, unless on the banks of a few small rivers. It would, however, afford abundant supplies of pitch, tar and pine lumber, and would feed large herds of cattle.

THE INHABITANTS AND THEIR ORIGIN.—The inhabitants of Louisiana are chiefly the descendants of the French and Canadians. There are a considerable number of English and Americans in New Orleans. The two German coasts are peopled by the descendants of settlers from Germany, and a few French mixed with them. The three succeeding settlements up to Baton Rouge contain mostly Acadians, banished from Nova Scotja by the English, and their discendants. The government of Baton Rouge, especially the east side, which includes all the country between the Iberville and the American line, is composed partly of Acadians, a very few French, and of a great majority of Americans. On the west side they are mostly Acadians: at Pointe Coupée and Fausse river, they are French and Acadians. Of the population of the Atacapas and Opelousas, a considerable part is American. Natchitoches, on the Red river, contains but a few Americans, and the remainder of the inhabitants are French. But the former are more numerous in the other settlements on that river, viz. Avoyelles, Rapide, and Ouacheta. At Arkansas they are mostly French: and at New Madrid, Americans. At least two-fifths, if not a greater proportion of all the settlers on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, in the Illinois country, are likewise supposed to be Americans. Below New-Orleans the population is altogether French, and the descendants of Frenchmen.

New-Orleans.—By recurring to the maps and examining the position of Louisiana, it will appear, that the lower part projects considerably into the sea. It has in all probability been formed by the sediment brought down by currents and deposited on the flat coast. There is, therefore, on the east side, but a very narrow slip along the bank of the river, from the sea to the Iberville. The land is not generally susceptible of cultivation more than a mile in depth from the river, the rest is low and swampy to the lakes and the sea, but in general abounds with cypress timber, which is sawed by mills, which are worked by artificial streams from the Mississippi, in the time of freshes. They generally run five months in the year.—What has been said of the east equally applies to the west side of the river. The soil and situation are nearly the same. After leaving the bank of the river, there is an immense swamp, intersected by the creeks and lakes, extending to the high lands of Atacapas, and occupying a space of thirty or forty leagues.—The city of New-Orleans, which is regularly laid out, on the east side of the Mississippi, in lat. 30 N. and long. 90 W. extends nearly a mile along the river, from the gate of France on the south, to that of Chapitoulas above, and a little more than one third of a mile in breadth, from the river to the rampart; but it has as an extensive suburb on the upper side. The houses in front of the town, and for a square or two backwards, are mostly of brick, covered with slate, or tile, and many of two stories, the remainder are of wood, covered with shingles. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are thirty-two French feet wide. The squares between the intersections of the streets have a front of three hundred French feet. There is in the middle of the front of the city a place d'armes, facing which the church and town house are built. There are from twelve to fourteen hundred houses in the city and suburbs. The population may be estimated at ten thousand, including the seamen and garrison. It was fortified in 1793, but the works were originally defective, could not have been defended, and are now in ruins. The powder magazine is on the opposite side of the river.—The public buildings and other public property in New-Orleans, are as follow: Two very extensive brick stores, from one hundred and sixty to one hundred and eighty feet in length, and about thirty in breadth. They are one story high and covered with shingles. A government house, stables and garden, occupying a front of about two hundred and twenty feet on the river, in the middle of the town, and extending three hundred and thirty-six feet back to the next street. A military hospital. An ill-built custom-house of wood, almost in ruins, in the upper part of the city near the river. An extensive barrack in the lower part of the city, fronting on the river, and calculated to lodge twelve or fourteen thousand men. A large lot adjoining the king's stores, with a few

sheds in it. It serves as a park for artillery. A prison, town-house, market-house, assembly room, some ground rents, and the common about the town. A public-school for the rudiments of the Spanish language. A cathedral church unfinished, and some houses belonging to it.—A charitable hospital, with some houses belonging to it, and a revenue of fifteen hundred dollars annually, endowed by an individual lately deceased. The canal de Carondelet has already been described.

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.—According to a census of Louisiana, including Pensacola and the Natchez, made in 1785, the whole number of inhabitants amounted to 32,062, of which 14,215 were free whites, 1,303 free people of colour, and 16,543 slaves.—A subsequent statement, compiled from the latest documents, makes the whole number 42,375—the free whites, 21,244; the free people of colour 1,768, and the slaves 12,920—These papers certainly exhibit a smaller number than the real population of the country. From an official document, made in July last, and received from Atacapas since the second statement was formed, it appears, that it contained 2,270 whites, 210 free people of colour, 1,266 slaves, in all 3,746 souls, instead of 1,447, as therein stated It is highly probable, that the return for the neighbouring district of Opelousas, is in the same proportion underrated.—A conjectural estimation made by a gentleman of great respectability and correct information, residing at Natchez, raises the number of whites in the island of New-Orleans, on the west side of the river, and some settlements on the east side, to 50,150, and the number of blacks to 39,820.—It is at all times difficult to obtain the true census of a country, and the impediments are increased in this from its scattered population. The actual enumeration may, therefore, fall short of the true numbers.

MILITIA.—There is a militia in Louisiana. The following is the return of it made to the Court of Spain by the Baron of Carondelet.

From Balize to the city; volunteers of the Mississippi; 4 companies of 100 men each complete	400
City—Battalion of the city, 5 companies	500
Artillery company, with supernumeraries	120
Carabineers, or privileged companies of horse, 2 companies of 70 each, compleo	100
Mulattoes 2 companies, negroes 1 do.	800
Mixed legion of the Mississippi, comprehending Galvez-town, Baton-Rouge, Pointe Coupée, Atacapas and Opelousas, viz.	
2 companies of grenadiers,	
8 do. of fusileers,	
4 do. of dragoons,	
2 do. lately added from Bayou Sara, making 16 companies of 100 men each	1600
Avoyelles, 1 company of infantry	100
Oucheta, 1 do. of cavalry	100
Natchotochpes, 1 do. of infantry and 1 of cavalry	200
Arkansas, 1 do. of infantry and cavalry	100
Illinois, 4 do. of cavalry, 4 do. of infantry, } These are always above the complements	800
Provincial regiments of Germans and Acadians, from the 1st German coast to Iberville,	
10 companies, viz. 2 of grenadiers, 8 of fusileers	1000
Mobille, and the country east of Lake Ponchartrain,	
2 companies of horse and foot, incomplete	120
	5,440

The same gentleman alluded to makes the number of the militia to amount to 10,340 men, within the same limits to which his estimate of the population applies. He distributes them in the settlement, as follows:

1. The island of New-Orleans with the opposite margin, and the adjacent settlements	5000
2. The west margin from Manchac, including Pointe Coupée, and extending to the Red river	800
3. Atacapas, along the coast, between the Delta of the Mississippi and the river Sabine	350
4. Opelousas	750
5. Red river, including Bayon Bœuf, Avoyelles, Rapide, and Natchitoches	1000
6. Ouachita	300
7. Concord	40
8. Arkansas	150
9. New Madrid and its vicinity	350
10. Illinois and Missouri	1000
11. The settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, from the American line to the Iberville, and some other settlements	6000
	10,340

It is to be observed, that none of these statements include the country beyond the river Sabine, nor even all those which lie eastwardly of it. Data are also wanting to give them.

FORTIFICATIONS.—St. Louis has a lieutenant-colonel to command in it, and but few troops. Baton Rouge is an ill-constructed fort, and has about fifty men. In describing the canal of Carondelet, the small fort of St. Jean has been mentioned, as has the block-house at the Balize in its proper place. The fortifications of New-Orleans noticed before, consist of five ill constructed redoubts, with a covered way, palisade and ditch. The whole is going fast to decay, and it is supposed they would be of but little service in case of an attack. Though the powder magazine is on the opposite side of the river, there is no sufficient provision made for its removal to the city, in case of need.—The fort of Plaquemines, which is about twelve or thirteen leagues from the sea, is an ill-constructed, irregular brick work, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, with a ditch in front of the river, and protected on the lower side by a deep creek, flowing from the river to the sea. It is however, imperfectly closed behind, and almost without defence there; too much reliance having been placed on the swampiness of the ground, which hardens daily. It might be taken, perhaps, by escalade, without difficulty. It is in a degree ruinous. The principal front is meant to defend the approach from the sea, and can oppose, at most, but eight heavy guns. It is built at a turn in the river, where ships in general must anchor, as the wind which brings them up so far, is contrary in the next reach, which they mostly work through: and they would therefore be exposed to the fire of the fort. On the opposite banks are ruins of a small closed redoubt, called Fort Bourbon, usually garrisoned by a serjeant's command. Its fire was intended to flank that of the Fort of Plaquemines, and prevent shipping and craft from ascending or descending on that side. When a vessel appears, a signal is made on one side, and answered on the other. Should she attempt to pass, without sending a boat on shore, she would be immediately fired upon.

INDIANS.—The Indian nations within the limits of Louisiana are, as far as known, as follows, and consist of the numbers hereafter specified.—On the Eastern bank of the Mississippi, about twenty-five leagues above Orleans the remains of the nation of Houmas or Red Men do not exceed 60 persons. There are no other Indians settled on this side of the river, either in Louisiana or West-Florida, though they are at times frequented by parties of wandering Choctaws.—On the West side of the Mississippi are the remains of the Tounicas, settled near and above Pointe Coupée on the river, consisting of 50 or 60 perons.—*In the Atacapas.*—On the lower parts of the Bayou Teche, at about eleven or twelve leagues from the sea, are two villages of Chitimachas, consisting of about 100 souls.—The Atacapas, properly so called, dispersed throughout the district, and chiefly on the Bayou or creek of Vermillion, about 100 souls.—Wanderers of the tribes of Bilexis and Choctaws on Bayou Crocodile, which empties into the Teche, about 50 souls.—*In the Opelousas to the N. W. of Atacapas.*—Two villages of Alibamas in the centre of the district near the church, consisting of 100 persons.—Conchates dispersed through the country as far West as the river Sabinas and its neighbourhood, about 350 persons.—*On the River Rouge.*—At Avoyelles, nineteen leagues from the Mississippi, is a village of the Biloni nation, and another on the lake of the Avoyelles, the whole about 60 souls.—At the Rapide, twenty-six leagues from the Mississippi, is a village of Choctaws of 100 souls, and another of Biloxes, about two leagues from it, of about 100 more: about eight or nine leagues higher up the Red River is a village of about 50 souls. All these are occasionally employed by the settlers in their neighbourhood, as boatmen.—About eighty leagues above Natchitoches, on the Red River, is the nation of the Cadoquies, called by abbreviation Cados; they can raise from 3 to 400 warriors, are the friends of the whites, and are esteemed the bravest and most generous of all the nations in this vast country; they are rapidly decreasing, owing to intemperance and the numbers annually destroyed by the Osages and Choctaws.—There are, besides the foregoing, at least 4 to 500 families of Choctaws, who are dispersed on the West side of the Mississippi, on the Ouacheta and Red Rivers, as far West as Natchitoches, and the whole nation would have emigrated across the Mississippi, had it not been for the opposition of the Spaniards and the Indians on that side who had suffered by their aggressions.—*On the River Arkanzas, &c.*—Between the Red River and the Arkanzas there are but a few Indians, the remains of tribes almost extinct. On this last river is the nation of the same name, consisting of about 260 warriors: they are brave, yet peaceable and well disposed, and

have always been attached to the French, and espoused their cause in their wars with the Chickasaws, whom they have always resisted with success. They live in three villages, the first is at eighteen leagues from the Mississippi on the Arkanzas river, and the others are at three and six leagues from the first. A scarcity of game on the Eastern side of the Mississippi has lately induced a number of Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, &c. to frequent the neighbourhood of Arkanzas, where game is still in abundance; they have contracted marriages with the Arkanzas, and seem inclined to make a permanent settlement and incorporate themselves with that nation. The number is unknown, but is considerable, and is every day increasing.—On the river St. Francis, in the neighbourhood of New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Riviere à la Pomme, and the environs, are settled a number of vagabonds, emigrants from the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Piorias, and supposed to consist in all of 500 families; they are at times troublesome to the boats descending the river, and have even plundered some of them and committed a few murders. They are attached to liquor, seldom remain long in any place, many of them speak English, all understand it, and there are some who even read and write it.—At St. Genevieve, in the settlement among the whites, are about 30 Piorias, Kaskaskias, and Illinois, who seldom hunt for fear of other Indians; they are the remains of a nation which fifty years ago could bring into the field one thousand two hundred warriors.—*On the Missouri.*—On the Missouri and its waters are many and numerous nations, the best known of which are: the Osages, situated on the river of the same name; on the right bank of the Missouri, at about eighty leagues from its confluences with it: they consist of 1000 warriors, who live in two settlements at no great distance from each other. They are of a gigantic stature and well proportioned, are enemies of the whites and of all other Indian nations, and commit depredations from the Illinois to the Arkanzas. The trade of this nation is said to be under an exclusive grant. They are a cruel and ferocious race, and are hated and feared by all the other Indians. The confluence of the Osage river with the Missouri is about eighty leagues from the Mississippi.—Sixty leagues higher up the Missouri, and on the bank, is the river Kanzas, and on it the nation of the same name, but at about seventy or eighty leagues from its mouth. It consists of about 250 warriors, who are as fierce and cruel as the Osages, and often molest and ill-treat those who go to trade among them.—Sixty leagues above the river Kanzas, and at about two hundred from the mouth of the Missouri, still on the right bank, is the river Platte, or Shallow River, remarkable for its quicksands and bad navigation; and near its confluence with the Missouri, dwells the nation of Octolactos, commonly called Octos, consisting of about 200 warriors, among whom are 25 or 30 of the nation of Missouri, who took refuge among them about twenty-five years since.—Forty leagues up the River Platte you come to the nation of the Panis, composed of about 700 warriors in four neighbouring villages: they hunt little, and are ill provided with fire arms: they often make war on the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Santa-Fè, from which they are not far distant.—At three hundred leagues from the Mississippi, and one hundred from the River Platte, on the same banks, are situated the villages of the Mahas. They consisted in 1799 of 500 warriors, but are said to have been almost cut off last year by the small pox.—At fifty leagues above the Mahas and on the left bank of the Missouri, dwell the Poncas, to the number of 250 warriors, possessing in common with the Mahas their language, ferocity, and vices. Their trade has never been of much value, and those engaged in it are exposed to pillage and ill treatment.—At the distance of four hundred and fifty leagues from the Mississippi, and on the right bank of the Missouri, dwell the Aricaras, to the number of 700 warriors; and sixty leagues above them, the Mandane nation consisting of about 700 warriors likewise. These two last nations are well disposed to the whites, but have been the victims of the Sioux, or Nandowessies, who being themselves well provided with fire arms, have taken advantage of the defenceless situation of the others, and have, on all occasions, murdered them without mercy.—No discoveries on the Missouri, beyond the Mandane nation, have been accurately detailed, though the traders have been informed that many large navigable rivers discharge their waters into it, far above it, and that there are many numerous nations settled on them.—The Sioux or Nandowessies, who frequent the country between the north bank of the Missouri and Mississippi, are a great impediment to trade and navigation. They endeavour to prevent all communication with the nations dwelling high up the Missouri, to deprive them of ammunition and arms, and thus keep them subservient to themselves. In the winter they are chiefly on the banks of the Mis-

souri, and massacre all who fall into their hands.—There are a number of nations at a distance from the banks of the Missouri, to the north and south, concerning whom but little information has been received. Returning to the Mississippi, and ascending it from the Missouri, about seventy-five leagues above the mouth of the latter, the River Momgona, or Riviere de Moine, enters the Mississippi on the west side, and on it are situated the Ayoas, a nation originally from Missouri, speaking the language of the Otatachas; it consisted of 200 warriors before the small-pox lately raged among them.—The Sacs and Renards dwell on the Mississippi, about three hundred leagues above St. Louis, and frequently trade with it: they live together, and consist of 500 warriors: their chief trade is with Michilimakinak, and they have always been peaceable and friendly.—The other nations on the Mississippi higher up, are but little known to us. The nations of the Missouri, though cruel, treacherous, and insolent, may doubtless be kept in order by the United States, if proper regulations are adopted with respect to them.—It is said that no treaties have been entered into by Spain with the Indian nations westward of the Mississippi, and that its treaties with the Creeks, Choctaws, &c. are in effect superseded by our treaties with that power of the 27th October, 1795.

Of Lands and Titles. — The lands are held, in some instances, by grants from the crown, but mostly from the colonial government. Perhaps not one quarter part of the lands granted in Louisiana are held by complete titles; and of the remainder a considerable part depends upon a written permission of a commandant. Not a small proportion is held by occupancy with a simple verbal permission of the officer last-mentioned. This practice has always been countenanced by the Spanish government, in order that poor men, when they found themselves a little at ease, might at their own convenience apply for and obtain complete titles. In the mean-time such imperfect rights were suffered by the government to descend by inheritance, and even to be transferred by private contract. When requisite they have been seized by judicial authority, and sold for the payment of debts.—Until within a few years, the governor of Upper Louisiana was authorised to make surveys of any extent. In the exercise of this discretionary power, some abuses were committed: and a few small monopolies were created. About three years ago, he was restricted in this branch of his duty; since which he has been only authorised to make surveys to emigrants in the following manner: two hundred acres for each man and wife, fifty acres for each child, and twenty acres for each slave. Hence the quantity of land allowed to settlers depended on the number in each family; and for this quantity of land they paid no more than the expense of survey. These surveys were necessary to entitle the settlers to grants; and the governor, and after him the Intendant at New-Orleans, was alone authorized to execute grants on the receipt of the surveys from the settlers. The administration of the land-office is at present under the care of the Intendant of the Province.——There are no feudal rights nor noblesse.——It is impossible to ascertain the quantity of lands granted, without calling on the claimants to exhibit their titles; the registry being incomplete; and the maps made by the different surveyors general having been burnt in the fires at New Orleans of 1788 and 1794. No estimate has been obtained.——All the lands on both sides of the Mississippi, from the distance of sixteen leagues below New Orleans to Baton Rouge, are granted to the depth of forty acres, or near a league, which is the usual depth of all grants. Some have double and triple grants: that is to say, they have twice or thrice forty acres in depth; and others have grants extending from the Mississippi to the sea or the lakes behind them. In other parts of the country, the people, being generally settled on the banks of creeks or rivers, have a front of from six to forty acres, and the grant almost invariably expresses a depth of forty acres. All the ungranted lands in the island of New-Orleans, or on the opposite bank of the Mississippi, are sunken or inundated, and at present unfit for cultivation; but may, in part, be reclaimed at a future day by efforts of the rich and enterprising.

Cultivation of sugar.——The sugar-cane may be cultivated between the river Iberville and the city, on both sides of the river, and as far back as the swamps. Below the city, however, the lands decline so rapidly that beyond fifteen miles the soil is not well adapted to it. Above the Iberville the cane would be affected by the cold, and its produce would therefore be uncertain. Within these limits the best planters admit that one quarter of the cultivated lands of any considerable plantation may be planted in cane, one quarter left in pasture, and the remaining half employed for provisions, &c. and a reserve for a change of crops. One Parisian Arpent of one hundred and eighty feet square may be

expected to produce, on an average, twelve hundred weight of sugar, and fifty gallons of rum.——From the above data, admitting that both sides of the river are planted for ninety miles in extent, and about three-fourths of a mile in depth, it will result that the annual product may amount, in round numbers, to twenty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar, with twelve thousand puncheons of rum. Enterprising young planters say, that one-third, or even one half of the arable land might be planted in cane. It may also be remarked that a regular supply of provisions from above, at a moderate price, would enable the planter to give his attention to a greater body of land cultivated with cane. The whole of these lands, as may be supposed, are granted: but in the Atacapas country, there is undoubtedly a portion, parallel to the sea-coast, fit for the culture of the sugar cane. There vacant lands are to be found, but the proportion is at present unknown.——In the above remarks the lands at Terre aux Bœufs, on the Fourche, Bayou St. Jean, and other inlets of the Mississippi, south of the latitude supposed to divide those which are fit, from those which are unfit, for the cultivation of the cane, have been entirely kept out of view. Including these and taking one-third instead of one-fourth of the land fit for sugar, the produce of the whole would be fifty thousand instead of twenty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar.——The following quantities of sugar, brown, clayed and refined, have been imported into the United States, from Louisiana and the Floridas, viz.——In 1799, 773,654 lb: 1800, 1,560,865: 1801, 967,619: 1802, 1,576,933.

Of the laws.——When the country was first ceded to Spain, she preserved many of the French regulations, but by almost imperceptible degrees, they have disappeared, and at present the province is governed entirely by the laws of Spain, and the ordinances formed expressly for the colony.

Courts of justice.——The governor's court has a civil and military jurisdiction throughout the province. That of the lieutenant governor has the same extent in civil cases only.——There are two Alcaldes, whose jurisdiction, civil and criminal, extends through the city of New-Orleans and five leagues around it, where the parties have no *fuero militar*, or military privilege; those who have can transfer their causes to the governor.——The tribunal of the intendant has cognizance of admiralty and fiscal causes, and such suits as are brought for the recovery of money in the king's name or against him.——The tribunal of the Alcalde Provincal has cognizance of criminal causes, where offences are committed in the country, or when the criminal takes refuge there, and in other specified cases.——The ecclesiastical tribunal has jurisdiction in all matters respecting the church.——The governor, lieutenant governor, Alcaldes, Intendant, Provincal Alcalde, and the Provisior in ecclesiastical causes, are respectively so'e judges. All sentences affecting the life of the culprit, except those of the Alcalde Provincal, must be ratified by the superior tribunal, or captain general, according to the nature of the cause, before they are carried into execution. The governor has not the power of pardoning criminals. An auditor and an assessor, who are doctors of law, are appointed to give counsel to those judges; but for some time past there has been no assessor. If the judges do not consult those officers, or do not follow their opinions, they make themselves responsible for their decisions.—The commandants of districts have also a species of judicial power. They hear and determine all pecuniary causes not exceeding the value of one hundred dollars. When the suit is for a large sum, they commence the process, collect the proofs, and remit the whole to the governor, to be decided by the proper tribunal. They can inflict no corporeal punishment except upon slaves; but they have the power of arresting and imprisoning when they think it necessary; advice of which, and their reasons, must be transmitted to the governor.——Small suits are determined in a summary way, by hearing both parties *vivâ voce*; but in suits of greater magnitude the proceedings are carried on by petition and reply, replication and rejoinder, reiterated until the auditor thinks they have nothing new to say. Then all the proofs, either party chooses to adduce, are taken before the keeper of the records of the court, who is always a notary public.——The parties have now an opportunity of making their remarks upon the evidence by way of petition, and of bringing forward opposing proofs. When the auditor considers the cause as mature, he issues his decree, which receives its binding force from the governor's signature where the cause depends before him.—There is an appeal to Havanna, if applied for within five days after the date of the decree, in causes about a certain value. All ulterior appeals lie to the audience which formerly sat at St. Domingo, but which is now removed to the court of Cuba, and from thence to the council of the Indies in Spain.——Suits are of various durations. In pe-

cuniary matters the laws encourage summary proceedings. An execution may be had on a bond in four days, and in the same space on a note of hand after the party acknowledges it, or after his signature is proved. Moveable property is sold after giving nine days warning, provided it be three times publicly cried in that interval. Landed property must be likewise cried three times, with an interval of nine days between each, and it may then be sold. All property taken in execution must be appraised and sold for at least half of the appraisement. In pecuniary matters the governor decides verbally without appeal, when the sum does not exceed one hundred dollars. The Alcaldes have the same privilege when the amount is not above twenty dollars.——In addition to these courts, four years ago, there were established four Alcaldes de Barrio, or petty magistrates, one for each of the four quarters of the city, with a view to improve its police. They hear and decide all demands not exceeding ten dollars, exercise the power of committing to prison, and in case of robbery, riot, or assassination, they can, by calling on a notary, take cognizance of the affair; but when this is done they are bound to remit the proceedings to some of the other judges, and in all cases whatever, to give them information when they have committed any person to prison — Most of the suits are on personal contracts, rights to dower, inheritances and titles to land. Those arising from personal quarrels are generally decided in a summary way. The inhabitants are said not to be litigious.

Lawyers and Costs of the Court and their Officers.——The number of lawyers is small, not exceeding three or four attornies. Their fees are small. Suits are carried on in writings called *escritos*, which may be drawn up by the parties themselves, if they please, but they must be presented by the escribano or notary, who is the keeper of the records of the court.——The fees of the judges are twenty-five cents for every half signature or flourish, which is usually affixed on common occasions, fifty cents for every whole signature, and two dollars and three-fourths for every attendance as at a sale or the taking of evidence.——The fees of the Abogado, or person consulted by the judges on law points, are twelve and a half cents for every leaf of which the process consists, and four dollars for every point of law cited. Those of the attorney, when employed, are sixty-two and a half cents for a simple petition or *escrito*, but if it should be necessary to read a process in order to form his petition, and it should require much time and labour, he is compensated in proportion, besides twelve and a half cents per leaf for perusing the papers. For attendance on any business he is allowed one dollar and fifty cents for the assistance of two and a half hours. The notary has fifty cents for each decree or order of the judge, twenty five cents for a notification in his office, and fifty cents for one out of it, but within the city: one dollar and seven eights for every attendance of two and a half hours on business, and twenty-five cents additional for every leaf of paper written by him.—A counsellor or two have sometimes resided at New-Orleans, but, being generally found obnoxious to the officers of the government, they have not continued there. The counsellor values his own services, and, in general, exacts large sums. The attorney generally receives from the party who employs him more than is allowed by law.

Crimes, Criminal Jurisprudence, and Punishments.—In cases of petty crimes, the cognizance of the proper court may be said to be final, and without appeal; and, most commonly, such causes are decided in a summary way. With respect to crimes of a deeper dye, more solemnity is used. A person skilled in the laws is always nominated by the court to defend the accused. The trial is not public; but examinations and depositions in writing are taken privately by the auditor, at any time most convenient to himself, at which nevertheless the counsel of the accused is admitted to be present. He has also every kind of privilege granted to him in making his defence. Such suits are generally very tedious and expensive, when he is wealthy. The condemned is entitled to an appeal as in civil cases, provided he gives security for the payment of the future coasts. There appears, however, to be a virtual appeal in every capital condemnation, because a stay of execution takes place until the confirmation of the sentence returns from St. Jago de Cuba, where there is a grand tribunal established consisting of five judges, before whom counsellors plead as they do in our courts.—Crimes of great atrocity are very rare. Murder, by stabbing, seems to be confined to the Spanish soldiers and sailors. The terror of the magistrate's power restrains assaults, batteries, riots, &c. —Punishments are generally mild. They mostly consist of imprisonment and payment of costs, sometimes the stocks. White men, not military, are rarely, perhaps never degraded by whipping: and in no case do any fines go into the public trea-

sury. Murder, arson, and aggravated robbery of the king's treasury or effects are punished with death. Robbery of private persons, to any amount, is never punished with death, but by restitution, imprisonment, and sometimes enormous costs. Crimes against the king's revenue, such as contraband trade, are punished with hard labour for life, or a term of years, on board the gallies, in the mines, or on the public works.

LEARNING.—There are no colleges, and but one public school, which is at New-Orleans. The masters of this are paid by the king. They teach the Spanish language only. There are few private schools for children. Not more than half of the inhabitants are supposed to be able to read and write, of whom not more than two hundred perhaps are able to do it well. In general the learning of the inhabitants does not extend beyond those two arts; though they seem to be endowed with a good natural genius, and an uncommon facility of learning whatever they undertake.

THE CHURCH.—The clergy consists of a bishop, who does not reside in the province, and whose salary of four thousand dollars is charged on the revenue of certain bishopricks in Mexico and Cuba; two canons having each a salary of six hundred dollars; and twenty-five curates, five for the city of New Orleans, and twenty for as many country parishes, who receive each from three hundred and sixty to four hundred and eighty dollars a year. Those salaries, except that of the bishop, together with an allowance for sacristans and chapel expenses are paid by the treasury at New-Orleans, and amount annually to thirteen thousand dollars.—There are also at that place a convent of Ursulines, to which is attached about a thousand acres of land, rented out in three plantations. The nuns are now in number not more than ten or twelve, and are all French. There were formerly about the same number of Spanish ladies belonging to the order; but they retired to Havanna during the period when it was expected that the province would be transferred to France. The remaining nuns receive young ladies as boarders, and instruct them in reading, writing and needle-work.—They have always acted with great propriety, and are generally respected and beloved throughout the province. With the assistance of an annual allowance of six hundred dollars from the treasury, they always support and educate twelve female orphans.

OF THE OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT.—Those officers who are merely judicial, have been already mentioned, and therefore some of them will be altogether omitted in this place. The executive officers appointed by the governor, for each division of the province, and called commanders, are generally taken from the army, and the militia officer has the direction of military matters. Where there is a garrison, the commandant is sub-delegate of the intendant, and draws upon him for all expenses incurred. In that case he has the charge of all matters relating to the revenue, within his district.—The duties of commandants are to superintend the police, preserve the peace of the district, examine the passports of travellers, and to suffer no strangers to settle within the limits of their command, without regular leave obtained from government. They are to prevent smuggling, to certify that all lands, petitioned for by the inhabitant are vacant before they are granted, and when required, put the owner in possession. They are, besides, notaries public, and in their offices it is necessary to register all sales of lands and slaves, and even to make the contracts for those purposes, before them. They act as sheriffs, levy executions on property, attend and certify the sale, and collect the proceeds. They also take inventories of the property of intestates. By an ordinance of Baron Carondelet, Syndics are established for every three leagues, who are subordinates to the commandant, decide small causes, and have the police of roads, levies, travellers and negroes.—The officers of the general government are the following: beside his judicial powers, the governor is chief of the army and militia, and the head of the civil government. He is also president of the Cabildo, or provincial council. He appoints and removes, at pleasure, the commandants of districts. He appoints the officers of the militia, who are nevertheless commissioned by the king, and he recommends military officers for preferment. He is super-intendant of Indian affairs. He promulgates ordinances for the good government and improvement of the province; but he has no power to assess taxes upon the inhabitants without their consent. Until the year 1798, he possessed the sole power of granting lands, but it then passed into the the hands of the intendant.—The Cabildo is an hereditary council of twelve, chosen originally from the most wealthy and respectable families. The governor presides over their meetings.

Their office is very honourable, but it is acquired by purchase. They have a right to represent, and even to remonstrate to the governor, in respect to the interior government of the province.—The police of the city is under their control and direction. In it they regulate the admission of physicians and surgeons to practice. Two members of the Cabildo serve, by turns, monthly, and take upon themselves the immediate superintendance of markets, bakers, streets, bridges, and the general police of the city. This council distributes among its members several important offices, such as alguazil, mayor, high sheriff, alcalde provincal, procutear general, &c. The last mentioned is a very important charge. The person who holds it is not merely the king's attorney, but an officer peculiar to the civil law. He does not always prosecute; but, after conviction, he indicates the punishment annexed by law to the crime, and which may be, and is mitigated by the court. Like the chancellor in the English system, he is the curator and protector of orphans, &c. and finally he is the expounder of the law, the defender of the privileges belonging to the town, province or colony, and the accuser of every public officer that infringes them.—The Cabildo is also vested with a species of judicial authority. The intendant is chief of the departments of finance and commerce, and exercises the judicial powers already mentioned. He is entirely independent of the governor, and no public monies can be issued without his express order. The land office is under his direction.—The contador, treasurer, and interventor, are officers subordinate to the intendant. The first has four clerks under him, and keeps all accounts and documents respecting the receipt and expenditure of the revenue, and is, therefore, a check upon the intendant. The treasurer is properly no more than a cashier, and is allowed one clerk. The interventor superintends all public purchases and bargains. The administrator is also subordinate to the intendant, and with a number of inferior officers, manages every thing respecting the custom-house. Every clerk in these offices receives his commission from the king.—The auditor is the king's counsel, who is to furnish the governor with legal advice, in all cases of judicial proceedings, whether civil or military.—The assessor's functions are imilar to those of the auditor, and are properly applicable to the intendant's department.—Both of the officers last mentioned are also the counsellors of some of the other tribunals, as before intimated.—A secretary of the government and another of the intendancy.—A surveyor-geneneral.—A harbour-master.—A store-keeper, who takes charge of all public moveable property.—An interpreter of the French and Spanish languages, and a number of other inferior officers.—All appointments in the province, with a salary of more than thirty dollars per month, are made by the king, and most of those with a lower salary, by the governor or intendant, as belongs to their respective departments. There are no officers chosen by the people.—The salaries and perquisites of the principal officers are as follows:

	p. salary.	*p. perquisites.*
Governor, anually,	6,000	2,000
Intendant,	4,000	none.
Auditor,	2,000	2,000
Contador,	2,000	none.
Assessor,	1,200	1,200
Treasurer,	1,200	none.
Administrator,	1,300	none.
Sec^{y} of Government,	600	2,000

The commandants of districts receive each 100 dollars from the king, annually, unless they are possessed of a military employment or pension.

Taxes and duties.—Instead of paying local taxes, each inhabitant is bound to make and repair roads, bridges, and embankments through his own land.—A duty of six per cent. is payable at the custom-house, on the transfer of shipping. It is ascertained upon the sum which the buyer and seller declare to be the real consideration. As no oath is required from either, they seldom report more than half the price.—The following taxes are also payable in the province.—Two per cent. on legacies and inheritances, coming from colaterals, and exceeding 2,000 dollars.—Four per cent. on legacies, given to persons who are not relatives of the testator.—A tax on civil employments, the salaries of which exceed 300 dollars annually, called *media annata*, amounting to half the first year's salary. By certain officers, it is to be paid in two annual instalments, and by others in four. The first person appointed to a newly-created office pays nothing, but the tax is levied on all who succeed him.—Seven dollars is deducted from the sum of twenty paid as pilotage by every vessel entering or leaving the Mississippi; but the treasury provides the boats, and pays the salary of the pilots and sailors employed at the Balize. The remainder of the twenty dollars is thus distributed: to the head pilot four; to the pilot who is in the vessel four; and five to the crew of the

row-boat, that goes out to put the pilot on board, or to take him ashore.—A tax of 40 dollars per annum for licences to sell liquors.—A tax on certain places when sold, such as those of Regidor, Notary, Attorney, &c.—But the principal tax is that of six per cent. levied on all imports, according to a low tariff. The proceeds of which nett about 120,000 dollars, whilst all the other taxes are said not to yield more than 5 or 6000 dollars annually.

EXPENSES AND DEBT.—The expenses of the present government, comprehending the pay and support of the regiment of Louisiana, part of a battalion of the regiment of Mexico, a company of dragoons, and one of artillery, which form the garrison of the country, including Mobille; the repairs of public buildings and fortifications; the maintenance of a few gallies to convey troops and stores throughout the province; Indian presents and salaries of officers, clergy, and persons employed for public purposes, amount to about 650,000 dollars. A sum in specie, which does not generally exceed 400,000 dollars is annually sent from Vera Cruz; but this, together with the amount of taxes collected in the province, usually leaves a deficiency of 100 or 150,000 dollars, for which certificates are issued to the persons who may have furnished supplies, or to officers and workmen for their salaries. Hence a debt has accumulated, which it is said, amounts at present to about 450,000 dollars. It bears no interest, and is now depreciated 30 per cent. The latter circumstance has taken place not from want of confidence in the eventual payment of the certificates; but from the uncertainty of the time when, and the want and general value of specie. The whole of this debt is said to be due to the inhabitants, and to American residents. It would have been long since paid off, but for a diversion of the funds, destined for that purpose, to different and external objects.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—The productions of Louisiana are sugar, cotton, indigo, rice, furs and peltry, lumber, tar, pitch, lead, flour, horses and cattle. Population alone is wanting to multiply them to an astonishing degree. The soil is fertile, the climate salubrious, and the means of communication between most parts of the province certain, and by water.—The following has been received as a sketch of the present exports of Louisiana, viz.

	Dollars.	
20,000 bales of cotton, of 3 cwt. each, at 20 cents per lb.	1,344,000	increasing.
45,000 casks of sugar, 10 cwt. each, at 6 cents per lb.	302,400	ditto.
800 do. molasses, 100 gallons each,	32,000	ditto.
Indigo, - -	100,000	diminishes rapidly.
Peltry, - -	200,000	
Lumber, - -	80,000	
Lead, corn, horses and cattle uncertain.		
All other articles, suppose - - -	100,000	
	2,158,000	

According to official returns in the treasury of the United States, there were imported into our territory from Louisiana and the Floridas, merchandize to the following amounts, in the several years prefixed:—

	Dollars.
In 1799 to the value of	507,132
1800 - -	904,322
1801 - -	930,635
1802 - -	1,006,214

According to the same authority, which makes the total of the exports to amount to 2,158,000 dollars, the imports in merchandize, plantation-utensils, slaves, &c. amount to two and a half millions, the difference being made up by the money introduced by the government, to pay the expenses of governing and protecting the colony.—According to the return in the treasury of the United States, exports have been made to Louisiana and the Floridas, to the following amount in the years prefixed:—

In 1799 to the value of	5,056,262	in foreign articles;
	44,634	in domestic do.
Dollars	3,504,092	
In 1800	1,795,126	in foreign articles,
	240,662	in domestic do,
Dollars	2,035,789	
In 1801	1,770,794	in foreign articles;
	157,204	in domestic do.
Dollars	1,927,998	
In 1802	1,054,690	in foreign articles.
	170,110	in domestic do.
Dollars	1,224,710	

It is to be observed, that if the total of the imports and the exports into and from these provinces, of which the two Floridas are but a very unimportant part, with respect to both, be as above supposed, viz.

Imports, - -	2,500,000 dollars.
Exports, - -	2,168,000
Making together	4,668,000

The duty of six per cent. ought, alone, to produce the gross sum of two hundred seventy-nine thousand four hundred and eighty dollars, and that the difference between that sum and its annual nett produce, arises partly from the imperfect tariff by which the value of merchandize is ascertained, but principally from the smuggling, which is openly countenanced by most of the revenue officers.

MANUFACTURES.—There are but few domestic manufactures. The Acadians manufacture a little cotton into quilts and cottonades; and in the remote of the province, the poorer planters spin and weave some negro cloths of cotton and wool mixed. There is one machine for spinning cotton in the parish of Iberville, and another in the Opelousas; but they do little or nothing. In the city, besides the trades which are absolutely necessary, there is a considerable manufacture of cordage, and some small ones of shot and hair powder. There are likewise in, and within a few leagues of the town, twelve distilleries for making taffia, which are said to distil annually a very considerable quantity, and one of sugar refinery, said to make about 200,000 lbs. of loaf sugar.

NAVIGATION EMPLOYED IN THE TRADE OF THE PROVINCE.—In the year 1802, there entered the Mississippi two hundred and sixty-eight vessels of all descriptions, eighteen of which were public armed vessels, and the remainder merchantmen, as follows, viz.

	American.	*Spanish.*	*French.*
Ships,	48	14	
Brigs,	63	17	1
Polacres,	—	4	
Schooners,	50	61	
Sloops,	9	1	
Total	170	97	1

Of the number of American vessels, twenty-three ships, twenty-five brigs, nineteen schooners, and five sloops came in ballast, the remainder were wholly or in part laden.—Five Spanish ships and seven schooners came in in ballast. The united tonnage of all the shipping that entered the river, exclusive of the public armed vessels, was 33,725 register tons.—In the same year, there sailed from the Mississippi two hundred and sixty-five sail, viz.

	American.	*Tons.*	*Spanish.*		*Tons.*
Ships	40	8972	18		3714
Brigs	58	7546	22	1 in b.	1944
Schooners	52	4346	58		3747
Sloops	8	519	3	1 in b.	108
Polacres	—	—	3	1 in b.	240
	158	21383	104		9753

	Total of Ships.	*Total of Tons.*
American	158	21383
Spanish	104	9753
French	3	105
Grand Total	265	31241

The tonnage of the vessels which went away in ballast, and that of the public armed ships, are not included in the foregoing account: these latter carried away masts, yards, spars, pitch, tar, &c. at least 1,000 tons.—In the first six months of the present year, there entered the Mississippi 173 sail of all nations, four of which were public armed vessels, viz. two French and two Spanish, whose tonnage is not enumerated.

	Ameri.	*Tons.*	*Spani.*	*Tons.*	*Fr.*	*Tons.*
Ships	23	5396	14	3080	5	1002
Brigs	44	5701	20	2173	8	878
Polacres			3	480	2	436
Sch'rs	22	1899	18	1187	7	488
Sloops	4	278	3	107	—	—
Total	93	13264	58	7087	22	2804

	Total of Ships.	*Total of Tons.*
American	93	13264
Spanish	58	7087
French	22	2804
Grand Total	173	23155

In the same six months there sailed from the Mississippi one hundred and fifty-six vessels, viz.

	American.	*Spanish.*	*French.*
Ships	21	18	2
Brigs	28	31	1
Polacres	—	4	—
Schooners	17	26	5
Sloops	2	1	—
	68	80	8

COASTING TRADE.—There is a considerable coasting trade from Pensacola, Mobille, and the creeks and rivers falling into, and in the neighbourhood of Lake Pontchartrain,

from whence New-Orleans is principally supplied with ship timber, charcoal, lime, pitch, and tar, and partly with cattle; and the places before named are supplied with articles of foreign growth and produce in the same way from Orleans. The vessels employed are sloops and schooners, some of which are but half decked, from eight to fifty tons; five hundred of which, including their repeated voyages, and thirteen gallies and gun-boats entered Bayou St. Jean last year. There is likewise a small coasting trade between the Atakapas and Opelousas, and New-Orleans, by way of which much would increase, if there was any encouragement given by government, to clear away a few obstructions, chiefly caused by fallen timber, in the small rivers and creeks leading to them.

STATEMENT OF THE SITUATION OF HANOVER, PUBLISHED BY THE HANOVERIAN RESIDENT IN LONDON, ON THE 1ST OF JULY, 1803.

The situation of the Electorate of Hanover, when, in violation of the peace of Lunéville, it was hostilely attacked by France, under the pretext of a quarrel in which it was totally unconcerned, and the measures which were then adopted, have been represented in so false a light, and thereby led to the formation of opinions so erroneous, that it becomes necessary to give the following account of the circumstances as they really were.

The peace establishment of the Hanoverian army is about sixteen thousand five hundred men. This number was considerably augmented by levies throughout the country, when, at the commencement of the year 1793, the greatest part joined the allied army in Brabant; and, in the year 1796, fifteen thousand men being required for the army of observation, which was to cover the line of demarcation agreed upon between his Majesty the King of Prussia and the French Republic, they remained upon that footing; but when, in the year 1801, not only this army was dissolved, but the Prussian occupation made the speedy reduction of the Hanoverian troops necessary, all the levies which had been raised during the war, were discharged agreeably to the promises which had been made to them; it was impossible, by voluntary recruiting, which is the only mode allowed by the constitution in times of peace, immediately to complete the establishment, and the difficulty increased greatly afterwards, when the Bishopricks of Hildesheim and Eichsfeld, which had, until then, furnished many recruits, became Prussian provinces.—For these reasons the troops, at the commencement of the present troubles, did not amount, altogether, to fifteen thousand men, a considerable number of which were absent on furlough in the new Prussian provinces, and although faithful and well disposed, were prevented from joining their regiments. Thus not more than thirteen thousand men could be depended upon, and these, after completing the garrison and fortress of Hamoln, and some small detachments which could not be dispensed with, left a force of but little more than ten thousand men to oppose the enemy.—In the beginning of April, his Majesty apprised the regency of Hanover of the danger to which, in consequence of the menaces of the First Consul, himself, the country would be exposed, in case of a war between England and France; and directed that the soldiers who were absent should be made to return, and that the regiments should be kept in a state of readiness to take the field; referring, besides, for the measures which it might be necessary to pursue, to the regency and to Marshal Wallmoden, commander in chief of the army, because from the distance, and from the great uncertainty of events, it might have been disadvantageous to bind them by any orders which some unforeseen occurrence would have rendered less proper, or perhaps unapplicable.—At Hanover preparations were made for forming camps, for which, it was necessary, above every thing else, to provide magazines, which the great scarcity, and even the want of corn and forage rendered extremely difficult, and which, besides, required many arrangements among the regiments themselves, in case it became necessary to act decisively. But to make an effectual resistance, something else was requisite, and above all, a considerable levy of men and horses, which, in addition to the supplies of provisions and carriages, &c. &c. which must all have been drawn from the people, and which might have appeared too great a charge, if, as there was every reason to fear, the immense superiority of the enemy, and the necessity of carrying on a defence within the frontiers had rendered all their efforts useless. In a situation so hazardous, and under a responsibility so high, it was natural that the regency of Hanover, as well as the marshal should desire orders more precise upon the great question; whether, or not, military resistance should be made? They were the more determined to request these orders, because they considered it almost impossible that the electorate was so completely abandoned by its neighbours, and flattered themselves that circumstances unknown to them, might afford them some assistance; but the

same reasons which had before prevented his Majesty from giving such orders, still existed; and he could only reply, "That if "there were any hope of obtaining the prin- "ciple end, that of securing the country "from invasion, every effort ought to be "made; but that if only minor objects "could be accomplished, if nothing re- "mained but to save the effects, and to "make an honourable retreat for the army, "they should proportion the means to these "ends, and should not exact sacrifices from "the country, which, without the possibility "of being useful to it, would only expose it "to greater misery."—This reply, dated on the 18th of May, had not arrived at Hanover, when it was known that Lord Whitworth was on the point of leaving Paris, and that a considerable body of French troops was assembling near Nimegue, with the avowed design of invading the electorate. It was then clear that there was no time for waiting for orders, and that immediate measures were necessary. It was determined, with the consent of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, (who, though he possessed no other authority than that which he derived from his rank of Lieutenant-General, complied with the intreaties which were made to him, and assisted in the deliberations of the regency at such an emergency) to apply to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and solicit his assistance, and in case of extremity, even to pray that he would send a body of his own troops into the electorate, to protect it from a French invasion. The King of Prussia did not think himself warranted in doing this, but promised to make new representations at Paris, to prevent the invasion of Hanover. Meanwhile, the favorable dispositions which had appeared among the inhabitants of the country, and which had even been declared by the states, had determined the government of Hanover to have recourse to the greatest efforts for the defence of the country. On the 16th of May, an order was issued for inlisting all persons capable of bearing arms, and then to take from the whole number, a sufficient number of recruits to re-inforce the troops of the line, which, it was hoped, would amount to thirty thousand men. On the 21st an order followed for selecting and sending off the recruits to their different regiments.—In the greatest part of the country they came forward with the utmost willingness, but it was all too late; for before the 17th of May, Gen. Mortier had passed the Waal near Nimegue, and pursued his route with the greatest expedition, so that on the 30th he entered the principality of Osnaburgh, at the moment when every thing was begun in Hanover, but when nothing had been done, where all the regiments were on their march, but scarcely two had reached their place of destination. Then it was that deputies were sent to General Mortier, to declare the perfect neutrality of the electorate, which, according to the treaty of Luneville, was in profound peace with France, and which being connected neither by laws nor by treaties, with Great-Britain, had ever, and recently by the republic herself, been acknowledged as a state totally distinct. —On the 1st of June, Marshal Count Wallmoden, who had until then, directed every thing with unwearied assiduity, finding himself, as well because his presence was judged indispensable at Hanover, as on account of his health, not in a condition to join the troops himself, gave the command of those which were assembling at Nienburg to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who, influenced only by his zeal, undertook it, nothwithstanding almost the utter impossibility of success. He immediately repaired to the place where the bridge over the Weser obliged them to take the first position; here he arrived the same night, and found six battalions of infantry, six squadrons of cavalry, and some artillery, amounting in the whole to scarcely three thousand men. The rest of the troops were either still on their march, or at some distance, to cover the other passages on the Weser, and to ensure a retreat upon the Elbe, which might have been cut off, particularly by a corps of the enemy stationed at Wildeshausen, and which, it was supposed, intended to proceed to Bremen, and the recruits which arrived, one after another, having never borne arms, and being neither clothed nor disciplined, were fit for nothing but to be placed in the rear of the army, that they might not impede its operations in a decisive moment.—Meanwhile Gen. Mortier had sent back the deputies with conditions so hard that they did not consider themselves authorised to accept them, adding, that he would not stop his march, and that if the least resistance were made, or the Weser were once passed, he should not consider himself bound by those offers. In fact, the advanced part of the French army, appeared in the afternoon of the 12th, at about the distance of one mile from Nienburg, and refusing to halt, attacked the Hanoverian advanced posts, but were repulsed. The French lost, according to their own account, thirty men, and then halted. The Hanoverians had one killed, and five wounded, which were carried off. At the moment when the report of this affair

reached Nienburg, his Royal Highness received a dispatch from the regency of Hanover, in which they begged of him to return immediately. He instantly set out, and about half-way met the deputies, who were returning to the French head quarters, to conclude a convention, undoubtedly upon terms rather more moderate than those which had been offered, but by which the troops were bound not to serve against France or her allies during the present war, unless they were exchanged. Imperious necessity dictated this resolution; but the Duke could neither take part generally, in such a convention, nor submit to this engagement, and he had previously declared it. The moment was arrived in which he had promised, with the consent of the King, not to abandon the army and the country which adored him, and for which he had shewn so generous an attachment. This was the moment in which he could be of no use to them. There then remained no other part for him to take than to give in his resignation, and immediately to depart, which he did on the 3d of June, the same day on which the convention was signed at the French head-quarters. It is upon these details, which are scrupulously exact, that the impartial reader may rest his judgment; and it may be boldly affirmed that all which is contrary to them, is, also, contrary to the truth.

London, July 1st, 1803.

MANIFESTO OF THE IRISH REBELS.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

You are now called on to shew to the world that you are competent to take your place among nations, that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you, as an independent country, by the only sasisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence, your wresting it from England with your own hands.—In the devolopement of this system, which has been organized within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance; which has been conducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience; which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated; in the developement of this system you will shew to the people of England, that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or to repress; you will shew to them, that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count on its obedience; under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will shew to them, that the question which it now behoves them to take into serious and instant consideration, is not whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will drive us beyond separation; whether they will by a sanguinary resistance create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they will take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds, a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and unalterable determination. — If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted, shall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence which was once lost, by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undetermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be the signal of insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution, and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.—In calling on our countrymen to come forward we feel ourselves bound, at the same time, to justify our claim to their confidence, by a precise declaration of our own views. We therefore solemnly declare, that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland: that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives: that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our post, until the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England; and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration which we call on the people of Ireland to support. And we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralized by the want of intelligence, to shew that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost, by its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ire-

land where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the North to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression. —*Men of Leinster.*—Stand to your arms. To the courage which you have already displayed, is your country indebted for the confidence which it now feels in its own strength, and for the dismay with which our enemies will be overwhelmed when they shall find this effort to be universal. But, men of Leinster, you owe more to your country than the having animated it by your past example; you owe more to your own courage than the having obtained by it a protection. If six years ago, when you rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against you alone than are now in the country at large, you were able to remain for six weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what will you not now effect with that capital, and every other part of Ireland, ready to support you? But it is not on this head that we have need to address you. No! we now speak to you, and through you to the rest of Ireland, on a subject dear to us, even as the success of our country; its honour. You are accused by your enemies of having violated that honour: excesses which they themselves had, in their fullest extent, provoked, but which they have grossly exaggerated, have been attributed to you. The opportunity of vindicating yourselves by actions is now, for the first time, before you; and we call upon you to give the lie to such assertions, by carefully avoiding every appearance of plunder, intoxication, or revenge, recollecting that you lost Ireland before, not from want of courage, but from not having that courage rightly directed by discipline. But we trust that your past sufferings have taught you experience, and that you will respect the declaration which we now make, and which we are determined by every means in our power to enforce.—The nation alone possesses the right of punishing individuals, and whosoever shall put another person to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the provisional government of Ireland is to claim from the English government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and, for this purpose, it will retain as hostages, for their safe return, such adherents of that government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect those hostages, and to recollect, that in spilling their blood they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies.—The intention of the provisional government is to resign its functions, as soon as the nation shall have chosen its delegates; but in the mean-time it is determined to enforce the regulations hereunto subjoined; it in consequence takes the property of the country under its protection, and will punish, with the utmost rigour, any person who shall violate that property, and thereby injure the present resources and the future prosperity of Ireland.—Whoever refuses to march to whatever part of the country he is ordered, is guilty of disobedience to the government, which alone is competent to decide in what place his services are necessary, and which desires him to recollect, that in whatever part of Ireland he is fighting, he is still fighting for its freedom.—Whoever presumes, by acts or otherwise, to give countenance to the calumny propagated by our enemies, that this is a religious contest, is guilty of the grievous crime of belying the motives of his country. Religious disqualification is but one of the many grievances of which Ireland has to complain. Our intention is to remove not that only, but every other oppression under which we labour. We fight, that all of us may have our country, and that done, each of us shall have his religion. —We are aware of the apprehensions which you have expressed, that in quitting your own counties you leave your wives and children in the hands of your enemies; but on this head have no uneasiness. If there are still men base enough to persecute those who are unable to resist, shew them by our victories that we have the power to punish, and by your obedience, that we have the power to protect; and we pledge ourselves to you that these men shall be made to feel, that the safety of every thing they hold dear depends on the conduct they observe to you. Go forth then with confidence, conquer the foreign enemies of your country, and leave to us the care of preserving its internal tranquillity; recollect that not only the victory, but also the honour of your country is placed in your hands; give up your private resentments, and shew to the world that the Irish are not only a brave, but also a generous and forgiving people.—*Men of Munster and Connaught.*—You have your instructions, we trust that you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you, your own strength is unbroken; five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance: we now call upon you to shew what you then declared you only wanted, the opportunity of proving that you possess the

same love of liberty and the same courage with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.—We now turn to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices we had rather overcome by a frank declaration of our intentions, than conquer their persons in the field; and in making this declaration do not wish to dwell on events, which, however they may bring ten-fold odium on their authors, must still tend to keep alive in the minds, both of the instruments and victims of them, a spirit of animosity which it is our wish to destroy. We will therefore enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppression which Ireland has laboured under during its connexion with England, but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement, that during six hundred years she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during the time, five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to resort to a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connexion by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriously bribed, and not representing the will of the people; that in her vindication of this measure she has herself given the justification of the views of the United Irishmen, by declaring in the words of her ministers—"That Ireland never had, and never could enjoy, under the then circumstances, the benefits of British connexion; that it necessarily must happen when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by those of the greater *. That England had supported and encouraged the English colonists in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland: that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that in which it was found six centuries before †."—Now to what cause are these things to be attributed? Did the curse of the Almighty keep alive a spirit of obstinacy in the minds of the Irish people for six hundred years? Did the doctrines of the French revolution produce five rebellions? Could the misrepresentations of ambitious and designing men drive from the mind of a whole people the recollection of defeat, and raise the infant from the cradle, with the same feelings with which his father sunk into the grave? Will this gross avowal which our enemies have made of their own views, remove none of the calumny that has been thrown upon ours? Will none of the credit, which has been lavished on them, be transferred to the solemn declaration which we now make in the face of God and our country?——We war not against property; we war against no religious sect; we war not against past opinions or prejudices; we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men, who, not because they have supported the government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of a government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free quarters, rape, and murder by the side of the sufferer, or their relations; but in the frankness with which we warn these men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have passed this boundary of mediation, count on their safety.——We had hoped for the sake of our enemies, to have taken them by surprise, and to have committed the cause of our country before they could have time to commit themselves against it; but though we have not altogether been able to succeed, we are yet rejoiced to find, that they have not come forward with promptitude on the side of those who have deceived them: and we now call on them, before it is yet too late, not to commit themselves further against a people whom they are unable to resist, and in support of a government, which, by their own declaration, has forfeited its claim to their allegiance.——To that government, in whose hands, though not the issue, at least the features with which the present contest is to be marked, are placed, we now turn. How is it to be decided? Is open and honourable force alone to be resorted to; or is it your intention to employ those laws which custom has placed in your hands, and to force us to employ the law of retaliation in our defence?——Of the inefficacy of a system of terror, in preventing the people of Ireland from coming forward to assert their freedom, you have already had experience. Of the effect which such a system will have on our minds in case of success, we have already forwarned you. We now address to you another consideration: if, in

* Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

† Considerations on the State of Affairs in Ireland, by Lord Auckland.

the question which is now to receive a solemn, and we trust a final decision; if we have been deceived, reflection would point out that conduct should be resorted to, which was the best calculated to produce conviction on our minds. What would that conduct be? It would be to shew us, that the difference of strength between the two countries is such, as to render it unnecessary for you to bring out all your force; to shew to us that you have something in reserve wherewith to crush hereafter, not only a greater exertion on the part of the people, but a greater exertion, rendered still greater by foreign assistance; it would be to shew to us, that what we have vainly supposed to be a prosperity growing beyond your grasp, is only a partial exuberance, requiring but the pressure of your hand to reduce it into form. But for your own sake, do not resort to a system which, while it increased the acrimony of our minds, would leave us under the melancholy delusion that we had been forced to yield, not to the sound and temperate exertions of superior strength, but to the frantic struggles of weakness, concealing itself under desperation. Consider also, that the distinction of rebel and enemy is of a very fluctuating nature; that during the course of your own experience, you have already been obliged to lay it aside; that should you be forced to abandon it towards Ireland, you cannot hope to do so as tranquilly as you have done towards America; for in the exasperated state to which you have raised the minds of the Irish people: a people whom you profess to have left in a state of barbarism and ignorance, with what confidence can you say to that people, "while the advantage of cruelty lay upon our side, we slaughtered you without mercy, but the measure of our own blood is beginning to preponderate; it is no longer our interest that this bloody system should continue, shew us then that forbearance which we never taught you by precept or example; lay aside your resentment: give quarter to us; and let us mutually forget, that we never gave quarter to you."—Cease then, we intreat you, uselessly to violate humanity, by resorting to a system inefficacious as an instrument of terror; inefficacious as a mode of defence; inefficacious as a mode of conviction; ruinous to the future relations of the two countries in case of our success; and destructive of those instruments of defence which you will then find it doubly necessary to have preserved unimpaired. But if your determination be otherwise, hear ours. We will not imitate you in cruelty; we will put no man to death in cold blood; the prisoners which fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate: but if the life of a single Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be issued to the Irish army are; neither to give or take quarter.—Countrymen, if a cruel necessity forces us to retaliate, we will bury our resentment in the field of battle; if we were to fall, we will fall where we fight for our country. Fully impressed with this determination, of the necessity of adhering to which past experience has but too fatally convinced us; fully impressed with the justice of our cause, which we now put to issue, we make our last and solemn appeal to the sword and to Heaven; and as the cause of Ireland deserves to prosper, may God give it victory.

CITIZENS OF DUBLIN,

A band of patriots mindful of their oaths, and faithful to their engagements as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English oppression.—In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal co-operation from the country, every part of which, from the extremity of the north to that of the south, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause. Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented to many of you notice of our plan, but the erection of our national standard, the secret, though long degraded *Green*, will be found sufficient call to arms, and rally round it, every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism, or sense of duty; avail yourselves of your local advantages; in a city, each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery; impede the march of your oppressors, charge them with the arms of the brave, the pike; and from your windows and roofs, hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient implements, on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant, the mercenary, the sanguinary soldiery of England.—Orangemen, add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its ******; attempt not an opposition which will carry with it your inevitable destruction; return from the paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.—Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert; all sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, are equally and indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our objects;

repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember that during public agitation, inaction becomes a crime; be no other competition known than that of doing good; remember against whom you fight, your oppressors for six hundred years; remember their massacres, their tortures, remember your murdered friends, your burned houses, your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom we are now giving her high rank among nations; and in the honest terror of feeling, let us all exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that which will be last of all!

Conformably to the above Proclamation, the Provisional Government of Ireland decree as follows:

1. From the date and promulgation hereof, tythes are for ever abolished, and church lands are the property of the nation.—2. From the same date, all transfers of landed property are prohibited, each person holding what he now possesses, on paying his rent until the national government is established, the national will declared, and the courts of justice organized.—3. From the same date, all transfers of bonds, debentures, and all public securities, are in like manner and form forbidden, and declared void, for the same time, and for the same reasons.—4. The Irish generals commanding districts shall seize such of the partisans of England as may serve for hostages, and shall apprise the English commander opposed to them, that a strict retaliation shall take place, if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committed by the troops under his command, or by the partisans of England in the district which he occupies.—5. That the Irish generals are to treat (except where retaliation makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hands, or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who shall have acted conformably to the laws of war, as prisoners of war; but all Irish militia, yeoman, or volunteer corps, or bodies of Irish, or individuals, who, fourteen days from the promulgation and date hereof, shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated.—6. The generals are to assemble court-martials, who are to be sworn to administer justice: who are not to condemn without sufficient evidence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instantly for trial.—7. No man is to suffer death by their sentence, except for mutiny; the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death, shall not be put in execution until the Provisional Government declares its will; nor are court-martials on any pretext to sentence, nor is any officer to suffer the punishment of flogging, or any species of torture to be inflicted.—8. The generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to send offenders immediately before court-martials; and are enjoined to chace away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves by being drunk in presence of the enemy.—9. The generals are to apprise their respective armies, that all military stores, arms, or ammunition, belonging to the English government, be the property of the captors, and the value is to be divided equally, without respect of rank, between them, except that the widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of such as gloriously fall in the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.—10. As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property, in ships or otherwise, is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them is forbidden, and declared void, in like manner as is expressed in No. 2 and 3.—11. The generals of the different districts are hereby empowered to confer rank up to colonels inclusive, on such as they conceive to merit it from the nation, but are not to make more colonels than one for every 1500 men, nor less than one for every 1000 men.—12. The generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom-houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county-treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The generals shall pass receipts for the amount and account to the provisional government for the expenditure.—13. When the people elect their officers up to the colonels, the general is bound to confirm it. No officer can be broke but by sentence of a court-martial.—14. The generals shall correspond with the provisional government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.—15. The generals commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the county committee, who shall be elected conformably to the constitution of United Irishmen. All the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made in writing by the generals to the committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass their receipts for each

article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.—16. The county committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county; for which purpose the county committee are to appoint a high-sheriff, and one or more sub-sheriffs to execute their orders; a sufficient number of justices of the peace for the county, a high and a sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by these magistrates.—17. The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided conformably to the boundaries for raising the militia, into the counties of North and South Cork, for each of which a county constable, high sheriff, and all the magistrates above directed are to be appointed.—18. The county committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as it shall appear, on sufficient evidence, have perpetrated murder, torture, or other breaches of the acknowledged laws of war and morality on the people, to the end that they may be tried for those offences, so soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.—19. The county committee shall cause the sheriff or his officers to seize on all the personal and real property of such persons, to put seals on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of the proprietors.—20. The county committee shall act in like manner, with all state and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.—21. The county committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and shall give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the provisional government an exact account of their value, extent and amount, and receive the directions of the provisional government thereon.—22. They shall appoint some proper house in the counties where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the county committee shall assemble; they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transferred, arranged, and kept, and the orders of government are there to be transmitted and received.—23. The county committee is hereby empowered to pay out of these effects, or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriff, justices and other magistrates whom they shall appoint.—24. They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by the members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of government.—25. The county committee shall correspond with government on all the subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the general of the district such information as they may conceive useful to the public.—26. The county committee shall take care that the state prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them a sufficient support, to the end that all the world may know, that the Irish nation is not actuated by the spirit of revenge, but of justice.—27. The provisional government wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of the United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin, to whom, the moment they assemble, the provisional government will resign its functions; and without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg to suggest, that for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.—28. The number of representatives being arbitrary, the provisional government have adopted that of the late House of Commons, three hundred, and according to the best return of the population of the cities and counties, the following numbers are to be returned from each: Antrim 13, Armagh 9, Belfast town 1, Carlow 3, Cavan 7, Clare 8, Cork county North 14, Cork county South 14, Cork city 6, Donegal 10, Down 16, Drogheda 1, Dublin county 4, Dublin city 14, Fermanagh 5, Galway 10, Kerry 9, Kildare 4, Kilkenny 7, King's county 6, Leitrim 5, Limerick county 10, Limerick city 3, Londonderry 9, Longford 4, Louth 4, Mayo 12, Meath 9, Monaghan 9, Queen's county 6, Roscommon 8, Sligo 6, Tipperary 13, Tyrone 14, Waterford county 6, Waterford city 2, Westmeath 5, Wexford 9, Wicklow 5.—29. In the cities the same sort of regulations as in the counties shall be adopted; the city committee shall appoint one or more sheriffs as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and corporation properties in their jurisdiction in like manner as is directed for counties.—30. The provisional government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers, civil and military, and the whole of the nation, to cause the laws of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy, by which alone liberty can be established, and the blessings of divine Providence secured.

TRIALS FOR HIGH TREASON IN IRELAND.

On the 24th of August, 1803, the special commission, consisting of Judges Downes, Finucane, Daly, Norbury, and George, was opened at Dublin, for the trial of persons charged with high treason.—Judge Downes delivered an excellent charge, of which, in compliance with the unanimous request of both grand juries, the court will permit a publication. In discriminating between special commissions and the ordinary ones of oyer and terminer, his lordship observed, that with respect to the line of duty which grand juries were to pursue, there existed no difference; and, as he recognized most of the gentlemen whom he then addressed, as composing former grand juries on the usual commissions, he would think it superfluous to offer any observations to them, in the way of instructions, did not charges of offences of a most uncommon and atrocious nature, where the public peace was violently disturbed, and the laws trampled upon, as in the late insurrection, stained with so many flagitious and unprecedented crimes, call upon him to mark transactions of that description with the utmost and most indignant reprobation. Yet, in the midst of all the commotion which massacre and rebellion might justly have excited, perhaps the moderation of the government of the country, in waiting till the public mind should be composed, and the dispositions of our loyal fellow citizens tranquillized, before they would proceed to the necessary judicial measures, would, in itself, constitute a perfect eulogium on the constitution, which those deluded and unhappy beings would alter for anarchy, bloodshed, and insubordination, on the model struck out by the French, who falsely denominate their government a republic. There lay on the bench documents which gave him room to suppose, that the grand juries must necessarily transmit indictments grounded on charges of high treason, against numbers of persons apprehended in the commission of crimes which bear that construction. This, however, was a species of offence unknown in this country until the period of the last rebellion, when that rapid progress we were making to the attainment of the most complete success in arts, in manufactures, in commerce, in short, the wide extending system of national prosperity, beyond any other nation in Europe, was arrested by the wicked interposition of those infatuated innovators, who, in suggesting fancied schemes of political reformation, had nothing less in view than the utter and total abolition of every vestage of law, government, tranquillity, and good order. After the government which presided at the last rebellion had tried the several expedients of lenity and firmness in their exertions to put down insurrection, and prevent those calamities which invariably ensue from it, an act of general pardon was granted, of which many culpable persons had availed themselves; and from a thorough conviction of the delusion practised on them, and from observations of the baneful effects resulting from their conduct, were now, perhaps, ready to give effective aid to the government in restoring tranquillity: but it still would appear from certain informations laid before them, that there still were persons who obtained his Majesty's mercy, capable of exciting a furious multitude to acts of outrage; it would, therefore, be a fit subject for the consideration of the juries, to mark whether any, and which of the prisoners came within this description.—Here his lordship entered into a learned but clear investigation of the act of 25 Edw. III. constituting high treason; it contained three material clauses: the first, compassing or imagining the death of the King: the second, levying war against the King within his realm: and the third, adhering to the King's enemies; these several offences were to be proved by a certain species of evidence called overt acts, on the nature, circumstance, and effects of which his lordship very fully expatiated. In allusion to the sad catastrophe of that exalted character, Lord Kilwarden, whose memory, he said, must long remain dear to every good heart in the country, and whose veneration for the laws in the practice of a long and unsullied life, had been further illustrated in his last moments; [*here those struggles which decorum, in that situation, would excite to suppress sensibility, gave way; tears flowed, and excited an equal sympathy among a crowded auditory.*] Lamentable, however, as that event was, his lordship observed, it afforded some consolation, when we reflect that it called forth the energies and the effective strength of the country, which were daily exhibiting themselves in matchless numbers of loyal subjects, rallying round the standard of government, to support their exertions in re-establishing good order. He exhorted the magistracy of the country, however, not to permit any sentiment of confidence they may entertain as to the efficacy of those measures which government either have or may hereafter adopt, to relax the vigour of their own endeavours, in detecting delinquents of all descriptions, having a view to the subversion of our constitution, and with that the

seizing of property, the destruction of life, and the disorganization of every principle and system on which peace and good order, in a civilized community, ever depend. He recommended to the grand juries a cool and dispassionate progress of inquiry into the nature of the charges which should come before them, and not to permit any heat of temper or indignant feelings, ensuing from a recurrence to those calamities which the public mind has recently witnessed and been affected by, to supersede a duty paramount to all others, that of temperate and impartial investigation.

The following prisoners were then brought up. Felix Rourke, Thomas Donelly, John Killeen, John M'Kenny, James Byrne, Walter Clare, Lau. Begley, alias Bayley, Nich. Farrell, Mich. Kelly, Martin Burke, Edward Kearney, T. Maxwell Roche, John Begg, Pat. Maguire, J. Doran, Owen Kirwan. On the 31st, Edward Kearney was tried. The evidence against him proved him to have been one of the leaders of the mob in Thomas Street, on the night of the 23d of July, and to have aided in the assassination of Lord Kilwarden. It was stated in his defence, that he was a poor and industrious hawker of skins, who had, that evening, been pressed into the service of the insurgents: some evidence was also brought to prove an *alibi* for him, and to give him a good character: he was, however, found guilty.——On the 1st of September, Thomas Maxwell Roche was tried. The evidence against him was, that on the night of the 23d, he was apprehended, among the mob in Thomas Street, armed with a pike. It was alleged in his defence that the pike was forced upon him by the insurgents, contrary to his will: some evidence was also brought as to his general character, which was that of an industrious slater: he was found guilty.——Owen Kirwan was tried on the same day. It was proved that, on the night of the 23d, after having frequently gone out and returned to his own house with something in a green bag, he went into his shop, where he put on a green coat, and armed himself with a pike, saying, "the "town will be our's to-night," and "any "man who does not turn out to-night, will "surely be put to death to-morrow;" that he then went into Thomas Street, with a party who were armed with pikes, and that another party armed with pikes, afterwards went to his house and were treated with drink. In his defence it was stated, that he was an honest and sober silk-weaver, and that he was in bed, at the time when the circumstances above-mentioned were said to have happened: he was found guilty.——On the 2d, James Byrne was tried. He was taken by the soldiers on the night of the 23d, in Thomas Street, with a pike on his shoulder. Evidence was brought to his character, who stated him to have been long known as a sober and industrious baker, who had just arrived in town and taken a house, where he intended to carry on his business; it was also proved, that until past ten o'clock on the above-mentioned night, he was with some of his friends, who were in nowise implicated in the insurrection: he was found guilty.——On the 3d, John Begg was tried. The evidence against him was, that on the night of the 23d, he was seen armed with a pike, near a wooden machine constructed for the purpose of annoying cavalry, which stood in the street near the grand depôt; that on the appearance of some soldiers he threw down his pike and ran off, and that he was afterwards found hiding himself in a large heap of timber, in a timber yard at no great distance. In his defence it was stated that he was an industrious carpenter, who was returning from his work on Saturday night, the night of the insurrection, after receiving his wages; that he lived in the neighbourhood of the place where the insurrection took place; that he had been at his tailor's in the same neighbourhood, for a pair of breeches, and on his return was siezed by the rebels and forced into their ranks: he was found guilty, but was recommended to mercy on account of the favourable character given of him.——On the 6th Felix Rourke was tried. The evidence against him was, that on the night of the 23d, he, accompanied by another, stopped the two witnesses, and putting a blunderbuss to their breasts, swore that if they did not immediately go with him he would blow out their brains; that the witnesses accordingly went with them to the street where the insurgents were assembled, and where Rourke appeared to hold a command, frequently calling out to them to do their duty, that Lord Kilwarden was murdered at the same time, and that the horse of a dragoon was shot from under him by Rourke, and the dragoon himself piked by his men. One of the witnesses swore positively as to the identity of Rourke, the other said that from a violent fit of the falling sickness, to which he was subject, coming on at that time, he was unable to tell whether the prisoner was the same person who had presented the blunderbuss, &c. On the part of Rourke seven witnesses appeared to swear an *alibi*, the substance of their evidence was, that on the night of in-

surrection he left his brother's house in Thomas street, after eight o'clock, to go to his father's near Rathcool, and that he went part of the way with one of his brothers. There was some inconsistency in the evidence given to prove this. Rourke afterwards addressed the court and jury, from notes, asserting the undeviating truth advanced by his witnesses, and attributing the apparent inconsistency in their respective depositions to the awkwardness and agitation incident to persons of plain manners but honest hearts, in an awful situation before a court, a scene to which they were never accustomed: he returned thanks to the court and jury for the impartial investigation of the evidence by the one, and the patient attention of the other, and relied on a verdict influenced alone by a rigid sense of justice. He was found guilty.——On the 7th, John Killan and John M'Cann, alias M'Kennan, who accompanied Rourke were tried. The witnesses were the same as those who appeared against Rourke, and who now swore that Killan piked a man in Dirty Lane on the night of the 23d, that M'Cann had fired a long pistol at another man in the same place. It now came out that Rourke had been seen to kill a watchman. An attempt was made in defence of the prisoner to prove an *alibi*: the jury, however, brought them in guilty.—On the 8th Joseph Doran was tried. The principal witness against him was a boy, not 13 years of age, who swore that he saw him about ten o'clock or so, on the evening of the 23d July, march with twenty others through a narrow lane in which the witness lived, with two pikes on his shoulder. The defence was an *alibi*; but an inconsistency was evident between the principal witness's examination and the information sworn by him before a magistrate; in consequence of which representation the jury, without hesitation, brought in a verdict of acquittal. The court, after a very proper exhortation to the prisoner, ordered him immediately to be discharged.—— On the 9th Thomas Donely, Nicholas Farrell, alias Tyrrell, Laurence Begly, alias Bayly, and Michael Kelly were tried. The evidence against them proved them to have been apprehended on the night of the 23d. in the neighbourhood of Thomas-street, armed with pikes. It was alleged in their defence that they were men of very good and peaceable characters, who had been forced into the service of the insurgents. They were found guilty.——On the 12th, John Hayes was tried. The principal witnesses against him were those who had appeared against Rourke: they swore that on the night of the 23d he had piked the dragoon whose horse Rourke had shot. An attempt was, in behalf of the prisoner, to prove an *alibi*; but he was brought in guilty.—On the 13th, John M'Dermot was tried and found guilty on the same train of evidence, as that which was adduced against Hayes.—On the 19th, Robert Emmett was tried, under the statute of Edward III. 1st, for compassing and imagining the death of the King; 2d, for adhering to the King's enemies; and 3d, for levying war against the King.

The Attorney General occupied near two hours in stating the case for the Crown. He took a retrospective view of the public calamities incident to the spirit of insurrection which has hitherto pervaded the minds of the common people of this country, their weak susceptibility to the artifices of the incendiaries in whose hands they unfortunately have been hitherto found very pliable tools, as well as the wantonness and absurdity of their revolutionary experiments, while they do not even make a pretext of immediate or personal grievances, but in order to affect some species of consistency, must ransack antiquity, and resort to the imaginary evils which had afflicted their ancestors at so remote a period as six hundred years ago. The prisoner at the bar, would appear by substantial evidence, together with a variety of corroborating circumstances, to have been the prime source, origin, and spirit of the recent insurrection in this city, so enormously wicked in the conception, but so truly contemptible and puerile both in the plan and execution. For some time previous to the Christmas of 1802, the prisoner had been out of this country, and during his absence had made a continental tour of considerable extent, embracing France in his progress. On the prisoner's arrival in this country in December last, he took up his residence at the house of a Mrs. Palmer, near Harold's-cross, the indentical house wherein he was apprehended by Major Sirr. To his hostess and her family he assumed the name of Hewitt, and remained there until a short time previous to his having take a lease of the malt-stores, near Marshall-alley, in which the principal depôt of pikes, arms and ammunition, had been fortunately explored, on the night of the 23d of July. The lease of this place was taken about the 24th of March last, and possession ensued; certain other repositories for pikes and various traitorous implements of destruction, had been also fixed on and taken in other parts of the city. He went to a place near Rathfarnham, called Butterfield-lane, bargained in the name of Robert Ellis,

which for this occasion he adopted, for a house there, for which he gave sixty guineas fine. When the lease was ready to be executed, a Mr. Tyrrell, who was employed as agent in the transaction, went thither, where he saw the prisoner at the bar. A Mr. Frayne, one of the executors to a deceased person in George's street, whose property the house and concerns were, was the man authorised to make the lease to the supposed Mr. Ellis, who had taken up his residence in the house on paying the fine, and remained there for some weeks before the lease was perfected. Mr. Tyrrell, the agent, on being introduced to the parties, recognized Mr. William Dowdall, who attended to witness the lease, and who thought proper, on recollecting that Mr Tyrrell must have known him, to lay aside a fictitious name he had assumed, and signed his real name as witness to the lease. Mr. Tyrrell, combining a variety of odd circumstances together, communicated suspicions to Mr. Frayne, that these parties were not there for a good purpose, and hinting the probability that they had some treasonable projects or conspiracies in view. Mr. Frayne assented to certain suspicious appearances, which did not escape his own observation, such as the prisoner having resided in the house without furniture, not even a bed, having nothing better to sleep on than a palliass. He also mentioned other circumstances of suspicion, such as being visited by different persons, who always conferred in secret with him, but never more than one attending at any one time. The first idea, however, that suggested itself to Mr. Frayne was, that these persons were merely coiners of base silver, not coiners of political constitutions. Among the persons most frequent in their visits to this house in Butterfield-lane, were a Mr. Natt, a Mr. Quigley, once an eminent bricklayer, and Mr. Dowdall. The first, under circumstances of marked suspicion of having taken an active part in the rebellion in 1798, was still permitted to remain unmolested in the country. Quigley had been apprehended, but afterwards discharged, for alleged connexions with the traitors of the same period; and Mr. Dowdall, once Secretary to the Whig Club, having, with others, been committed to Fort George, had a particular indulgence extended to him, by permitting his residence in this country, on his discharge from confinement in Scotland, after the conclusion of the last peace. It would be found that about the latter end of June, or beginning of July last, the prisoner at the bar did change his temporary abode, and made arrangements on a very large scale, at the depôt of pikes, in the malt-stores alluded to. Here was he frequently found inspecting the fabrication of pikes, the casting of bullets, the making of cartridges, in short, he was indefatigably employed, with very little intermission, in offices of this description; but at intervals was equally busy writing at a desk, which was afterwards found in this depôt. At night he reposed, if repose he could take, on a palliass in the same receptacle of treason and traitorous implements, and from these preparatory occupations he might be traced to leading his miserable train of impotent insurgents, on the night of the 23d of July, dressed in a pompous uniform, that of a field officer, while assuming the rank of a general. Mr. Dowdall, who, it would appear, had been also in uniform on that night, acted as his lieutenant-general, as did others in subordinate situations of confidence and alertness about the person of their ringleader, whom it might not as yet be altogether expedient to name. Among the papers printed and otherwise found in the depôt, was the principal part of a manuscript, indicating from certain marks and interlineations, that it was the original manifesto from whence at least a fair copy might be taken, for printing upwards of seven thousand of the proclamation entitled the provisional government, so often resorted to in proof during the preceding trials. From this strong circumstance, no doubt can scarce be entertained that the prisoner at the bar was the author of this new fangled scheme of government, which, had he, in the darkness of the night, but called on his God to dispel the gloom and perturbation of a tortured and agitated mind, that God, who presides over states and kingdoms, would not permit him to entertain the wicked but futile notion of shaking that throne whereon a monarch sits, whose religious humility and moral conduct exhibit a brilliant example not only for the uniform imitation of his own subjects throughout his vast realms, but for all the civilized world beside. Another proclamation, upon a more limited scale, not hitherto produced in court, was also found, entitled, The provisional government to the inhabitants of Dublin. By the contents of this composition, the intimate connexion between the actors in the last rebellion and this would be conspicuous, it being almost literally a copy of one of the papers planning the attack on the Castle of Dublin, which were examined before a committee of the Irish House of commons. It strenuously recommended the active use of brick-bats, stones, and various destructive missiles, from the tops of houses and other

eminent situations, against his Majesty's forces, or all those loyal subjects who might be induced to join them to repel so abominable a treason. But among the papers found at the same place was one which marked most extraordinary characteristics in the prisoner's mind, wound up as it was to that extreme pitch of warmth and excess which enthusiasts alone can feel. This paper was read. Its leading passage intimated, that the writer possessed "a *sanguine* mind, capable of repelling the intrusions of reflection; that if success was not to attend his enterprize, and that a precipice opened beneath his feet, while he stood on the brink, that sanguine principle of mind would precipitate his fall at all hazards, rather than permit him to pause or to recoil." He observed, that mind must indeed be truly enthusiastic which could describe enthusiasm so well; but was it for the wretched peasant, whose happiness must necessarily be concentred within the narrow limits of mere domestic duties, arising from the moderate and patient exercise of his laborious functions, to affect to elevate his mind to extravagancies of this description or to flights so eccentric? Having traced the progress of the prisoner on the night of insurrection, from the depôt where he put on his uniform, and took the command, until his party of pike-men were routed and dispersed in Thomas-street, no connected view of his subsequent proceedings could be had until he took refuge at the house of a Mrs. Doyle, in the Wicklow mountains, and from thence Mr. Dowdall and he made a sally through the country, accompanied by a band of their defeated confederates, armed with blunderbusses, to the number in all of thirteen. Dowdall and the prisoner shortly after separated; the latter, as he was before, became a wretched fugitive, without aim, object, or avocation. The prisoner at the bar made his way to the house of Mrs. Palmer, at Harold's cross, where he first took up his abode under the feigned name of Hewitt; when he arrived there, he retained some remnants of the former uniform, such as Hessian boots, military waistcoat, breeches and stock. The green military coat he put off, and substituted a brown frock; here the prisoner remained for near a month, lying in an obscure house, in a wretched apartment, on a settlebed; he spoke of the misfortunes of his expedition somewhat ambiguously to Mrs. Palmer, and of the taking of his depôt of pikes, as if it had been the arsenal of a great general. He was at length traced to this asylum through the vigilance and indefatigable activity of Major Sirr, who procured admittance by getting a peasant to give a single rap at the door, in the opening of which the major rushed in, and not immediately knowing the prisoner, the first object whom he saw, he interrogated him who he was, to which the prisoner replied, that his name was Cunningham, and had come from a friend's house in the country that morning, but did not mean to stay long. On conversation with Mrs. Palmer, however, she lead him into the real state, as she conceived, of the prisoner's acquaintance with her family and his residence among them. Among the papers found with the prisoner here, was a second manuscript kind of manifesto, addressed to the government of the country, deprecating trial by court martial for any of the apprehended rebels, lamenting the fate of the persons who were apprehended, tried, and hanged at the commission, and threatening a retaliation by the provisional government, on such of the yeomanry and militia as should hereafter fall into their hands. When Major Sirr first apprehended the prisoner, he committed him to the care of a constable who attended him, from whom he attempted an escape, but was retaken and better secured. On major Sirr apologizing to him for the necessity of using harsher methods than he would wish in the act of apprehending and detaining him, the prisoner, with much complaisance replied, "*all was fair in war.*" In the excursion of the prisoner, accompanied by Dowdall, dressed in their full regimentals, to the county of Wicklow, they both passed themselves as French officers, emissaries of Buonaparté, who, they said, meditated a landing in this kingdom. They spoke a jargon of French, mixed with broken English to the peasantry, while endeavouring to make proselytes of them to the French cause; which cause, however, in a correspondence with some others of the incendiaires, which major Sirr traced among the prisoner's papers, was expressed an opinion, that they might do better without a French connexion, exemplifying a fact, as Mr. Attorney General observed, that however enthusiastic the republican agitators in this country might be, still French plunder, French murders, and French rapacity over all the nations, where, with these principles, the French soldiery had travelled, were too obvious to allow those who have even sought their alliance, to wish for any thing resembling permanent fraternity.—The evidence which was called established the facts related by the Attorney General,

and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. Before sentence was pronounced Mr. Emmett, being called upon to know whether he had any thing to say, addressd the court and jury nearly as follows.—"I am asked if I have any thing to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon me. Was I to suffer only death, after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence, but a man in my situation has not only to combat with the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice; the sentence of the law, which delivers over his body to the executioner, consigns his character to obloquy. The man dies, but his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I use this occasion to vindicate myself from some of the charges advanced against me. I am charged with being an emissary of France; it is false! I am no emissary; I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all, to France. No! never did I entertain the idea of establishing French power in Ireland: God forbid! On the contrary, it is evident from the introductory paragraph of the address of the provisional government, that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French army into the country—small would be our claims to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to encourage the profanation of our shores by a people who are slaves themselves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. If such an inference be drawn from any part of the proclamation of the provisional government, it calumniates their views, and is not warranted by the fact. How could they speak of freedom to their countrymen? How assume such an exalted motive, and meditate the introduction of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe? Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No! Let not, then, any man attaint my memory by believing, that I could have hoped freedom through the aid of France, and betrayed the sacred cause of liberty by committing it to the power of her most determined foe; had I done so, I had not deserved to live, and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would have given freedom. Had I been in Swisserland, I would have fought against the French. In the dignity of freedom I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only by passing over my lifeless corpse. Is it, then, to be supposed, that I would be slow to make the same sacrifice to my native land? Am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bondage of the grave to give her independence—am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of France? My lords, it may be part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to meet the ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the scaffold's shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the imputation of having been the agent of French despotism and ambition? and while I have breath I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and their happiness. Though you, my lord, sit there a judge, and I stand here a culprit, yet you are but a man, and I am another; I have a right, therefore, to vindicate my character and motives from the aspersions of calumny; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in rescuing my name and my memory from the afflicting imputation of having been an emissary of France, or seeking her interference in the internal regulations of her affairs. Did I live to see a French army approach this country, I would meet it on the shore, with a torch in one hand, and a sword in the other: I would receive them with all the destruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats, and before our native soil should be polluted by a foreign foe. If they succeeded in landing, I would burn every blade of grass before them; raze every house; contend to the last for every inch of ground, and the last spot in which the hope of freedom should desert me, that spot I would make my grave! What I cannot do, I leave a legacy to my country, because I feel conscious that my death were unprofitable, and all hope of liberty extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land.—After some further matter he concluded thus—My lamp of life is nearly expired; my race is finished; the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request then, at departing from the world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dare vindicate them; let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain undescribed, till other times and other men can do jus-

tice to my character.——On the 23d, Hugh Porter was tried and convicted at Carrickfergus, on the clearest evidence of summoning the people of Carmoney to assemble on the 23d of July; of going to Broughshone camp, as he called it; of returning on the 27th, and again threatening the neighbours if they would not aid in the insurrection. ——On the 27th, Howley, who had hired the depôt for the rebel arms and ammunition, and who shot Harlow, the keeper of the Tower, was tried and convicted.——On the 1st of October, John M'Intosh was tried. It appeared, that he was a carpenter by trade, had rented the house in Patrick Street, where the explosion of gunpowder took place on the Saturday previous to the insurrection. On that occasion he would not accept of the assistance of his neighbours, but locked up the place, telling a man living next door to him, that the explosion was in consequence of an experiment tried by silk dyers. A peace officer went to the house the following evening, and ascertained the explosion to have been that of gunpowder; a parcel of which he found in an unfinished state, and some saltpetre. He also found in a chest about fifty fresh cast musquet balls, a volume of Volney's Ruins of Empires; and in the house were about two hundred pike handles, shorter than those with which he had afterwards become more familiar; but, in an adjoining house he found a parcel of bayonets with the sockets filled with wood, and as if they had been sawed from off the handles which were in the first house. It appeared that, after the explosion in Patrick Street, the prisoner went immediately to the depôt in Mass Lane, where he continued until the 23d July, actively preparing for the insurrection which broke out on that evening. When the insurrection took place, he was actively engaged in it: he was one of those who fired at the trooper who was killed; he was also among those assassins who stopped Lord Kilwarden's carriage; and he stood by while that nobleman and his nephew were piked to death. It did not appear, however, that he inflicted any of the wounds, which were all given with pikes, he having been armed with pistols and a blunderbuss. After the defeat of the insurrection he fled, and as he was passing through Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, he was arrested by a magistrate, to whom he said that his name was Magrath, that he was a mill-wright by trade, was going to Waterford, had been working in the county of Wicklow, and had not been in Dublin for three weeks previous to the 23d July.—Some persons were adduced to his character, but he was found guilty.—— Thomas Keenan was tried on the 3d. It was proved that he was an associate of M'Intosh, and was arrested with him; that he had been in the rebel depôt in Mass Lane, during the week preceding the insurrection, as a carpenter, making pike-handles. He was found guilty.——On the 5th Dennis Lambert Redmond was tried. It appeared from the evidence against him that he was one of those who planned the insurrection of the night of the 23d, after which he fled to Newry, where he was apprehended; that a paper was found in his possession evidently intended for publication, in which he exhorted his countrymen to be "as gentle as lambs, but as vigilant as lions, to avoid all these casualties which had occurred to defeat their cause during the rebellion of 1798, arising from drunkenness, infidelity to each other, and a base dereliction of the principle on which they ought to be steady and united." Some evidence was produced to his character, but he was found guilty. He afterwards confessed that he held an official station under the provisional government.——On the 10th Thomas Russell was tried at Carrickfergus. It appeared on evidence that during the day of the 23d of July, he was at Loughin Island, endeavouring to excite the people to rebellion, telling them that the French would assist them, that arms and money were prepared for them, and that there would that night be a general insurrection all over Ireland; that he called himself a general in the rebel army, and had a general's uniform which he showed to the people at Annadorn; that on their refusing to rise, he threatened them, and told them he would go to some other counties where the rising would be general. When he was taken a proclamation was found upon him, intended to have been made public.—The examination of the witnesses lasted a considerable time, and the prisoner was finally found guilty.—On being asked if he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he addressed the Court in a speech of about twenty minutes, in which he took a view of the principal transactions of his life for the last thirteen years; and on a retrospective view of which he said he looked back with triumph and satisfaction; he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct from the criminality attached to it by asserting that in all he had done he acted from the conviction of his conscience; and anxiously requested

that the Court would make him not only the first, but the only life which should be taken on the present occasion.

Remarks *on* **His Majesty's Speech** *to Parliament*, at the Commencement of the Session, on the 22d of November,* **1803. Extracted from the Moniteur.**

Note the 1*st.* [This note refers to the mention made of the Islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon.]—The Islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, belong to the Belligerent Power which is mistress of the sea. The emphatic eulogies of his Britannic Majesty on the great zeal and promptitude of his officers, and the forces which acted under their command, are truly ludicrous. There were at St Lucia one hundred and fifty men; at Tobago eighty; and at St. Pierre and Miquelon a corporal and nine men.—*Note the* 2*d.* [This note alludes to the King's notice of the state of Ireland, respecting the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy, and his Majesty's hope that his deluded subjects in that part of the United Kingdom are now convinced of their error.]—We cannot conceive why his Britannic Majesty should not mention the affairs of Hanover, and pass over in silence the importance which his ministers had formally promised in the House of Commons to assign to the mediation of Russia; but why should he fail to shew the same prudent reserve relative to Ireland, that unfortunate object of the interest and the solicitude of all Europe? Was it necessary to insult unhappy Hibernia, which for so many ages has witnessed, in the midst of it, the incessant renewal of the massacres of St. Bartholomew? Here, ambitious men, covered with the Roman purple, butchered the Protestants; there, ambitious men, covered with the English purple, butchered the Roman Catholics! The code by which Ireland is at present governed, is more cruel, more atrocious than that of Marat. Every Irishman might ask his Britannic Majesty, where are the deluded? They are rather to be found in a government which supports its despotic authority by means of scaffolds, than among a people who claim liberty of conscience, the privilege of possessing property, and the rights which are attached to the dignity of human nature.—*Note the* 3*d.* [This note is intended as an answer to that part of the King's Speech, in which he trusts that his deluded subjects in Ireland having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of his United Kingdom.]—This is really surprising. Let his Britannic Majesty discover, if he can, in the four last years, in the course of which the revolution has been terminated, a single fact to support his arguments! Let him mention, through the immense extent of our territory, one country where the liberty of conscience has been restrained, where scaffolds have been erected, where conspiracies have been fabricated, for the purpose of destroying men of talents, overwhelming in blood the degrading apprehensions, and the just remorse, by which a violent and tyrannical government is always tormented! Your tyranny over Ireland resembles that of Carthage over the neighbouring states. It is severe and implacable.——*Note the* 4*th.* [Here, on the heavy pressure which his Majesty laments must be unavoidably experienced by his people under the present circumstances, the French government says,]—The war has already cost the English nation 500 millions of livres. On the supposition that it may last five or six years longer, England will have paid three or four milliards of additional expense for the rock of Malta, which cost the Knights of St. John 200 millions during the two last centuries.—*Note the 5th.* [This note refers to the magnanimous declaration of his Majesty, if the occasion should arise, to share the exertions and the dangers of his people, in the defence of their constitution, their religion, their laws, and their independence.]—Is it the King of England, the head of a nation which rules the seas and sways all India, that holds this language? What! six months have scarcely expired since your Prince, blinded by the shadows of a base ambition, and alarmed at the views of the ports of France and Holland, filled with fleets and armies, meditating the invasion of England, comes into the midst of you, and, in his terror, discovers to Europe and to France the fluctuations of his councils; and we already hear him talk of marching at the head of his people, to defend their religion, their laws, and their independence. What has reduced you to this extremity? Could you have held a different language if you had been defeated at Thebia, at Thrasymene, or at Cannæ? As yet the contest has scarcely begun; you have experienced no reverses; on the contrary, you have hitherto succeeded

* *For the Speech, see page* 752, *and for Mr. Cobbett's remarks, see page* 760, *of this vol.*

in every thing; and, notwithstanding, your cities are alarmed, and your councils require to be animated by the declarations of a Monarch, who professes his determination to die at the head of his people! Are the persons who suggest this inconsiderate language to him unacquainted, that Harold the perjurer also placed himself at the head of his people? Does it never occur to them that the illusions of high birth, the attributes of sovereign power and the purple robe, are, in the moment of danger, but weak defences against the casualties of battle? On that tremendous day all men are equal. It is experience, it is the superiority of tactics, and the coolness of the general, that establish the difference between the victors and the vanquished. A Monarch, of sixty-three years old, who puts himself, for the first time, at the head of his troops, would, on the day of battle, embarrass his own people, and increase the chances of success on the part of the enemy. The King of England talks of "the honour of his crown, the maintenance of the constitution, their religion, their laws, and their independence." Was not the enjoyment of all those inestimable advantages secured by the treaty of Amiens? One would suppose, on reading this speech, that it was not the English ambassador who had the impudence to fix a period of only thirty-six hours to decide the question of war; and that, on the contrary, it was the French ambassador who demanded, at London, that, in thirty-six hours, the religion of England should be changed, the constitution abolished, and the kingdom dishonoured. Could not your religion, your constitution, and your honour, be preserved without Lord Whitworth's ultimatum? What connexion has the rock of Malta and the island of Lampedosa with your religion, your laws, and your independence? It is not for human foresight to penetrate the designs of Providence, and to discover the measures it may sanction in its profound wisdom for the punishment of perjury, and the chastisement of those who create division, excite war, and, under the vain pretexts or secret suggestions of paltry ambition, sport with human life; but we can venture to prophecy the event of this important contest; that you shall not retain Malta, that you shall not obtain Lampedosa, and that you will sign a treaty less advantageous to you than that of Amiens.—*Note the 6th.* [This note is caused by the expression of his Majesty's firm conviction that should the enemy, contrary to all just expectation, attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace.]—Discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace! If the King of England is so confident of success, why does he not order his fleets and cruizers to allow us a free passage for a few days? We should soon see whether the result to the French would be discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace. All these rhodomontades are at once unworthy of a great people, and of any man in his sober senses. Had the King of England obtained as many victories as Alexander, Hannibal, or Cæsar, such language would not be the less absurd. The destinies of war, and the fate of battle, depend on a very trifling circumstance! so frequently does fortune prove blind and inconstant! But surely none but a person wholly deprived of his reason could affirm that the French army, which hitherto have not passed for cowards, should reap on the soil of Great-Britain nothing but discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace.—As to the presumptuous threat of which the King of England accuses his enemies, it would certainly puzzle his ministers to quote them. When did the First Consul, who has the sole direction of all the military dispositions, say that it was his intention to send an army into England? He has hitherto said only there shall be an encampment at the Texel, Ostend, St. Omer, Brest, Bayonne; and the army has been encamped accordingly. Cannot then, during war, troops be assembled in camps, without executing presumptuous threats?—You admit that the French may penetrate into the heart of England. On this supposition, you offer to your people the defence of your head and hand, and you assure them, in a prophetic tone, that the consequence will be to the French army discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace: granted. But what would you gain by it? The advantage which you say you will derive from it will be "the glory of surmounting present difficulties," it was much easier not to occasion such difficulties; "of repelling immediate danger," it was much safer not to expose yourselves to that danger; "of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength," but the treaty of Amiens had fixed the safety and independence of the kingdom of Great-Britain; "the result of its own tried energy and resources," what! whoever doubted that your people, who rule both hemispheres, are rich, brave, and full of energy?—These expressions, "its own

tried energy and resources," should indeed be heard over all Europe. Thus it appears, that you fight merely to shew that you can fight. You load your people with taxes, to shew that you are rich. You inflict calamities on the existing generation, to prove that energy which no person was desirous of disputing with you. Europe will decide whether such sentiments are the result of greatness, of weakness of mind, of wisdom, or folly.—But were we to admit, from the inconstancy of fortune, and the vicissitudes of war, that the French army might reap in the heart of Great-Britain discomfiture and disgrace; admit in your turn, that an army of veterans, every soldier of which has braved death in so many battles, and conducted by men whom Europe holds in some degree of estimation, may, by its bravery or its evolutions, carry into the midst of you disgrace, confusion, and discomfiture. What would be the advantage to France? Not that of surmounting present difficulties; she experiences none: not of repelling immediate danger; in the present contest there is no immediate danger for her: not that of fixing the safety and independence of the state on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources; her safety, her independence, her force, her own resources, and her energy, are as evident as that the sun shines; they require no trial to prove their existence.—The consequence would be, that she would wrest from you that trident acquired by fifty years of success, the valour of your ancestors, and preserved by the duplicity of your cabinet; to avenge the unfortunate country of Ireland, to restore it to the rank of nations, and to shed on that land, moistened with blood and with tears, the light of happier and more tranquil days. It would be * * * * * *.—This speech will be read with attention by all Europe, which will be struck by one extraordinary expression in it. What! the ministers of Great-Britain are silly enough to cause their Master to declare, on a solemn occasion, that on the fate of one battle depends the existence of that Colossus which crushes both worlds. If on the event of one battle the preservation of a single one of the newly-conquered departments of France depended, we are well convinced that she would have made peace, that she would not have resisted your unjust pretensions, and that she would have ceded Malta. Such conduct would have been consistent with those duties imposed on all those, whether chiefs or ministers, whose determinations influence the fate of nations.

A FORM of PRAYER, to be used in all Churches and Chapels throughout England, Ireland, Wales, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, upon Wednesday the Nineteenth of October, 1803, being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a General Fast and Humiliation before Almighty God, to be observed in the most Devout and Solemn Manner, by sending up our Prayers and Supplications to the Divine Majesty: for obtaining Pardon of our Sins, and for averting those heavy Judgements which our manifold Provocations have most justly deserved; and imploring his Blessing and Assistance on the Arms of his Majesty by Sea and Land, and for restoring and perpetuating Peace, Safety, and Prosperity to himself and to his Kingdom.

By his Majesty's Special Command.

THE ORDER FOR MORNING PRAYER.

The Service shall be the same with the usual office for Holydays, except where it is in this office otherwise appointed.

Let him that ministereth read with a loud voice these sentences of Scripture; and after them the exhortation, dearly beloved brethren, &c.

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us.

In my trouble I will call upon the Lord, and complain unto my God. So shall he hear my voice out of his holy temple; my complaint shall come before him.

Instead of the Venite, this Hymn shall be used.—Unto thee, O Lord, will I lift my soul; my God, I have put my trust in thee: O let me not be confounded, neither let mine enemies triumph over me.

Wherefore shall the heathen say, where is now their God?

The Lord is King, be the earth never so unquiet; the Lord is great in Sion, and high above all people.

I shall find trouble and heaviness, and I will call upon the name of the Lord.

Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the Heavens.

The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly; but the Lord, who dwelleth on high, is mightier.

In the multitude of sorrows that I had in my heart, thy comforts have refreshed my soul.

The Lord is my refuge, and my God is the strength of my confidence.

Thou, O Lord God, art full of compas-

sion and mercy, long suffering, plenteous in goodness and truth.

Teach me thy way, O Lord, and I will walk in thy truth. O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name.

Behold, O God our defender, and look upon the face of thine anointed.

Blessed is the man, whose strength is in thee, in whose heart are thy ways.

Lo! thine enemies make a murmuring, and they that hate thee have lift up their heads.

Make their faces ashamed, O Lord, that they may seek thy name.

The Lord shall give strength unto his people, the Lord shall give his people the blessing of peace.

Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name; O deliver us, and be merciful unto our sins for thy name's sake.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost:

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Proper Psalms, li. lxxiii. and cxxv.—First Lesson, Isaiah xxxvii.—After the First Lesson, shall follow Te Deum laudamus, in English.—Second Lesson, St. Luke xxi. 7—19.—Then Benedictus, the Creed, &c. to the end of the Lord's Prayer.

Then the Priest, standing up, shall say,—

Priest. O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us,

Answ. And grant us thy salvation.

Priest. O Lord, save the King!

Answ. Who putteth his trust in thee.

Priest. Send him help from thy holy place,

Answ. And evermore mightily defend him.

Priest. Let his enemies have no advantage against him.

Answ. Let not the wicked approach to hurt him.

Priest. O Lord, save thy people,

Answ. And bless thine inheritance.

Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord,

Answ. And make thy chosen people joyful.

This Collect to be used instead of the First Collect for Morning Prayer.—O Almighty God, who rulest over all nations of the earth, and on whose gracious Providence they depend evermore for preservation and prosperity; extend, we beseech thee, thine accustomed goodness to the people of this kingdom; who, looking up to thee, as the author of all blessings, and their sure safeguard and mighty deliverer in all dangers and difficulties, do now implore thy watchful care and protection. Vouchsafe to guide us continually with thy counsel, to strengthen us with thy powerful arm, and to crown with success our necessary endeavours against the unjust attempts of our enemies, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Then shall follow the Second and Third Collects at Morning Prayer, and the Litany, and then the following Prayer.—O Lord, our Heavenly Father, we acknowledge, with penitent hearts, that we have been blessed, beyond other nations, in the knowledge and undisturbed profession of thy truth, and in the long possession of abundant temporal prosperity: and we confess, that, like the Israelites of old, we have too often turned our backs on thee, and sought our peace and security in our own inventions. Restore us, O Lord, to a dutiful sense of thee in this time of our visitation. Grant us grace to put away all ungodliness and sinful lusts, and so to hold fast the profession of our faith in purity of heart and mind, that thy judgments may be withdrawn from us, and we may become distinguished objects of thy mercy, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our mediator and advocate. Amen.

Then the people shall say this that followeth, after the minister.—Turn thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned. Be favourable, O Lord, be favourable to thy people, who turn to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying. For thou art a merciful God, full of compassion, long-suffering, and of great pity. Thou sparest when we deserve punishment, and in thy wrath thinkest upon mercy. Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, and let not thine heritage be brought to confusion. Hear us, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, and after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us, through the merits and mediation of thy blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Instead of the Prayer in time of war and tumults, let the two following be used.—O Almighty God, maker of the universe, and sovereign disposer of the affairs of men, at whose command nations and empires rise and fall, flourish and decay; we thine unworthy servants most humbly implore thy gracious aid and protection. We flee unto thee for succour, in this time of peril and necessity, when, in defence of our liberty, our laws, and our religion, we are exposed to the dangers and calamities of war, and threatened with invasion by a fierce and haughty foe, who would swallow us up quick, so wrathfully is he displeased at us: for that we alone among the nations are found to withstand his violent and unjust ambition. Vouchsafe, we beseech thee, thine especial blessing and protection to our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King George.

Go forth with his fleets and armies; and let thy mighty arm be with his chiefs and captains, as it was of old with thy servants, *Judas, and †Jonathan, and †Simon, when they valiantly withstood the wicked tyrants of their times, the enemies of thy truth, and the oppressors of thy people. Direct his counsels, prosper all his measures for the welfare of this kingdom, and the preservation of our Church, and of our Civil Constitution. And let no internal divisions, nor any other sins and provocations of this nation, obstruct his designs for the public good, nor bring down thy judgments upon us. But spare thy people, O Lord, spare them; and, by thy grace, so unite us in a spirit of obedience to thy law, zeal for thy truth, and loyalty to thine anointed servant, whom thy good Providence has set over us, that we may evermore rejoice in thy salvation, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord God of our salvation, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, of good and evil; without whose aid the counsels of the wise, and the strength of the mighty are weak and vain; incline thine ear to the earnest supplications of thy servants, who not confiding in the multitude of their hosts, the abundance of their wealth, nor the weapons and accoutrements of war, do humbly flee unto thee, O Lord, for succour, and put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. Be thou to us a tower of defence, and bless the arms of thy servant our Sovereign, in the maintenance of his just and lawful rights, against the assaults both of foreign war and domestic treason. Give grace, we beseech thee, to his rebellious subjects in Ireland, to see and confess the wickedness of their ways. Bring *them* to a due sense of the enormity of their crime *in rising in open rebellion against the Crown of their lawful Sovereign*, forgetful of the blessings they have enjoyed under his mild and equitable government: that so returning to their duty, they may become objects of thy mercy and forgiveness. And give us all grace, to put away from us all rancour of religious dissention, that they who agree in the essentials of our most holy faith, and look for pardon through the merits and intercession of the Saviour, may, notwithstanding their differences upon points *of doubtful opinion*, and *in the forms of external worship*, still be united in the bonds of christian charity, and fulfil thy blessed Son's commandment, of loving one another, as he hath loved them. These things we beg, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

We humbly beseech thee, most merciful God, that, by thy grace, thou wouldst keep alive in us, who have this day presumed to implore such great blessings at thy hands, a constant sense of thy presence, and of our dependence upon thee. Suffer us not to return to our former sinfulness and disobedience, nor again to yield to those evil passions and desires which have brought down thy just judgments upon us: but, save us, O God; save us, not only from worldly, but also from our spiritual enemies; and most especially save us from ourselves, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, and the General Thanksgiving. Then read to the end of the Morning Prayer as usual.

THE COMMUNION SERVICE.

After the Prayer for the King [Almighty God whose Kingdom is everlasting] shall be read the Collect of the Day, as in the Morning Prayer, [O Almighty God who rulest,] and then shall follow

For the Epistle. Rev. chap. III. ver. 14 to 19.—And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

The Gospel. St. Luke, chap. XIII. ver. 1 to 6.—There were present at that season some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. And Jesus answering, said unto them, suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered these things? I tell you, nay; but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem; I tell you, nay; but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

* 1 Maccabees, chap 2. v. 66. † 1 Maccabees, chap. 5. v. 17.

Then shall follow the Nicene Creed: and after that the Sermon.

After the Prayer [for the whole state of Christ's Church] the following shall be used.

A Prayer for our Enemies, and for Support under Persecution.—Almighty God, who hast disposed the heart of our Sovereign to unite us this day in prayer and supplication for the pardon of our sins: thou hast commanded us to love our enemies, and to pray for them that persecute us. Vouchsafe to accept now our prayers, for the repentance and conversion of men, who have cast off their faith in thee; and, following the vain imaginations of reprobate minds, have plunged themselves into crimes and impieties, which astonish the nations of the earth. Open their eyes, O Lord, that they may see and consider, with detestation and horror, the ravages of their cruelty. Strike them, in thy mercy, with remorse and compunction before they fill up the measure of their iniquities; and grant, O God, unto us thy servants grace, whilst we behold with compassion the miseries they have inflicted upon the objects of their fury, to recollect the many calamities from which we, by thy merciful Providence, have been hitherto exempted. Continue to us, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy merciful protection, and shield us from the arms of the destroyer. And in all seasons, whether of success or adversity, prosperity or tribulation, give us hearts to be truly thankful for thy goodness, fearful of thy displeasure, and sensible of thy presence; that, at all times putting our whole trust and confidence in thee, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal. And to all those, who may be ordained to suffer for thy sake, impart, O merciful Lord, such plentiful succours of thy Holy Spirit; pour into their souls such contempt of pain and death; kindle in their hearts such love of thee, and zeal for thy truth; fill them with such animating hope of immortality, that, after the example of the blessed Saints and Martyrs of the primitive ages, they may so steadily confess thee before men, that having glorified thy name by their sufferings upon earth, they may obtain of thee an everlasting crown of glory. And grant, to us all, such a denial of ungodliness and worldly affections, that we may be able to look forward with hope to the consummation of all things, and to the glorious appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, be honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Almighty God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's name; we beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant, that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Priest (or Bishop, if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

THE ORDER FOR EVENING PRAYER.

Let him that ministereth read with a loud Voice these Sentences of Scripture, and after them the Exhortation, Dearly beloved Brethren, &c.

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us.

In my trouble I will call upon the Lord, and complain unto my God. So shall he hear my voice out of his holy temple; my complaint shall come before him.

The Hymn appointed to be used at Morning Prayer, instead of the Venite, &c. shall here also be used before the proper Psalms.——Proper Psalms, xxxvii. and xlix.—First Lesson, 2 Chron. xx. to the end of ver. 24.—My soul doth magnify the Lord, &c. St. Luke i. 46.—Second Lesson, 1 Cor. x. to end of ver. 13 —God be merciful unto us, &c. Psalm lxvii.—Then the Creed, &c. to the end of the Lord's Prayer.—Then the Priest, standing up, shall say,

Priest. O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us,

Answ. And grant us thy salvation.

Priest. O Lord, save the King!

Answ. Who putteth his trust in thee.

Priest. Send him help from thy holy place,

Answ. And evermore mightily defend him.

Priest. Let his enemies have no advantage against him,

Answ. Let not the wicked approach to hurt him.

Priest. O Lord, save thy people,

Answ. And bless thine inheritance.

Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord,

Answ. And make thy chosen people joyful.

This collect to be used instead of the first collect for evening prayer. — O Almighty God, who rulest over all the nations of the earth, and on whose gracious providence they depend evermore for preservation and prosperity; extend, we beseech thee, thine accustomed goodness to the people of this kingdom; who, looking up to thee, as the author of all blessings, and their sure safeguard and mighty deliverer in all dangers and difficulties, do now implore thy watchful care and protection. Vouchsafe to guide us continually with thy counsel, to strengthen us with thy powerful arm, and to crown with success our necessary endeavours against the unjust attempts of our enemies, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

The second collect at evening prayer.—O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed; give unto thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments, and also that by thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The third collect, for aid against all perils.—Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord, and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night, for the love of thy only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

O Lord, our heavenly Father, we acknowledge, with penitent hearts, that we have been blessed, beyond other nations, in the knowledge and undisturbed profession of thy truth, and in the long possession of abundant temporal prosperity: and we confess, that like the Israelites of old, we have too often turned our backs on thee, and sought our peace and security in our own inventions. Restore us, O Lord, to a dutiful sense of thee in this time of our visitation. Grant us grace to put away all ungodliness and sinful lusts, and so to hold fast the profession of our faith in purity of heart and mind, that thy judgments may be withdrawn from us, and we may become distinguished objects of thy mercy, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Then the people shall say, after the minister:—Turn thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned. Be favourable, O Lord, be favourable to thy people, who turn to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying. For thou art a merciful God, full of compassion, long-suffering, and of great pity. Thou sparest when we deserve punishment, and in thy wrath thinkest upon mercy. Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, and let not thine heritage be brought to confusion. Hear us, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, and after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us, through the merits and mediation of thy blessed Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall follow the usual prayers for the king, queen, and royal family, and the clergy; and instead of the prayer in time of war and tumults, the two following shall be used.

O Almighty God, [as in p. 1977.]

O Lord God of our salvation, [as in p. 1979,] and then the following:—We humbly beseech thee, most merciful God, that, by thy grace, thou wouldst keep alive in us, who have this day presumed to implore such great blessings at thy hands, a constant sense of thy presence, and of our dependence upon thee. Suffer us not to return to our former sinfulness and disobedience, nor again to yield to those evil passions and desires which have brought down thy just judgments upon us: but save us, O God; save us, not only from our worldly, but also from our spiritual enemies; and most especially save us from ourselves, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A prayer for our enemies, and for support under persecution.—Almighty God, who hast disposed the heart of our Sovereign to unite us this day in prayer and supplication for the pardon of our sins: Thou hast commanded us to love our enemies, and to pray for them that persecute us. Vouchsafe to accept now our prayers, for the repentance and conversion of men, who have cast off their faith in thee; and, following the vain imaginations of reprobate minds, have plunged themselves into crimes and impieties, which astonish the nations of the earth. Open their eyes, O Lord, that they may see and consider, with detestation and horror, the ravages of their cruelty. Strike them, in thy mercy, with remorse and compunction before they fill up the measure of their iniquities; and grant, O God, unto us thy servants grace, whilst we behold with compassion the miseries they have inflicted upon the objects of their fury, to recollect the many calamities from which we, by thy merciful providence, have been hitherto exempted. Continue to us, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy merciful protection, and shield us from the arms of the destroyer. And in all seasons, whether of success or adversity, prosperity or tribulation, give us hearts to be truly thankful for thy goodness, fearful of

thy displeasure, and sensible of thy presence; that, at all times putting our whole trust and confidence in thee, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal. And to all those, who may be ordained to suffer for thy sake, impart, O merciful Lord, such plentiful succours of thy holy spirit; pour into their souls such contempt of pain and death; kindle in their hearts such love of thee, and zeal for thy truth; fill them with such animating hope of immortality, that, after the example of the blessed saints and martyrs of the primitive ages, they may so steadily confess thee before men, that having glorified thy name by their sufferings upon earth, they may obtain of thee an everlasting crown of glory. And grant, to us all, such a denial of ungodliness and worldly affections, that we may be able to look forward with hope to the consummation of all things, and to the glorious appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, be honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Then the prayer for the high court of Parliament;—for all sorts and conditions of men;—and the general thanksgiving.

A prayer of St. Chrysostom.—Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time, with one accord, to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt grant their requests: fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

2 Cor. XIII. 14.—The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS AND DISPENSATIONS, during the Year 1803.

PREFERMENTS.

Rev. George William Mallim, M. A. Higham-Ferrers, v. Chelveston chapelry, and the consolidated rectory of All Saints and vicarage of St. Peter Irthlingborough, county Northampton. — Rev. Tho. Clare, M. A. St. Bride's, v.—Rev. Mr. Hubbard, curate of Bethnel-green, St. John's Horsely Down, R. vice Penneck, dec.—Rev. G. B. Cheston, M. A. Lassington, R. and the diocese of Gloucester, and Rev. E. Jones, M. A. Mitcheldean, R. in the same diocese, both vice Harris, dec.—Rev. Jacob Castobodie, M. A. vicar of Swavesey, county Cambridge, Wensley, R. county Yorke, vice his father, dec.—Rev. J. Vickers, M. A. Swannington, R. and Wodalling, V. Norfolk, vice Carr. dec.—Rev. T. A. Robberts, M. A. Hagley, R. with the chapelries of Frankley and St. Kenelm, county Worcester.—Rev. Mr. Vince, professor of astronomy at Cambridge, to a prebend of Lincoln cathedral, vice Burrough, dec.—Rev. J. Hawtrey, M. A. to a prbend of Winchester cathedral, vice Dr. Pelham, promoted to the see of Bristol. — Rev. T. L. Jones, rector of Buttenham, Norfolk, licensed to the donative of Bury, near Ramsay.—Rev. Thomas Maddock, to a prebend of Chester cathedral, vice Pearce, dec.—Rev. R. H. Wright, Hoben-Abbey, R. and diocese of Winchester.—Rev. T. Penton, Mundesley, R. county Norfolk — Rev. Nicholas Bull, Ickleton, V. county Cambridge. — Rev. Rob. Pointer, M. A. rector of South Hoe, county Huntingdon, to a prebendal stall in Lincoln cathedral. —Rev. H. Hasted, M. A. Irkworth and Chedburgh, R. R. Suffolk, vice Knowles, dec.—Rev. John Rymer, M. A. vicar of Rnshington, county Lincoln, Littleham, V. Devon.—Rev. R. C. Caswall, Yeatley perpetual curacy, Hants, vice Richards, resigned.— Rev. Rob. Peat, D. D. Ashley, R. and Silverlay and Kirthing, V. V. near New-Market.—Rev. Dan. Dewer, M. A. Upington living, Salop, vice Chapman resigned.—Rev. Mr. Williams, Enderby cum Whetstone, R. vice Lorains, resigned.—Rev. Mr. Fry, elected chaplain to the Lock Hospital, vice Scott resigned. — Rev. J. Lowe of Wentworth, Tankerfley living, vice Dundas resigned.—Rev. John Coleman, B. A. Eccles. St. Mary next the sea, R. Norfolk.—Rev. John H. Michel, M. A. Buckland, R. Herts, vice Akehurst, dec. —Rev. F. Lee, M. A. to be chaplain in ordinary to the prince of Wales.—Hon. and Rev. T. L. Dundas, M. A. Harpole, R. county Northampton. — Rev. J. Coward, B. D. Blekington, R. county Oxford, vice Braken, dec.—Rev. C. E. Platten, Whitestaple curacy, Kent, vice Lardner, dec. —Rev. F. Francklin, M. A. Watton, V. and Attleborough, R. both county Norfolk. —Rev. J. Franklin, M. A. Earsham, R. county Norfolk.—Rev. G. Barnwell, M. A. Milcham, R. county Norfolk. — Rev. J. Fyshe Foord, Coulam perpetual curacy, county York. — Rev. C. Dalton, M. A. West Lavington, V. Wills.—Rev. T. B.

Morris, M. A. Shelfanger, R. Norfolk. — Rev. J. Forster, M. A. Sandall parva, R. near Doncaster.—Rev. J. Way, M. A. Adwell, R. in the diocese of Oxford.—Rev. R. F. Howman, B. A. Shipmeadow, R. Norfolk, vice Suckling, dec.—Rev. G. Millers, M. A. Winston, V. county Suffolk. —Rev. Dr. Hoskyn, Appleton, R. Appledon, R. Berks, vice Brikendon, dec.—Rev. J. Capper, Lullington, V. Sussex, vice Wright, dec.—Rev. Mr. Latham, Billeyborough, V. county Lincoln.—Rev. C. Proby, jun. Tatchbroke, V. county Warwick.—Rev. George Cooke, D. D. Oldbury, and Didmarton, R. R. county Gloucester, vice Estcourt, dec. — Rev. W. Powell, M. A. Shelly, perpetual curacy, Suffolk.—Rev. Christ. Wilson, South Collingham, R. county Nottingham, vice Todhunter, dec.—— Rev. C. F. Millard, B. A. Hickling, V. Norfolk.—Rev. George Matthew, elected evening preacher at the Magdalen hospital, vice Andrews, resigned.—Rev. Mr. Crane, of Bradford, county York, Crundal living, Hants.—Rev. W. Manning, B. A. curate of Christ Church, Spitalfields, London, Orby, V. Lincoln.—Rev. J. Douglas, M.A. F. A. S. rector of Middleton, Sussex, Kenton, V. Suffolk. — Rev. C. Baker, rector of Charlton, Kent, Talmanstone, V. and Ash, perpetual curacy in the same county. —— Rev. R. Evans, M. A. Norminton, V. county York, vice Townson, dec.—Rev. C. J. Smith, M. A. Great Fakenham, R. Suffolk, vice Barker dec.—Rev. W. Brown, B. A. Little Glemham, R. Suffolk. —Rev. R. Chichester, M. A. Chittlehampton, V. Devon, vice Bright, dec.—Rev. S. Adams, Blackawton, V. Devon.—Rev. S. Rigby, Ringmore, R. Devon. — Rev. E. Cresswell, M. A. Ledford and Radford, R.R. near Nottingham, vice Pickering, dec.—Rev. R. Hodgson, nephew and chaplain to the bishop of London, St. Georg's, R. Hanover Square, vice Courtenay, bishop of Exeter, dec. and Rev. E. Hodgson, chaplain to the last embassy to Paris, Laindon, R. vice R. Hodgson resigned. — Rev. J. Church, M. A. Mattishall, V. Norfolk, vice Smith, dec. — Rev. R. Gibson, Fifield R. Essex. — Rev. G. G. Cooper, Bodiam, V. and Ewhurst, R. Sussex, vice Russel, dec. —Rev. S. Davenport, Worfield living, county Salop.—Rev. S. J. Tuffnall, of Trinity College, Cambridge, West Stoke, R. Sussex.—Rev. H. Halliwell, B. D. Clayton, R. county Sussex.—Rev. W. Greenwood, B. D. Ousiden, R. county Norfolk, vice Trompton, dec. — Rev. R. Baker, Botley, R. Hants.—Rev. G. D. Kent, M. A. St. Martin, V. Lincoln.—Rev. J. J. Conybeare, Warthill, prebend in York cathedral, vice his father resigned.—Rev J. Forbes, D.D. Fellow of St. John's college, Oxford, Kirklington, V. county Oxford.—Rev. P. Dodd, M. A. South Lambeth Chapel, and the evening preachership at the Asylum, both vice L. Gardner, resigned.—Rev. J. J. P. Jervoyse, L. L. B. Stretton-on the-Foss, R. with Dichford annexed, in the diocese of Oxford, vice Karrick dec. and Theydonbois living in the same county.—Rev. A. Onslow, of Ripley, Surrey, Chavening, R. Kent, vice Preston dec.—Rev. G. M. Bethune, M. A. West Chitlington, R. Sussex.—Rev. R. Davis, Bibury, V. with the chapelry of Winson annexed, county Gloucester, and the Rev. C. Coates, rector of Osmington, Dorset, Milverton secunda, prebend in Wells cathedral, both vice Sommerville, dec.—Rev. C. Ekins Wilton priory, vice Green, dec. and Slape prebend in Salisbury cathedral, vice Kerrich deceased, and Rev. T. H. Hume, M. A. rector of Broad Hinton, and son of the late bishop H., elected a Canon residentiary of Salisbury cathedral, also vice Kerrich.—Rev. J. Wilkinsou, B. A. of Ormathwaitd, county Cumberland, East and West Ratham, R. R. Norfolk.—Rev. C. Davy, Wickham Market, V. Suffolk. —Rev. D. Williams of Romsay, Hunsbourne friars living, Hants. — Rev. T. L. Frear, M. A. Handsworth, R. near Birmingham. — Rev. E. Mason, M. A. rector of Heapham, county Lincoln, Beesby, R. in the same county.—Rev. H. J. Wallaston, M. A. Scotter. R. co. Lincoln, vice Harper, deceased.—Rev. Lord C. M. Hansley Rocking Rural deanry, Essex, vice his brother, the late Bishop of St. David's.—Rev. J. George, B. D. Grosmont, R. co. Monmouth. —Rev. T. Calthrop Blofield, B.A. Felmingham, V. Norfolk, vice Hepworth, dec.—Rev. Thomas Pearson, B. D. Sparsholt, V. Berks, vice Taylor, dec.—Rev G. Capper, M. A. Gosbeck, St. Mary, R. Suffolk, vice Lumpkin, dec.—Rev. J. Sharpe, Market-Weston, R. co. Suffolk.—Rev. J. Rowley, M. A. Brent-Elleigh, St. Mary, R. Suffolk.—Rev. Mr. Whiter, Slerston, R. Norfolk, vice Frampton, dec.—Rev. J. Flamank, B. A. Saxthorpe, v. Norfolk.—Rev. H. Williams, Wantisden, perpetual curacy, Suffolk. —Rev. W. Spurdens, Wingfield, perpetual curacy in the diocese of Norwich.—Rev. Mr. Glover, Stonham-Jerningham, R. vice Barnwell, resigned.—Rev. C. Leigh, M. A. Newcastle-under-Line, perpetual curacy.—Rev. W. W. Childers, Cantley, V. in the diocese of York. Rev. B. E. Sparke, D. D. Dean of Bristol, St. Augustin living in that city.—Rev. Ben. Barker, M. A. Caston, R.

and Rochland, All Saints, with St. Andrew, R. county Norfolk.—Rev. J. Prince, Queenton, V. county Gloucester.—Rev. J. Sperling, M. A. Lemmarsh, R. Essex, vice Hurlack. Rev. B. V. Layard, Affington, R. county Lincoln.—Rev. T. Cantley, B D. Stratford, St. Mary, R. Suffolk.—Rev. T. Herring, M.A. Ringstead, St. Peter and St. Andrew, R. Norfolk.—Rev. Charles Bitherne, M. A. Wanstraw, R. county Somerset.—Rev. H. Dashwood. B. A. Caistor, St. Edmund, with Marketshall, R. Norfolk.—Rev. S. Preston, M. A. Bristow, V. Norfolk. Rev. T. Sedgewick, B. A Mirfield, V. county York, vice Cookson, dec.—Rev. Dr. Taylor. R. of Wotton, Surrey, collated to Chichester archdeaconry, and Rev. J. Pratt of Arpington Siddlescomb, R. Sussex, both vice Allesck, dec.—Rev. J. Fielding, Wonersh, V. Surrey, vice Hill, dec.—Rev. John Bush, L. L. B. Hartwell cum Hampden, R. Bucks.—Rev. W. Gimingham, M. A. St. Dionis Backchurch, R. London, vice Lynch, dec.—Rev. J. Hird, M. A. Munton, R. Hants, vice Hawtrey, dec.—Rev. H. N. Astley, Faulsham, R. Norfolk.—Rev. G. R. Leathes, B. A. Wickhampton, R. Norfolk.—W. L. Rham, Fersfield, R. Norfolk.—Rev. E. P. Benezet, M. A. Bungey Trinity, V. Suffolk.—Rev. Mr. Brown, master of the Blue Coat School at Nottingham, Elton, R. in the Vale of Belvoir.—Rev. R. Lockwood, M. A. Potter-heigham, V. Norfolk, vice Anguish, resigned, and Ashby, and Oby with Thurne, Rector in the same county, vice Thoroton, resigned.—Rev. C. Collyer, Thornage, R. with Brinton, R. annexed, Norfolk.—Rev. Rowland Hill, M. A. St. Mary, R. at Chester.—Rev. Sir John Fagg, Bart. Chatham, R. Kent, vice Fowell, dec.—Rev. P. Lievre, curate of Claybrook, co. Leicester, Arnesby, V. in the same county.—Rev. J. Smith, St. Florence, R. co. Pembroke, vice Frampton, dec.—Rev. Edward Parkinson, Great Leighs, R. co. Essex.—Rev. Hugh Owen, M. A. F. A. S. Gillingham, minor prebend in Salisbury, Cathedral, vice Green, dec.—Rev. W. Metcalfe, Ratingdon, R. Essex, vice Forster, dec.—Rev. C. Males, Stapleford, V. co. Cambridge, vice Metcalfe, resigned.—Rev. C. Chester, L. L. B. Barley, R. co. Herts.—Rev. T. Matthews, of Outwell, Tydd, St. Giles, R. in the Isle of Ely, vice Lindsay, promoted to the See of Killaloe and Kilfenora in Ireland.—Rev. W. Hardwicke, Outwell, R. Norfolk, vice Matthews, resigned.—Rev. Dr. Nelson, brother to Ld. N. appointed vice dean of Canterbury Cathedral, vice Walesby, who goes out by rotation.—Rev. J. Davis, B. D. Orwell, R. co. Cambridge, vice Collier, dec.—Rev. T. Robinson, M. A. St. Andrew the Great Donative, in Cambridge, vice Jones, dec.—Rev. H. J. Todd, M. A. Rector of Allhallows, Lombard-street, London, R. Woolwich, Kent.—Rev. Sam. Ayscough of the British Museum, Cudham, V. near Farnborough in Kent.—Rev. Mr. Havey, Willian, V. co. Herts.

DISPENSATIONS.

Rev. Allen Fielding, M. A. to hold St. Cosmas and Damien, in the Blean, V. together with St. Stephen, V. both in the diocese of Canterbury, vice Gregory, deceased.—Rev. W. P. Menzies, to hold Friendsbury, V. in the diocese of Rochester, with Sutton-Vallence, R. and the Chapelry of East-Sutton, annexed, in the diocese of Canterbury.—Rev. W. Penchen, M. A. to hold St. Mary, V. Huntingdon, with Woodwalton, R. co. Huntingdon.—Rev. J. Hollis, to hold Chesterton, V. co. Oxford, with Shipton, V. Hants.—Rev. W. Wisteler, M. A. Rector of Newtimber, Sussex, to hold All Saints and St. Clements, R. R. and Hastings.—Rev. T. Pettat, M. A. to hold Hathrop, R. with Beverston, R. and Kingscote Chapelry annexed, co. Gloucester.—Rev. J. Rippon, to hold Long-Marton, R. co. Westmorland, with Kirkby, those R.—Rev. W. M. Moreton, M.A. to hold Tritsey, R. Surny, with Westdern, R. Sussex.—Rev. H. M. Davis, M. A. to hold Bishopsbourne, R. with Eynsford, V. both co. Kent, vice Fewell, deceased.

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England, from July to December, 1803, inclusive.

July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
49	86	55	46	123	119	478

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from July to Decembe:, 1803, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.												
	Males.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried. Males.	Total Buried. Female
July.....	856	756	336	133	59	34	89	137	152	117	95	56	24	2	636	605
August.....	710	742	359	113	48	23	69	109	120	104	76	59	25	5	536	576
September.....	973	889	623	190	65	43	108	157	152	142	106	66	21	4	836	843
October	752	854	352	139	37	36	77	112	117	112	81	56	22	2	559	574
November.....	755	691	384	138	47	37	88	128	142	132	100	63	32	3	655	639
December.....	1323	1146	651	287	101	72	170	262	276	255	188	120	54	14	1238	1212
	5369	4878	2705	1000	357	245	601	905	959	862	646	420	178	30	4460	4449

Total Christenings..10247 Total Burials..8900

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from July to December, 1803, inclusive.

July.		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	d.		d.		d.		d.		d.		d.
5	9½	2	9½	6	10	4	10	1	10	6	9¾
12	9½	9	9½	13	10	11	10	8	10	13	9¾
19	9½	16	9½	20	10	18	10	15	10	20	9¾
26	9½	23	9½	27	10	25	10	22	10	27	9¾
		30	10					29	9½		

Table of the Prices of *Meat*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from July to December, 1803, inclusive.

	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Beef.....	4 11	4 9	4 2	4 4	5 0	4 8	
Mutton.....	5 4	5 0	4 6	4 6	5 0	4 9	
Pork.....	4 6	4 10	4 8	3 8	3 10	3 8	
Sugar	18 5	44 6½	44 3	42 11½	43 6	44 0	Cwt.
Salt	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	Bushel.
Coals	9 0	48 0	52 6	60 6	59 0	57 0	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from July to December, 1803, inclusive.

Day.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	56⅞	52⅛	54½	52½	53¾	—
2	56¼	53	—	—	53¾	—
3	—	53⅞	54¾	52⅜	53⅞	—
4	54⅛	53½	—	52⅝	—	—
5	53	53	54½	52⅝	—	—
6	55⅜	52¾	54⅝	53⅛	—	—
7	56½	—	54	52⅞	53⅝	—
8	56⅞	52½	53¼	52⅛	53⅛	—
9	56⅛	52⅛	54	—	—	—
10	—	52¼	53⅞	52⅝	53¾	—
11	56¼	53⅛	—	52⅝	53½	—
12	55⅜	—	54⅛	53⅛	53⅛	—
13	56	52⅛	54⅛	52⅞	—	—
14	55⅝	—	53¼	53	53¼	—
15	55⅛	52⅞	54	52½	53¼	—
16	55⅞	53⅜	53⅝	—	53⅜	—
17	—	53½	53¼	52⅝	53¼	—
18	55½	52⅞	—	—	53¼	—
19	55⅝	53⅛	53⅝	—	53⅜	—
20	55	54½	54	52⅝	—	—
21	55⅛	—	53⅛	53⅛	53¾	—
22	53½	53⅞	53¼	53¼	53⅞	—
23	53½	53½	53½	—	54	—
24	—	—	53⅞	53¼	53¼	—
25	—	53½	—	—	54	—
26	53½	54	53⅞	—	54½	—
27	52⅞	54⅛	53½	53⅝	—	—
28	51⅞	—	53½	—	54⅛	—
29	52½	54⅛	—	54	54⅛	—
30	52¼	54⅜	52⅝	—	—	—
31	—	54¼		53¼		—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidés*, from July to December, 1803, inclusive.

Day.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	50.70	53.45	—	52.	—	51.80
2	50.80	53.15	—	51.85	51.50	51.65
3	—	53.10	—	52.10	51.20	51.55
4	51.60	53 50	—	52.10	51.25	—
5	—	53.60	—	52. 5	—	51.55
6	51.65	53.70	—	—	—	51.00
7	51.40	—	—	—	51.25	51.70
8	51.55	54.65	—	52.10	51.20	51.65
9	52.	54.50	—	—	—	51.65
10	51.60	—	—	52.10	51.15	51.80
11	51.55	55.20	—	52.10	—	—
12	52.	55.	—	52.15	51.50	51.90
13	52.	—	52.25	52.25	—	51.95
14	—	—	52.50	—	52.25	51.85
15	52.	—	52.50	52.10	52.30	51.80
16	—	53.70	52.40	—	52.	51.85
17	—	53.80	52.50	52.	51.60	51.90
18	—	54.40	51.80	—	51.55	—
19	52.90	55.50	51 40	51.45	51.90	52. 5
20	53.10	55.40	51.80	—	—	52.25
21	52.80	—	—	51.65	51.60	52.25
22	52.60	55.25	—	51.80	51.65	52.40
23	—	54.65	—	—	51.55	52.35
24	52.30	54.70	—	51.60	51.65	52.75
25	51.85	54.85	—	51.25	51. 5	—
26	52.60	54 80	52.25	51.40	—	—
27	53.45	54.20	—	—	—	—
28	—	—	52.	51.45	51.50	—
29	—	54.	—	—	—	—
30	—	54.55	52.	—	51.65	—
31	—	—		51.60		53.60

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